



HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

TWELFTH REPORT, APPENDIX, PART IX.

THE

MANUSCRIPTS

OF

THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT, K.G., THE EARL
OF DONOUGHMORE, AND OTHERS.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.



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1891.

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HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

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THE MANUSCRIPTS OF HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT, K.G.

With the exception of some interesting letters from Charles I. to the Marquis of Worcester, and a few family letters of the Commonwealth period, the papers described in this Report belong almost exclusively to the latter half of the 17th century. All other documents belonging to the family of an earlier date were probably dispersed, or destroyed, at the sack of Raglan Castle during the Civil War. To this calamity must be attributed the absence, from a place where they would naturally be preserved, of almost all traces of the life and works of the author of the *Century of Inventions*.

MSS. OF THE
DUKE OF
BEAUFORT.

The greater part of the historical papers now extant at Badminton fall within the lifetime of the first Duke of Beaufort, and seem to have been collected and preserved by him and the Duchess. They comprise a correspondence between her and her father, Arthur, Lord Capel; her correspondence with her first husband, Lord Beauchamp; and also a very full correspondence between herself and her second husband, successively, Lord Herbert, Marquis of Worcester, and Duke of Beaufort. These letters are historically valuable on account of the close connexion between the Marquis and the King, and the prominent and active position occupied by the Marquis in the political movements of the time. Perhaps the most curious passage is one in a letter written from Oxford, where he describes how he was tricked by Lord Shaftesbury into presenting to the King a proposal for the nomination of the Duke of Monmouth as heir to the Crown. Besides this correspondence, there are other papers of interest. One is a description of Raglan Castle in the days of its glory, written by an old servant of the house. Others are an autograph memorandum by the second Marquis of Worcester of his services and expenses on behalf of Charles I.; an account by Lord Capel of the negotiation with the Queen about the removal of the Prince of Wales into France; papers connected with the trial and execution of Arthur, Lord Capel; an account of the siege of Colchester by one who was with Lord Capel there, and also a narrative of all Lord Capel's military transactions by one of his officers.

A Journal of the House of Commons from December 18, 1680, to January 8, 1681, is reported at full length, as it is evidently the work of an eye-witness, and contains some interesting details which are not noticed in the formal journals.

A DESCRIPTION OF RAGLAN CASTLE, copied from an old manuscript which was written soon after the destruction of the Castle by the Rebel Army in the year 1646.

“It is situated on a hill—called, before the building, Twyn y Ciro, *i.e.*, the Cherry hill—and accounted, when in its splendour, one of the fairest buildings in England. It hath, 40 deg. S.E. in a direct line, three gates; the first of bricks, from which at the distance of 180 feet, by the ascent of many steps, is the white gate, built of square stone, 150 feet from the Castle. At some distance on the left side stood the Tower of Gwent, which for height, strength, and neatness, surpassed most, if not every other tower of England or Wales; it had six outsides (*i.e.*, sectangular), each 32 feet broad; the walls 10 feet thick, all made

of square stone, well built, in height five stories. It overlooked the castle and country thereabouts from the fair battlements, which, being 8 inches thick, were soon broken down by shot of great guns.

The Tower itself repulsed bullets of 18 and 20 lb. weight, hardly receiving the least impression by sixty shot a day. It was joined to the Castle by a sumptuous arched bridge, encompassed with an outwall with six arched turrets with battlements, all of square stone, joining to a deep mote 30 feet broad, wherein was placed a rare artificial water-work, which spouted water to the height of the castle. Next unto it was a pleasant walk set forth with several figures of the Roman Emperors in arches of divers varieties of shell works. Within the walls and the green adjoining—the Bowling Green—being 12 feet higher than the walk, on the right hand was a garden plot, answerable in proportion to the tower. Next unto this plot stood the stable and barns, lately built like a small town. The Castle gate hath a fair square tower on each side, with fair battlements, having each four arched rooms, one above the other, conjoined over the gates with two arches, one above the other. Within this gate is the pitched stone court, 120 feet long, 58 feet broad. On the right side thereof is the closet Tower; like the former it hath three arched rooms of 18 feet in the clear inside everything. Straight forwards is the way to the kitchen Tower of six outsides, each 25 feet broad. The kitchen, 25 feet in the clear inside, and about 20 feet high, having two chimneys besides the boiler. The wet larder under it arched of the same bigness, and the room above likewise done. About the middle of this court was the passage into the stately Hall, 66 feet long and 28 broad, having a rare geometrical roof built of Irish oak, with a large cupola on the top for light, besides a compass window 16 feet high in the light, and as much in compass, with two or three large windows more at the upper end. On the right side is the way into the Parlour, being 49 feet long, and 21 feet broad, which was noted as well for the inlaid wainscott and curious carved figures, as also for the rare and artificial stone work of the flat arch in a large and fair compass window on the south side, beaten down by the enemies' great guns, and two neat windows at each end. Before the entrance into the Parlour on the right side are the stairs to the Dining Room, of the same proportion as the Parlour. On the right side is the door to the Gallery, 126 feet long, having many fair windows, but most pleasant was the window at the furthestmost end. That part of the castle standing out like a tower, being about 60 feet high, was most pleasant for aspect. Under these stairs was the way to the beer cellar, $49\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, 15 feet broad. Then to the wine cellar, $43\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad and $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad. There are three cellars more, one as large as the former, all well arched. At the lower end of the hall was the Buttery, 32 feet long, 18 feet broad. Next unto it the Pantry of like bigness. At the entrance of the Hall straight forwards by the Chapel, 40 feet long on the left hand, was a large court, 100 feet long and 60 feet broad, particularly arched and carved, as the paving court, very remarkable not only for the curious carved stone work of the walls, and windows, but also for the pleasant marble fountain in the midst thereof, called the White Horse, continually running with a clear water. Thence through a fair gate under a large square tower, artificially arched with carved stone works, over a bridge 40 feet long with two arches, is the way to the Bowling Green, 260 feet long and 77 feet broad, much liked by his late Majesty for its situation. Westward towards Abergavenny and . . . the meadows towards Chepstow, was a most delightful prospect, at the west end stood a large oak

with large bows, affording a fine shade in the summer; near which was the way to the gravel walks and . . . pleasant gardens, and fair built summer houses, with delightful . . . walks, 430 feet long, beneath which was a very large . . . fish pond, of many acres of land ornamented with many and . . . divers artificial islands and walks, near which stood an . . . orchard 400 feet long and 100 broad planted with choice fruit trees . . . besides the tower Melin: all of st. . . . was but 4 sides fair built of . . . placed on corbels on the outside h. . . the other; and four in the gate . . . adjoining to it a warren and . . . fish ponds. The park was thick planted with oaks and several . . . large beeches and richly . . . stocked with deer. This castle . . . was a garrison from the beginning of the civil war, and kept . . . by the Marquiss at his own charge, but being strongly besieged and . . . having no hope of relief, being one of the strongest and last garrisons, was surrendered to Sir Thomas Fairfax the 19th of August 1646. Afterwards the woods in the three parks were destroyed, the lead and timber were carried to Monmouth, thence by water to rebuild Bristol Bridge after the last fire. The Great Tower, after tedious battering the top thereof with pickaxes, was undermined, the weight of it propped with the timber whilst the two sides of the six were cut through: the timber being burned it fell down in a lump, and so still remains firmly to this day. After the surrender the country people were summoned into a rendezvous with pickaxes, spades, and shovels, to draw the mote in hope of wealth; their hope failing, they were set to cut the stanks of the great fish ponds, where they had store of very great carps, and other large fish. The artificial roof of the Hall could not well be taken down, remained whole above 20 years after the siege, and above 30 vaults of all sorts of rooms, and cellars, and three arched bridges, besides the Tower Bridge, are as yet standing, but the most curious arch, the chapel and rooms above adjoining, with many other fair rooms totally destroyed."

1694, September 26.

"OFFICERS belonging to the right honourable HENRY, late EARL of WORCESTER, to the best of my personal remembrance.

Menial Officers and the manor of his household.

His Tables.—All the gates were shut at 11 of the clock, there were laid first in the Parlour, at the one end, his own and his Lady's table, with the rest of the family.

1.—Such strangers of the nobility as resorted thither in great numbers, attended first by the Steward who attended till his Lordship sat, and not by footmen, but gentlemen, and gentlemen's sons, and other officers of high degree.

2.—At the other end was laid a table for my Lady's gentlewomen, and other gentlewomen, then residing in the house, whereunto were brought such gentlewomen strangers as happened to come.

These attended by the footmen.

My Lord being sat at the same time the Steward—Sir Ralph Blackstone—with these Officers had his table laid in the upper end of the Hall. The Duke's tutor Mr. Adams. Steward, Sir Ralph Blackstone. Secretary, Mr. Holland. Master of the horse, Mr. Delamour. Surveyors and auditors, Mr. Nelson and Mr. Smith. Master of the fishponds, Mr. Andrews, with such strangers as happened to come under the degree

of a Knight, attended by the footmen and served with wine. Gentleman Server, Mr. Blackburn.

3.—At the same time in the Hall the tables for the ploughmen whose office was to carry muck from the house, and straw for litter for the horses, and wood for the house.

4.—At the same time a table was laid above stairs for Mrs. Watson. Gentlewomen strangers that did not appear below stairs, and other Gentlewomen that happened to be there.

Brewers, Mr. Morgan, Mr. Fox, at the waiters' table.

My Lord having dined the meat is brought for the gentlemen who waited of the one side of the hall, which, with other hot meat, made their dinner.

At the same time the waiters at another table sit by the clerk of the kitchen, Mr. Thomson, and the yeoman officers of the house, viz., two grooms of the chamber, Mr. Brag, sometimes clerk of the kitchen, Walter Justice. The tithes of the adjacent parishes served the house with bread.

Clerk to take that account of such oats as served the stables, Mr. George Wharton.

Both of the gentlemen waiters and . . . of the kitchen attended by footmen.

At the same time Mrs. Watson's table was laid meat was carried off her table to the chamber maids and laundry maids with additional hot meat.

Yeoman of the Cellar, Mr. Will Thomas.

Yeoman of the Pantry, Henry Wall.

Yeoman of the Buttery, Thomas Long.

Usher of the Hall and his man, Lewis David.

Porter, Mr. John Moyl and his man, Mr. Cook.

5.—This done, sat the Porter who kept a man, the Grooms of the Stables, whereof 4 had in charge no more than the great Stables, for they watched the 12 war horses there day and night.

12. Of the great war horses.

3. Sole for coaches.

Master of the Closet.

Sadler, Mr. Walter Brewer.

Tailor, Mr. Hook.

Mr. Ridsen.

Mr. Bray.

Plummer.

The hunting horses stable.

The hackney horses stable.

My Lady's Gent. Usher.

Mr. Laur. Harcourt.

Keeper of Lantillio Park, Mr. Walter Morris.

Of Chepstow Park, Robert Lasburg.

Of the husbandry over the ploughmen, Will Bayly.

Mr. Salisbury.

Purveyor for the house.

Cooks, roughrider; Esmond the faulconier, farrier and shoer of horses; with Clerk of the kitchen; the 2 Keepers of the Upper Park; Richard Bolton of the Lower; William Carry; two Butchers, with Clerks; Brewers; John Hugh, Brewer, Baker, some of the footmen with clerks embroiderers.

Housekeeper of Worcester House in London, Mr. Redman; constant solicitor there, Mr. John Smith; 8 or 10 ploughmen for oxen to carry wood and straw; sub-officers, Steward for Raglan; with Jones of Treewen, Esq., for Trolock's Grange.

Bailiffs for Raglan, Mr. Brown; for Saudering, William Harries of Lanyeshill; for Penrose and Clitha, John Thomas; Penynevenny, Mr. Roger Evans; Lantellio Mr. Walter Powell; Three Castles, Skenfrith,

Dingastow, Mr. John Aylworth; Mr. John Givin; Chepstow Castle, Mathew Stephens; Chepstow Lordship, Mr. George Harris, and Mr. Edmund Waters.

MSS. OF THE
DUKE OF
BEAUFORT.

Tydenham, Mr. James Davis; Standing Counsell for the Bailiff to repair to Woolaston, Mr. William Hughes; Monmouthshire, Mr. Andrew Powell. Steward for Chepstow, Sir Nich. Kemoys; Breconshire, Mr. Will. Morgan of the . . .

Waiters and other youth; younger and elder sons of 2 : 3 : 6 : or 700*l.* pr. annum."

Another Account.

"Committed to writing, for that few or none remember this at this day.

At 11 o'clock the Castle gates were shut and the tables laid, 2 in the dining room, 3 in the Hall, 1 in Mrs. Watson's apartments, where the Chaplain sat—Sir Toby Mathews being the first—2 in the housekeeper's room for the Ladies' women.

The Earl came into the Dining Room attended by his gentlemen. As soon as he was seated Sir Ralph Blackstone, Steward of the House, retired, the Comptroller, Mr. Hollond, attended with his staff. The server Mr. Blackburn, the daily waiters, Mr. Clough, Mr. Solby and Mr. Scudemore, with many Gentlemen's sons, from 2 to 700*l.* a year, bred in the Castle. My Lady's Gentleman Usher, Mr. Harcourt, my Lord's gentlemen of the chamber, Mr. Morgan, and Mr. Fox.

At the 1st Table sate the Noble Family and such of the Nobility as came there.

At the 2nd Table in the dining room sate Knights and Honourable gentlemen attended by footmen.

At the 1st Table in the Hall sate—

Sir Ralph Blackstone, Steward.

The Comptroller.

The Secretary.

The Master of the Horse, Mr. Delaware.

The Master of the Fish-ponds, Mr. Andrews.

My Lord Herbert's preceptor, Mr. Adams.

With such gentlemen as came there under the degree of a Knight, attended by footmen and plentifully served with wine.

At the 2nd Table in the Hall served from my Lord's table, and with other hot meat.

The Server, with the Gentlemen Waiters and Pages, to the number of 24 or more.

At the 3rd Table in the Hall—

The Clerk of the Kitchen with the Yeomen Officers of the House, 2 Grooms of the Chambers.

Chief Auditor, Mr. Smith.

Clerk of the Accounts, George Wharton.

Purveyor of the Castle, Mr. Salisbury.

Ushers of the Hall, Mr. Moyle and Mr. Cook.

Closett Keeper, ———.

Gentlemen of the Chappell, Mr. Davies.

Keeper of the Record, ———.

Master of the Wardrobe, ———.

Master of the Armory, ———.

Master Groom of the Stable for the war horses, 12.

Master of the Hounds.

Master Faucolner.

MSS. OF THE
DUKE OF
BEAUFORT.

Doctor and his man. 2 Butchers. 2 keepers of the Home park. 2 Keepers of the red deer park. Footmen, grooms, and other meniall servants, to the number of 150. Some of the footmen were Brewers and Bakers.

Out Officers.

Steward of Raglan, Wm. Jones, Esq.	Bailiffs, 13.
Governor of Chepstow, Sir Nich. Kemeis, Bart.	2 Councill for the Bailifs to have recourse to.
Housekeeper of Worcester house in London, James Redman, Esq.	Sollicitor, Mr. Jo. Smith."

[c. 1639.] "A BRIEF NOTE taken before the grand rebellion of the CONTENTS of the PARKE and DEMESNES of RAGLAN being allwaies belonging to the Castle.

The two upper parkes with the warren	-	440 acr.
The lower parke conteyneth -	-	536 acr.
The meadowes conteyne as followeth:		
The Rayles being 50 dayes math.	-	-
The Mares „ 15 dayes math.	-	-
The two tubbes being 24 d math.	-	-
The broade meade being 25 dayes math.	-	-
The mill meadowe „ 14 d math.	-	-
Novis meadowe „ 19 d math.	-	-
Powell's meadowe „ 11 d math.	-	-
Powell's ground „ 12 d math.	-	-
Clytha meadowe „ 8 d math.	-	-
Bulace meadowe „ 11 d math.	-	-
Reven coz meade „ 8 d math.	-	-
Storyes meadowes „ 13 dayes m	-	-
Storyes errable land now with corne, 26 acr.	-	1212 acr.

All which in kyvers amounts to 1823 kyvers.

Which being valued at vjd. viijd. per kyver one with thother amounts to the sum of 608*l.* per ann. The fishpooles being storred will be worth 20*l.* per ann."

"A NOTE OF PLATE in the TOWER at RAGLAN, taken the 18th of July 1639.

Silver Plate.

Imp. 1 dozen and 10 great silver dishes.	1 doz. and 10.
„ 5 doz. and 3 little dishes.	
„ 4 doz. of trencher plates.	
„ 1 doz. and a half of great sawcers.	
„ 8 lesser sawcers.	
„ 21 Sise candlesticks.	
„ 6 great candlesticks.	
„ 4 new fashioned candlesticks.	
„ 4 ould fashioned candlesticks.	
„ 2 pye plates.	
„ 1 Chaffinge dish with a salt.	
„ 2 Basons and Ewers.	
„ 1 Cawdell cup with a cover.	
„ 1 Kettle and Ladle.	
„ 4 Great Salts whereof one hath a cover.	

- Imp. 4 Trencher Salts whereof one hath a cover.
 „ 1 Great Salt with 4 Boxes, 4 Spriggs, and 1 cover.
 „ 1 Voydinge skimmer.
 „ 6 Bowles whereof 4 great and 2 lesser.
 „ 3 Tunns.
 „ 2 Tankards with covers.
 „ 1 Skillett.
 „ 2 P[er]fuming pans.
 „ 1 Chamber pott.
 „ 1 Sugar box with a letle spoone.
 „ 1 Baskett for Oranges and Lemons.
 „ 1 Creame bowle with a cover.
 „ 1 Letle Cawdell cup with a cover.
 „ 5 Poringers whereof 3 greater and 2 lesser.
 „ 1 dozen of letle plates.
 „ 6 Letle sawcers.
 „ 1 Morter and pestle.
 „ 3 Boates.
 „ 1 Tundish.
 „ 1 Bell.
 „ 1 Letle ladle and skimmer.
 „ 1 Longe spoone.
 „ 11 Spoones whereof 6 with knobs.
 „ 1 Standish.
 „ 1 Ink pott and 1 sand boxe.
 „ 1 Table booke.
 „ 2 Hot water bottles.
 „ 1 Wooden dish tipt with silver.
 „ 2 Cownter boxes.
 „ 1 Ege (or Eye) cup.
 „ 1 Warminge panne.
 „ 1 Bason.
 „ 1 Toasting forke.
 „ 1 Letle boxe for powder with a letle spoone.

Sent to London of this plate the 29 of January 1639 as followeth :

- Imp.
 „ 2 dozen of dishes.
 „ 2 pye plates.
 „ 4 candlesticks.
 „ 2 dozen of plates.
 „ 6 sawcers.
 „ 1 Great Salt and 2 trencher Salts.
 „ 1 Chafinge dish with a Salt.
 „ 1 Kettle and ladle to wash glasses.
 „ 1 Bason and Ewer.
 „ 1 Voyding skimmer.

A NOTE OF GUILT PLATE in the TOWRE, taken the same day.

Guilt Plate.

- Imp. 5 Gilt basons.
 „ 8 Ewers whereof 1 party gilt.
 „ 4 Great flagons whereof 2 rought and 2 plaine.
 „ 10 Skinker potts.
 „ 7 Tankards whereof 1 is whopt.
 „ 2 Great botles with chaines.
 „ 6 Candlesticks.

MSS. OF THE
DUKE OF
BEAUFORT.

- Imp. 1 Pelican salt.
 „ 3 Broad plaine bowles whereof 1 with a cover.
 „ 3 Pillar salt whereof 2 with cover.
 „ 3 Salts with covers whereof 1 with a scollup shell.
 „ 10 Trencher salts whereof 6 with covers.
 „ 1 Scollup Suger boxe with a letle spoone.
 „ 1 Heavy bowle with the Arms of France in the inside of the cover.
 „ 20 Bowles with covers of all sorts.
 „ 8 Bowles without covers.
 „ 1 Gould cup with a gould cover.
 „ 1 Cup with a cover made of an ostrige egg bard with silver and gilt.
 „ 2 Cups of Assay.
 „ 2 Forks.
 „ 12 Plates.
 „ 3 dozen of gilt spoones.
 „ 2 dozen and 2 Postle spoones with guilt knobs.
 „ 1 Skimming spoone with holes in it.”

SIR JOHN COKE to the [EARL OF WORCESTER].

1635, December 3. Whitehall.—“ From a letter received from your noble Sonne, the Lord Herbert, whereby he signifieth that the Deputation is now come from the Lord President of Wales, I have according to his Lordship's desire represented his thankfulness to his Majestie, and have order from his Majestie to signify to your Lordship, that it is not onely in this particular case, but hereafter also he will bee graciously mindfull of your good service done heretofore in the Lieutenancies of Glamorgen and Monmouth, and your willing resigning of them ; and he hath also commaunded mee to tell the Earle of Bridgewater that he shall proceede therein with your Lordship in the same manner the Earle of Northampton his predecessor did, and not otherwise ; which accordingly I have signified to his Lordship. And thus having imparted to your Lordship both his Majestie's gracious favour towards yourself and the sonne, who in this businesse hath performed as much respect and dutie as can bee expected from a worthie sonne, I humbly take leave and so remaine.”

CHARLES I. to ——.

1636, November 6.—“ Right trustie and right wellbeloved Cosen and Counsellor, &c.

Because we thought fitt to keep the place and authoritie of our Presidencie of Wales as large and intire as it had beene in the times of our royal progenitors : Wee were pleased to accept of the Lieutenancies of Glamorgan and Monmouth, upon the willing resignation of our right trustie and right wellbeloved Cosin, the Earle of Worcester ; though in the execution of his charge in these counties hee had carried himself with that fidelitie and affection to our service, that otherwise wee saw no cause, nor had any intention to lessen his power or his credit in those parts, Wee therefore then required you to carrie yourself towards him with that respect which the worth of his person and our affection did deserve, and now though wee doubt not of your performance thereof, yet being willing still to cherish and encrease that good will betwixt you ; and having experience from time to time of his liabily and forwardnesse in our service, Wee have thought fitt again to putt you in minde of this our pleasure not to suffer his power or reputa-

tion to bee diminished, which must needs suffer if in those Counties any Deputie Lieutenancies, Justices of Peace, or other Offices shall bee disposed to other then such persons as hee, who living amongst them understandeth best their liabilities and dispositions, shall recommend unto you as fit men and well affected to our service. Wherein that hee may know what love and affection Wee bare unto him, Wee have sent him a copie of this our letter, and would have you also to send copies respectively into those Counties, that there they may take notice of that love and kindnesse which hee expecteth at your hands; and which Wee also shall take from you in very gracious part. Given under our signet at our Castle of Windsor the Sixt of November in the Twelfth yeare of our reigne, 1636.

MSS. OF THE
DUKE OF
BEAUFORT.

(Signed) CHARLES R."

WECKHERLIN to —.

1636, November 7. Windsor Castle. — "Here enclosed your Lordship will be pleased to receive both his Majestie's letter and the true copie thereof, according—I hope—to your desire. Mr. Secretarie would have written withall himself, but that multitude of affaires hinder him. As myself at this time am by the same reason forced to use all haste and forbear much newes. Howsoever if hereafter your Lordship shall command me anything, either in that or in any other kinde, I shall endeavour to fullfill your pleasure, if not according to your expectation yet according to my small knowledge. And for this [present] I can say no more, but that it seemes that all the concern of the Electoral Dyet—as if they had forgotten for what they met at Ratibonne—standeth gazing towards Bavaria, longing to see what will bee brought into this world by the Dutchesse of Bavaria, begotten in her by her Oncle. I know who wisheth *Parturient montes*. Yet it is thought by many that that Diet will not passe without the bringing forth of the projected Coadjutor of the Empire and King of the Romans in the person of him then whome the Empror doth desire none. Meanwhile Gallas having received new forces by the arrival to him of Buttler and others, doth intend new dessignes against France and is come not farr from Dijon. And to oppose him the French also send more forces—under Longueville—to Duke Bernhard, which as soone as they shall joyne, it is thought they will trye their courage, as the Swedes under Bannier have done against the Imperial and Saxon armies, where the victorie—whatsoever is or can bee said to the contrary—was greater then first was advertised, and will bee of greaver operation then perhaps some looke as yet for. But the French do not well in Italie nor upon the frontiers of Spaine in their owne land, where the Spaniard are entred and have taken S. Jehan de Luy—a port—and if they can get Biscay, the French will end their yeare very ill. Though—whilest Jean de Werth did hover about Corbie to cast in some handmills—the French under Collonel Gassion with some 1,200 horse, some thousands of musquetiers and dragons, have made an inrode and are gone as farre as to the gates of Cambray, laying in ashes 42 villages, that were very well furnished with corne and other necessaries. May it not bee said with reason and without treason, *Delirant reges*. . . ."

CHARLES I. to the EARL OF WORCESTER.

1639, March 25. Whitehall. — "Whereas wee have bin Graciously Pleased for severall services and considerations, to give testimony of our confidence and good opinion of our Right Trusty

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and Right welbeloved Cosen the Earle of Worcester concerning the preservation of whose H[onour] and Esteeme in the Countyes whereof he voluntarily delivered up his Lieutenancy. Wee have written severall Letters and expressed our will and pleasure to the Lord President of Wales as also wee have bin further gratusly pleased to Graunt him our Royall Protection for Religion. These are uppon good and mature deliberation to ratifie and continue the same our favours—unles our pleasure be expresly delivered to the contrary—And furthermore to allow and authorise him to keepe and use armes as well for his owne defence as our Service as freely as any other of his ranke and qualitey.

And this to be his sufficient warrant for soe doing. Given under our hand, and signed att our Court att Whitehall the five and twentieth day of March 1639. In the fowrteenth year of our Raigne.

(Signed) CHARLES, R."

CHARLES I. to the EARL OF WORCESTER.

1641, August 3. Westminster.—"CHARLES, R.

Right trustie and right well beloved cosin, wee greete you well. Whereas wee have heretofore by many letters and messages signed by us given you testimonie of our favor and inclination to reward the good service of you and yours, these are further to assure you, that neither the times nor businesses shall ever make us unmindfull of them, yett upon occasions when our good intentions therein may be really manifested wee desire to bee put in minde that wee may readily concurre to a speedie performance, of which you may bee ever most confident. And being your indisposition of body is such, that before our intended journey wee cannot signify the same to yourself in person, wee have thought good to expresse it by these our letters.

Given at our pallace of Westminster the 3rd day of August in the seaventeenth year of our reign."

SIR J. BYRON to the EARL OF WORCESTER.

1642, July 24. Leicester Abbey.—"Your Lordship hath honored me with a letter, which I value above any other can bee given mee, and of which I shall ever indeavor to make my self worthy by all reall expressions of faithfull and humble service. It was my misfortune to bee from home, when Sir John Somersett came, and though I aquainted his Majestie therewith—upon whom I then attended—yett he would not permitt me to goe to him for a day or two havinge some other services to employ mee in, by reason of his journey to Leicester where it was thought he would have some opposition, but upon his Majestie's approach his enemies fledd. Hazelrick the chief of them was said to bee lurking thereabouts, whereupon the Kinge commanded mee, and some other gentlemen to goe out and see if wee could apprehend him, but though wee used the best diligence wee could, ridinge both day and night, yett wee came short of him. This is the cause of the delay in returning your Lordship an answeare for which I hope your Lordship will pardon mee, and now since, Sir John Somersett is come hither, havinge left the £5,000 your Lordship sent, at Nuestead, my house, his Majestie hath commanded me to make use of it for the levying of 500 horse and withall in his name to return your Lordship all possible thanks for your seasonable assistance both now and heretofore, and that hee hopes hee shall not dye in your debt; these are his own words, and desires to bee excuzed for not wrinting

himself by reason of the little leazure hee hath ; for my own particular I humbly beseech your Lordship to believe, that as there lives not any body more deeply engaged for reall and noble favours to your Lordship than my self, so none can bee more sensible of them, or more ready upon all occasions to express himself &c., &c."

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SIR JOHN BYRON to [the EARL OF WORCESTER].

1642, August 8. York.—“The King is so oppressed with multitude of buziness, that hee has commanded mee to write unto your Lordship this enclozed letter, not havinge leazure himself to write more than a short posteript to give creditt to what I have written. I had thought to have sent some of my owne servants to convey the money hither, but Mr. Griffin tells mee your Lordship would rather send it by him and some other whom you should think fitt to trust, and then it may bee brought so privately to Nuestead, where I shall bee ready to receive it, that none but such as your Lordship trusteth neede to know of it. I humbly desire your Lordship it may be sent with all possible speede, bycause his Majestie hath allotted it for a service that must immediately bee gone in hand withall. . . .

I shall not neede to trouble your Lordship any further and therefor humbly kissinge your Lordship's hands rest ever.”

MEMORANDUM by LORD HERBERT of the KING's conversation.

1642, September 9.—“The effect of the message your Majesty desireth I should deliver to my Father from your Majesty at Nottingham, the 9th of September 1642.

That your Majesty with many thankes expresseth yourselfe most sensible of the great expense and charge his Lordship hath been att for your service, farre more then any man els, considering what I have had, as well as Sir John Byron. That it is most trew att this time much lieth att stake both of your Majesties honor and power for want of a little monny, since 20000*l.*, with what you have, would further your Majestie's designs to a most hopefull condition, for want whereof your Majestie is enforced to dally—though you will never yeald—and at this present you offer that which is worth a 100000*l.* for 50000*l.*, besides my Lord Capell, Sir William Saville, and others of good estates, doe offer also theyres for security. Yet no want nor occasion can make your Majestie to press my Lord, who hath allredy done so much, but if he and he's frends could procure 10000*l.*, your Majestie would suddainly—if it please God to restore you—see it repayed, and would presently in token of thankfullness, send my father the Garter, to be put on when he pleased, and also having the Great Seele in your Majestie's own custody, you would pass a patent of Marquiss, of what title my Father should desire, and keep it private as long as he thought fitting, and to shew that this proposition is farr from urging him to his inconvenience, and so much doth your Majestie acknowledge yourselfe allredy beholding to him, as that even without procuring your Majestie this unspeakable advantage, your Majestie is gratusly pleased that if he desire eyther or both these, your Majestie at my returne unto you will vouchsafe them, but if this could possibly be performed then the crowne, hitherto your Majestie confesseth to stay upon your head by his assistance, will be then confirmed by him, and your Majestie esteemeth so much of his understanding, as well as passionate zeale to your service, that if he will send your Majestie his advice (upon the relation of the

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state of businesses which your Majestie hath commanded me to make unto him) your Majestie will as soone follow it as any man's, and the power you give me, or intend to give me, is as I am subordinate and most dutifull unto him to whom your Majestie esteemeth it to be given when it is to me, and your Majestie doth not only faithfully promise in your word of a King, but of a Christian that you will punctually performe your ingagement advantageously to him and his, and never forsake eyther whilst you breathe, joining his safety with your own, which is and ever shall be your Majestie's resolution."

CHARLES I. to the MARQUIS OF WORCESTER.

1642-3, January 5. Oxford.—"Charles R. Right trusty and right entirely beloved cousin we greet you well. Your son the Lord Herbert hath excused your not writing unto us, but where wee find soe much reality there needs no ceremony, and your last performance of our desires hath crowned the rest. And wee would you confident that the mentioning of leaving few forces at Ragland was not out of any diminution of our care of you, or meant to lessen any provision fitting thereunto, for wee well understood that there were never any of the forces raysed in the county applyed thereunto more than a private company under a servante of your owne. But the word of Ragland was given as a general word attributive to the countrey, as that time wee understood it. The large expressions which you and your said sonne have made unto us of your forwardnesse to our service shall never be forgotten. He had command in chiefe in the absence of the Lord Marquis Hertford, and besides his dutifulness unto you our command is that his power and yours shalbe the same, as your hearts are to our service. The acceptance whereof wee shall not fail to make appeare in all occasions, whereof you may rest assured. Given under our signet at our court at Oxford, the 5th day of January, in the eighteenth year of our reign, 1642."

CHARLES I. to the MARQUIS OF WORCESTER.

(*Holograph.*) ?

1643, June 19. Oxford.—"Woster.—I am very sensible of the miseries and dangers which of late you have bin in, and doe hope the time will come when I shall be able to requite all my good subjects, and none sooner then you. Concerning the changing of your title and other particulars I leave to your sonnes relation who knowes my minde therein, who will ever remaine your most assured and constant frend

CHARLES R."

CHARLES I. to the SHERIFF OF MONMOUTH.

1644, July 19. Bruton.—"Trusty and Well-beloved. Wee greet you well. Whereas wee are informed, that our right trusty and entyrelly beloved Cousin Henry, Marquess of Worcester—of whose loyalty wee have had long experience, and of whose honour wee are very tender—hath lately had some indignity offerd him by some persons of our County of Monmouth. Our will and pleasure is that immediately upon sight hereof, calling to your assistance two or more of Our Commissioners of Array for our sayd County, you together with them examine the same, and forth-with certifie us the state thereof. To the end that condigned punishment may be inflicted on such as have therein offended, and others deterr'd from the lyke. And for the better security and satisfaction of our said Cousin and his, wee will and command you at any tyme as occasion

shall require to use the power of that our County for the suppressing of any inconvenience of that kind that may aryse from any distempred persons, and ill-affected to our peace and government; since wee expect that though Our sayd Cousins infirmities of bodey will not permitt him to undertake any publique command in our service, yet there should be respect borne him according to his ranke and qualite, and the place hee beares in our esteeme.

Att our Court at Bruton
By his Majesties Command
George Digbye
(Signed) CHARLES R."

CHARLES I. to the MARQUIS OF WORCESTER.

1644, July 28. Kerton.—"Right trusty and intirely beloved Cousen wee greete you well. Whereas by our severall Commissions unto you, you are to obey such orders as wee or our nephew Prince Rupert shall send you, which is for forms sake, and wee doubt not but you will repose that confidence in our affection, that our sayd nephew shall by our speciall directions take such care and tendernesse to preserve your honor and safety, or shall yelde you contentment in any particular, yeat for your farther satisfaction and warrant wee signify our pleasure that you only obey our expresse commands, and that if likewise any should come unto you from us upon misinformation which might prove prejudiciall to you, wee give you leave to reply unto them. Wee have intrusted many things unto your sonne's relation which wee are confident will not bee unwelcome to you, yeat wee reserve a resolution of writing ourselfe another letter to you very speedily, for your integrity and true affection you show to us deserves more than these miserable times do permitt, yeat wee are confident that God hath it in store for us, and then shall wee show it more amply to you and yours.

Given at our Court at Kerton, the 28th of July, 1644.

(Signed) CHARLES R."

CHARLES I. to the MARQUIS OF WORCESTER. (*Holograph.*)

1644, August 2. Liscard.—"Worcester.—I am so sensible of the greate affection which you and your sonne have expresst unto me by eminent services, and of the meanes he may have of doinge me more in that way wherein hee is now engaging himselfe, that I cannot chuse before his goinge but expresse unto you in a very particular manner the value I have of you both, and to assure you, that if God blesse mee I will not bee behinde hand with either of you. In the meane time findinge your sonne soe much more desirouse that there shoulde bee placed upon you some marke of my favour rather then upon himselfe, I have thought fitt to lett you knowe that as soon as I shall conferre the order of the Garter upon any you shall receive it as a testimonye of my beinge

Your assured constant freinde
CHARLES R."

LORD HERBERT to [his father] the MARQUIS OF WORCESTER.

1644, August 13.—"Amongst other memorable expressions which have taken deepe roote in my hart, I assure your Lordship, that those you were pleased to use towards me upon Sunday last, shall never be defaced out of my memory, for you were pleased soe to interlace sorrow and comfort as that I knewe not whether joy or fears possessed me most, or whether you shewed more justice or clemency, but at last a tender fatherly affection

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appeared to steer your words and deedes, which shall be God willing answered with a filial duty and tendernesse, and your unparralleld goodness shall not with God Allmightie's grace undoe, but strengthen me in my duty to God and your Lo: with as much zeale and true harted devotion as can be witnessed with the uttermost endeavours of thoughte, word, and deede lying in the power and uttermost abilities which I can at any time attain unto, whose ambition is not greater to anything in this world, then really and entirely to appear your dutiful &c. son."

PRINCE RUPERT.

1645, January 5. Oxford.—"Whereas the right honorable Henry, Marques of Worcester hath by his care and expences, long saved the towne and county of Monmouth from the hand of the enemies, and of late regained the said towne from them, and in regard like wise that the townes of Monmouth and Chepstow are belonging to him of inheritance, and the interest he hath in the whole county, my desire is, that the Commander in chiefe of the said county, and the governors of both, or each of those townes, or of any other garrison, within the said county should be complying with, or observeing any desines of his, intimated unto them, either concerning his Majesties service, the good of that county or the particular safety and interest of him, and his—whereof I am very tender,—as also the High Sheriefe, Commissioners of Array, justices of the peace, or other officers of the said county, martiall or civill—as they tender my pleasure—and will answer the contrary at their perils &c.

(Signed) RUPERT."

CHARLES I. to the MARQUIS OF WORCESTER.

1644-5, January 10. Oxford.—"Worcester. — Your's and your sonne's dayly endeavours to serve me makes mee think which way to give you assurance of my gracious acceptance, and therefore as a further testimonye I have sent you this enclosed, only known to him and me, and fit for several reasons of importance to you and me to be kept private, untill I shall esteeme the time convenient, who as God shall enable me will show my tender care of you and yours, as by a matche propounded for your grand childe you will easily judge. The particulars I leave to you sonne Glamorgan his relation, which I have commanded him to make to you only, and you may be confident that I see much esteeme your meritts, and your uphoulding your sonne in my service—wherein noe subject I have equals eyther of you—as that I can not thinke anything to much that lyes in my power, though as yet some considerations hinder me from doing all I would towards you and yours, but by your sonnes endeavours I make noe question but in short time to passe them soe over, as that I shall make good the intentions I have to manifest that I esteeme your services such as my words cannot expresse them, nor I, but by shewing myself at all occasions and in all things to bee

(Signed) Your assured friend
CHARLES R."

[*Perhaps the whole letter is autograph.*]

The enclosure mentioned in the above letter.

"Charles R. Our will and pleasure is that you prepare a bill for our signature for creating our Right Trusty and entirely beloved cousin Henry Marquis of Worcester, Duke of Somerset, to him and the heyres male of his body issuing, with all the priveledges and immunities

thereunto belonging, and with a graunt of an annuity of fifty pounds yearly to be paid to him and them out of our customes of Swansey in our county of Glamorgan for the support of the said dignity, for which this shall be your sufficient warrant. Given at our Court at Oxford the sixth day of January in the twentieth yeare of our reigne.

To our Attorney or Solicitor General for the time being.

(Signed) CHARLES R."

F[RANCES] MARCHIONESS OF HERTFORD to [her son] LORD,
BEAUCHAMP.

N.Y., June 24. Essex House.—"I am extreame sory to perceive by your lines that my Lady Capell hath so sad an occasion to bee troubled, especially in the condition that shee is. I did entend according to your desire to have used my interest to all I could conceive likely to have done any service, but I was desired by Mr. Alford to desist untill I knew what sucesse hee had, which I know not yet, but my Lady [Ma]tland according to my Lady Capell's desire hath endeavoured much, the sucess whereof shee will relate, but I am desired by Sir Thomas Maunson to let you know that if the order canot bee revoked, nor hee kept from the (armie ?) that he will procure a letter from the Generall's lady to him to have him civilly used and exposed to no danger, and hee also hopes by acquainting the Lords with the business to make them sencible of the injury done to the Peers by such an order and acte, hee being a Peere's eldest sonne, that hee hopes they will upon Monday revoake the order. But if it cannot bee obtained it is hoped hee will bee no way hasarded beeing of that yeares, but that it is done to see if whether the frighting of my Lady will bee a meanes fr . . . there comitie &c.

Mr. Alford advised mee not to move in the Lords house before wee see the event of what hee adviseth my Lady Capell, hee gives so much assurance of the other busines being ready about Friday that if all bee quiet there I think you had best stay until Thursday."

The SAME to the SAME.

N.Y., June 26. Essex House.—"Though I have writen so earnestly to you by Davies to returne with speed that I canot doubt it, yet for feare hee may miscarry, returne your own servant, because since I writ the other I understand that the acte this day gave them only power to take what gentellmen they thought fitt that weare in my Lord Capell's house, but not in any other places, which makes it more suspicious that you weare aimed at, but I hope that you are already from thence and will bee heere suddenly, I have engaged Sir Thomas Maunson to procure the letter to the Generall, which hee hopes to do this night, and I will endeavour to have the lords sencible of it, and I canot but hope that hee will bee civilly used and run no other hazard but my Ladie's danger by her apprehensions of them, but that God who hath so hapyly supported her in so many other great trialls will I presume suport her in this and enable her to beare it, and to overcome it, and obtain a reversing of the order, for my Lady hath so great a stocke of all pietie and vertue as must needs draw her above all things of this nature that shee may still sustaine that great part that shee hath to acte in that noble familie, and bee long a comfort . . . to her frends &c. . . .

I desire to have this sent to my Lady that shee may see what cause I had to send for you, and what I have done to serve her. My Lord sends you his blessing and both our services to my Lady and your faire Mrs."

Heraldic Seal.

The SAME to the SAME.

[1646.]

"A MEMORIAL of the most weighty and material passages of the LORD CAPELL and LORD CULPEPER'S NEGOTIATION to the QUEEN'S MAJESTY concerning the PRINCE OF WALES, his going into France, in pursuance of their Instruction.

After wee had presented ourselves to her Majesty in the Privy Chamber where at our coming wee found her, she was pleased to command us to attend her in her bedchamber where we acquainted her Majesty with the most important part of our employment and withall I presented to her the paper of our Instructions.

Her Majesty spake then very little to us of the matter of our negotiations, but said she would take further time to peruse it, and after some generall discours of the King's affairs we were dismissed for the time and commanded to attend her at 2 of the clock the next day in the afternoon.

The next day according to her Majesty's commands we attended her, the Lord Jermyn went into the bedchamber with us but stayed not, then the Queen gave me the Instructions which I delivered to her the day before and I read them all over to her. She did then use some discours concerning the Instruction of delaying the Prince his coming into France, alleading the King's command, and the doubts she had of the insecurity of Jersey. We assured her Majesty she need not at all doubt of the security of the place, it being affirmed to be such by sow many honest and faithful persons as were upon the place and attended his Highness there, and that reson with those contrived in the Instructions we thought would give his Majesty such satisfaction that when he was fully informed of them he would rest well satisfied with his Highness's longer abode in Jersey. Though her Majesty did not seeme satisfied with our reasons yet then she expressed no absolute positiveness, but changed her discourse from that business to the employment of Mr. Bolieure, and what instructions were fittest for that employment, and commanded me and the Lord Culpeper that, if the Lord Digby came that night to St. Jermyn as was expected that, we three should meet the next morning at the Lord Jermyn's lodging, and there consider of those Instructions and also of his Highnesse coming into France. As we were going out of the room the Queen called mee to her and said privately to me I will doe as I shall be advised by the Lord Culpeper, Lord Jermyn, and yourselfe. The next morning I went to the Lord Jermyn's lodgings where I found the Lords Digby, Culpeper, and Jermyn, consulting of the Instructions for Mr. Bolieure, which the Lord Digby had put into French, and while he was reading them over to me word was brought to us that dinner was upon the table, so wee rose and went to dinner.

Immediately after dinner wee retyred into the chamber and after the Instructions were read over, and some discours and alterations of them, the Lord Jermyn said the Prince his coming into France was now to bee considered, alleading the necessity of it, and benefittes that would arise by it, that the game was to be played out by the French, that the Queen could not support him in the place where he was, but that his comming into France would give that confidence and assurance to the French that they would immediately assigne 14,000 pistolls for his maintenance, the Lord Culpeper alleading many weighty reasons not to execute such a resolution for the present, enforcing all the reasons in the Instructions, but cheifely insisted upon this that, untill the French found it necessary to declare a warr in his Majesty's behalfe, he thought

it was not reasonable his Highnesse should put himselfe under their power; that it was allways his opinion his Highnesse ought not to quitt Jersey but in either of those two cases, the one, if his Majesty should unfortunately be taken prisoner, the other, if the King should safely arrive into the Scott's army, and that the Scotts should declare warr in the King's behalfe. I know not well the reason for it, but the Lord Digby sayd that the Lord Culpeper seldome declared an opinion. I told them that this was no difficult case to deliver an opinion in; for besides the reasons alleadged by the Lord Culpeper I did not find that the French themselves urged the Prince his coming over. The Lord Jermyn replyd that he knew very well that the French would not engage heartily untill the Prince were in France because they might apprehend that when they had engaged, the Prince might so proceed in his affairs as might be to their prejudice; that though his Highness residence in Jersey might be wished, yet the satisfaction of the French would out-balance all other considerations, there being no other hope remaining but in their ayde, that the King's party could not do anything. I answered that their was little of pure kindness to be expected in the actions of States, but of that selfe interest had the greatest share: but that if the French should now press the Prince of Wales his coming into France, when it was accompanied with so many inconveniences and so much visible detryment to the King's affairs, I could believe no other of it but that it was only to serve themselves to that King and Kingdomes prejudice, and for my part of the two I had rather the English should make advantage of the Prince then the French, and that after the French had declared warr in the King's cause I thought it time enough for his Highnesse to go into France, whereupon the Lords Digby and Jermyn very suddenly sayd we have now an opinion wee may go to the Queen; I told them twas plain English. The Lord Jermyn made so much haste into the Queen's Bed Chamber that he was there some little time before the Lord Culpeper and I came in.

When wee came into her Majesty's bed chamber I observed some passion in her countenance, and the door was no sooner shutt but she sayd, she was resolved to send for her sonne, that she had the King's commands, and had cause to doubt the security of the place, saying, if wee thought the place secure, why did wee desire ayd both of horse and foot, arms and monny, for the fortifications, that nothing could be done without the French assistance. The Lord Digby sayd, that he was formerly of an opinion for his Highness continuance in Jersey but that now his opinion was altered, because the French were so necessary for the King's affairs, the Lord Culpeper spake very much, and to the same effect that he had formerly done in the Lord Jermyn's chamber, and truly very weightily and importunately to my seeming. I told her Majesty I believed no humane security to be greater than that of his Highness in Jersey, for if the island should be oppressed it must be with a very great force, and yet his residence in the castle was secure against all the world, from whence he could convey himself into France without danger in some reasonable time, that the desire of those ayds was for the further strength of the island, and it was more honorable for his Highness to have ample accomodation then suffer any defect, especially when so small a mater would do it. The benefitt of forraingne ayd I did not undervalue, and that particularly I had a great estimate of the kindness and power of France for the good of the King's affairs, but that in my opinion the greatest hope to restore the King was by the divissions in England between the Presbiteriens and Independents, that at this very time divissions there were very eminent; the City of London, having presented a very sharp remon-

strance and petition against the Independents, as was reported, were gathering of hands to a contrary remonstrance; that I conceived it best for his Highness to sitt still untill those partys irreconcilably engaged, and that there were at last some broken pates among them, that then his Highness might do what he saw fittest for his father's services; that I believed his Highness going into France would ruine all that expectation and unite them, nay more, I did verily believe as to the dislike of it all the nation would be united. I added this that ever since the beginning of this warr all artifices and devices that could be were used to divide them, but it could never be effected so long as the King had any visible or hopefull power, now they thought themselves out of his danger, we saw in what forwarding their distractions were, that the Prince going into France would create new doubts in themselves. Her Majesty continued very resolute in her determination, the Lord Culpeper desired her Majesty that she would defer the execution of it untill he received further advise how his Majesty was satisfied with his reception amongst the Scots, what the proceedings were at London upon the King's going to the Scott's army, and what further progress there was in the divisions between the Presbyterians and Independants, which her Majesty was pleased to condescend unto. I also further besought her Majesty that before she would declare the time of sending for his Highness she would be pleased to give my Lord Culpeper and me leave to attend her and to alleadge in that argument what would arise upon any new accidents or other advertisements, which she was pleased to promise us. After our coming to our lodging I told my Lord Culpeper the reason of my making that motion to the Queen, for if wee found that her Majesty would not be diverted, that then I thought it necessary for us to make a digest of our reasons in wrighting against it, and present it unto her, whereby we might have a good testimony of our diligent pursuance of the Instructions comitted to our charge by his Highness and his Councill; which my Lord Culpeper approved off and here I shall set down a conjecture I then had before my comming out of her Majesty's bedchamber and which ever since will not out of my minde, which was upon the expression used in my Lord Jermyn's chamber at which they all rose, my Lord Jermyn's going to the Queene before we came, and the passion I observed in her Majesty's countenance, gives me cause to suspect that he acquainted her with what fell from me, for assuredly the confidence her Majesty had formerly in mee was ever after much shaken, though truely upon all occations shee used me very gratiously.

During our stay which was not more then three weeks, there passed not after this any solemne debate till after the reception of his Majesty's letter. Once I remember her Majesty told me she would pursue her resolution. I told her I hoped she would suspend it untill she heard from his Majesty after his being with the Scotts, of which there was dayly expectation, but I was told by diverse of my friends that had it from some of the Ladys of her Bedchamber, that she was so fully resolved that nothing could divert her. I answered I had some cause to fear it, but I did hope the best would happen contrary to their expectations. Before our coming from Jersey the prints from London, and those I saw at my coming to St. Jermyn's, my Lord Willmott also telling me that Richmond house was provided for his Highness reception, put me in some good hope that the Parliament would send a message to the Prince, which I hoped might be such an addresse as would at last cause a respite of his going into France, and this made me the willinger to use all the delays I could to our dispatch. During this time the Prince of Condy gave the Queen a visitt, and, as I heard, earnestly per-

suaded the Prince his coming over, assuring her Majesty his entertainment would be very honorable.

MSS. OF THE
DUKE OF
BEAUFORT.

At length Mr. Montrell, the French Agent, came from Newcastle where the King was, and brought his Majesty's letter to the Queen, which he sent to her the night before he came himself. Her Majesty sent for us, and before my coming the letter was discyphered, witch she gave me to read, my Lord Culpeper having read it before my coming into the room. The Queen asked our opinions now we had seen the letter; the Lord Culpeper told her Majesty that the case now happened to be such in which it was allways his opinion that his Highness should come into France, which was if his Majesty were a prysoner, and by that letter he did conceive him now to be soe, and therefore his opinion was for the Prince his coming. I was silent untill the Queen spake to me. I told her Majesty I was sorry that the Prince should remove out of his father's dominions untill there was an excusable necessity for it; that I thought this an ill article of time, the King's having professed to advise himself by his Parliament, and yet at the same instant the Prince should put himself under a forraigne power, whereby the Kingdom might apprehend a new embroylment, and added that her Majesty would render herself irreconcilable to the whole nation. Shee replyd that she could not help it if it were for the King's service. I offered to attend the King and acquaint him with the safe condition of the Prince his person, and the opinion of the Councill; I humbly besought her Majesty not to conceive amiss of me for what I had said was as I conceived for her's and the King's service, to which I wished all felicity by what counsellors soever conducted. Shee said she did believe me and gave me many gracious words, saying withall she hoped the Lords of his Councell would willingly come along with him. I told her Majesty I could not tell but that my business had no difficulty in it, for as I had faithfully represented unto her what his Highness had given me in comand, so I should with the same fidelity carry back her Majesty's pleasure whatsoever it were. Two days after, before we set out from St. Jermyns towards Jersey, and at that time I kisst her Majesty's hand, she used the same words to me, that she hoped the Lords of his Highness Councill would attend him. I made the same answer I formerly had done and no other. The day before my coming from St. Jermyn I had much speech with Mr. Ashburnham whose opinion I found to be very much against his Highness coming into France, and in my discourse with him I told him I would not attend the journey. The next day he came to me as I was takeing coach and told me he hoped I would not continue in the resolution I was yesterday, for it would bring great prejudice upon the King's affairs. I replyd to him, if my Lord at Jersey could finde an expedient how I might do it with my honour and duty to the King I would not attend one foote of this fatall journey. There were many interlocatary speeches both of the Lord Digby, Lord Culpeper, and Lord Jermyn, which truly my memory was not able to bear away; their results and conclusions I have faithfully reported, but what was managed by my selfe I am confident I have neither misplaced nor omitted any materiall thing."

The SIEGE of COLCHESTER.

[1648.] "The passions and prejudices of historians have soe disguised the gravest actions that they have countenanc'd that barbarous precept of Mahomet who forbids his followers the use of historie; for—saies hee—who can beleieve whats past, who none writes truth of the present. Though this observation of others errors does not infear my innocence,

yet the sense I have of their failings may argue a likelihood of caution, espetiallie having expos'd this relation during the lives of the eminent actors, and measur'd it by my owne knowledge.

The people of England having long groaned under those heavie burthens which the usurpers at Westminster had layd upon them began to murmur in petitions. Amongst the rest Essex—the first borne of the Parliament—being by Time—the parent of Truth—disposses'd of that rebellious spirit who had so violentlie engag'd them to forge the fetters of their owne bondage, did from a sence of their miseries, and the example of their neighbours make their humble addresses by Petition to the Parliament for the restitution of religion, the King, and libertie.

After a moneths attendance on the houses at Westminster expecting they should have made good something of their promise in their answere to our petition, which was their speedie endeavouring to settle this distracted kingdome—although in the interim their barbarous murding of three petitioners of our neighbour countie might have resolv'd our hopes—yet wee were so obstinate in our patience that wee shutt our eyes against the light of our reason which clearelie reflected the designe of our enslaverie, untill wee were informed that some of our countrey-men—the most of them of very contemptible qualitie—under the motion of a Committee of Parliament were assembled at Chelmsford the countie towne, where—upon pretence of explaining our petition—they threatened and deluded some of the weake-sighted petitioners into the subscription of a paper, contradictorie to the very letter of their petition, and in itselfe incongruous, but agreeing with their former practize, where an impudent asserting of a falsehood, hath beene the powerfull figure in their rhetoricke.

Wee—justly apprehending the censure of forgerie—conven'd our petitioners at the same place to avowe their owne sense; and most of them appear'd in armes—which sure was reasonable,—the bleeding example of our neighbour countie, being a sufficient argument to invite us to a selfe preservation.

Upon this conjuncture the remains of that loyall and valiant partie of the Kentishmen—under the conduct of the right honorable the Earle of Norwich—came into our countie for succour, but having bounded this relation by my owne prospect their storie will not fall within my meridian.

This alarmed the Houses at Westminster who, apprehending the union of our counties, and conjunction of our neighbours in so just a cause,—for now the kingdome was so generally disabus'd, that loyalltie was become as diffusive, as . . . had beene infectious—they humbled themselves to their old arts, and offerr'd us an Act of Indempnitie, upon condition that we would render to them the gentlemen of Kent as a well pleasing sacrifice; but if wee could have beene so wicked as to have broken the lawes of hospitalitie, yet misserable wee were too well acquainted with their thirst of blood to thinke this offering could appease; but wee should first have given up our friends to the slaughter, to have enabled them the better to have murdered us; soe that all the advantage wee could have expected from their Act of Indempnitie, was noe more than Poliphemus promis'd Ulysses, to be the last devour'd, yet this deceit so wrought upon the feares of some of our meane-spirited countrey-men, as Sir William Hicks and others—who march'd in the first rankes of our petitioners—that they were frighten'd into an infamous apostacie to their loyalties and honours, and to a breach of their faith, which they had preingag'd to the gentlemen of Kent: whome by the bonds of justice, honour, and interest, wee were oblig'd to assist. This meene example of the gentlemen shaked, and had almost disolv'd

the assembly of our countrey men, had not the honourable Sir Charles Lucas—like a worthy patriot—stept in to the rescue of his countrey, and reason'd those that remain'd into a resolution of adhering to their first engagement.

And though persuasion was not his talent, yet then his eloquence was so prevalent and so ingenuously fitted to his tumultuous auditories that they not only assented to his persuasions, but elected him their leader, which was a popular approbation of his Highness the Prince of Wales his choice, by whose commission he was authoris'd to command in that county.

The humours of the people being thus alter'd we secured the rebels Committee, who presuming that the specious Act of Indemnity—like the Golden Aple of discord—would have dissolv'd our union, had the impudence—whilst we were in armes—to continue upon the place, voting and disposing of our lives and fortunes. But the people—who are allways in extreames—having chang'd their feares into furie, grew so violent, that we could hardly rescue them from their rage, two of them, Mr. Charles Rich and Sir Harebottle Grimston, were permitted to pass to Westminster, upon their engagement to dispose the Parliament to receive the Kentishmen within the Articles of Indemnity, which if our merciless masters would have granted they had becalm'd this worthy attempt for libertie, and prevented that wast of honorable blood and ruine of the countrey.

We continued some few days at Chelmsford to receive the supplies who came into us from all parts of the kingdom, who though they engros'd our body scarce strengthened our partie, for confusion (which is inseparable to such popular assemblies) rendered our numbers ineffectual, and though the feare of a present invader, or the hopes of future conquest made us consent in the end, yet the diversitie of passions, amongst so many men, contending naturally for honour and advantage one upon another, made us differ in the meanes, so that without a submission to discipline, members are so far from opposing their enemies, that they distract their mutual peace; besides the countrey gentlemen, whose relations and habitudes with the people gives them the greatest interest amongst them, want the skill to conduct them, and yet they are generally so zealous of the esteeme of their courage and judgements, that they will not endure the assistance of experienc'd souldiers. This was the fatal infirmity of popular insurrections and was the cause of their ruine in Kent.

On Saturday the 10th of June we march'd from Chelmsford in the sight of Collonell Whaley who 2 dayes before was advanced towards us with a considerable partie of horse, and foote, and held them on a common about two miles distant from our quarters, from whence hee gave us frequent alarmes. In our march we enter'd my Lord of Warwick's house at Leighs, where we tooke two bras sakers, some muskets, pistols, carbines, and pikes, with a good proportion of powder and match, all excellent in their kinde, a very seasonable supply, we having many brave men who march'd on foote with us unarm'd, whose zeal to the cause enbark'd them in the adventure without respect to their convenience, espially those gallant youths the apprentices of London, who had braken their indentures to keepe their allegiance, a race of the most hopefull souldiers that I ever saw, whose gentle behaviour, bold and generous actions, justifie their births (being most of them gentlemen whose natures were not yet corrupted with the love of gaine, that leaven which soures the mass of generous qualities) and therefore were runn away from their sordid and rebellious masters. We wonder'd much the enemy had not secur'd this magazine, they having it in their power,

but the carefull observer of this relation will finde they are capable of their oversights. Whilst we halted in Leigh's Parke there came in to us a troope of horse from Hartfordshire under the command of Colonell Sayers, a gentleman who had formerly served the Parliament, but being undeceived was come to make atonement for his fault, and acquitted himselfe with greate honour aud industrie during the whole action. That night wee marched to Braintree, the enemy looking on our reare at distance, which respect we must acknowledge with thanks to Colonell Whaley, for had hee attempted us in all probabilitie wee had bin broken, he having above a thousand old horse, and wee not a hundred in any forme that wee could trust, and wee marcht over Leigh's Parke, a very large campaignia, but since wee have understood the Colonell's character to be a very mercifull man in the field, but bloody at a courte of warr.

There wee rested on Sunday and digested the volunteers into severall troopes under the comand of the Lord Norwich, Lord Capell, Lord Loughborough, and Sir Charles Lucas, but receaving intelligence that Fairfax with the rest of his armie was joined withe Whaley and the Essex rebels, under the comand of Sir Thomas Honeywood, Collonell Harelackenden, Colonell Cooke, and other firebrands of their country, and apprehending they might fall on us on both sides of the towne, wee drew out in the night on the highway towards Suffolke as if wee had design'd our march towards the Isle of Elye, and I have ben since inform'd that wee were blam'd by some for not acting what wee only feign'd to amuse the enemy. But there are a race of men who pretend to wisdom by censuring events, never considering the meanes; if these had seene us on our march with 4000 undisciplined men, and the enemy at our heeles with 3500 old horse and above 4000 foote, I am confident these censurers would not have undertaken to have brought up the reare, but those were such as sate securely under their own vines, defaming the conduct of those brave men who watch'd and bled to redeeme them from slavery, whilst they hazarded their lives onely by surfetts, and their fortunes by drinking malignant healthes, and yet like the infatuated Israelites were still murmuring at their deliverers. Others have condemned us for not sending a partie in our van to possesse an inconsiderable forte in the Isle of Mersey, which was not over seene, but had beene in effect to have given so many men to the enemy, for the island being five miles from Colechester, and the access in the power of the enemy—being masters of the field,—wee could neither have releev'd them nor brought them off; and though the enemy had suffer'd us to possess it, yet it would have always beene in their power to have hinder'd any reliefe that might have come to us by sea, the towne being above a mile from the river, so it is evident it would not have signified to our designe. There are other frivolous objections which some vulgar spirits—that cannot keepe in favour with themselves but by finding faultes in others—have made to our conduct which I will not trouble mysele to answeare, for I think it very unreasonable to make those masters of my time that mispend their owne. After we had continued an houre or two at our rendezvous wee drew backe through the towne and march'd that night to Halstead, having so deceived the enemy by this stratagem, who were within three houre's march of us, that they knew not which way to followe us. Heere wee halted untill our reare was come up, and then continued our march towards Colechester. On our way wee were mett by neere a thousand of the townesmen who broake through their guards to welcome us as their deliverers from a tedious servitude under a rebellious magistracy, for though the Houses at Westminster pretend so strongly to justice and the preservation of the

liberties of the subjects, yet heere wee may admitt an apt instance amongst thousands more to prove their arbitrary government. At the election of the mayor, the Parliament having notice that the free burghers of this corporation had chosen one Alderman Shawe, a person qualified for the office—but honestly and religiouslie principled and so unfitt for their ends—they sent a troope of horse to force a new election of one Alderman Cooke, an ignorant wretch that only followed the mace and consented, whilst the factious sectaries mislead the people. For this towne had beene long possest with the spirit of disobedience to the doctrine and discipline of the church, and heresie is always the fore-runner of rebellion, for when the hollie ancor of religion is puld up, the barke of State is subject to every storme, and the rebels at Westminster conspiring to defame the King and prelats with their pretended indulgence to poperie, approv'd this separation, soe that these sectaries broake the lawes not only with impunity but successe.

Our advan'd partie was oppos'd by some horse of the towne which had beene lately rais'd upon a pretence of awinge the poore, growne mutinous through decay of trade, but design'd by the separatists to suppress the petitioners, which Sir Charles Lucas hearing who march'd in the van of our forces, galloped to them with a partie of gentlemen, and immediately forced them into their gates, and apprehending that the obstinacie of the disaffected might involve the innocent in equall danger with the guiltie by the indistinguishing souldier—in case they should have oppos'd our entrance—out of his tenderness to the towne—being the place of his birth—hee ordered Collonel Tuke and Colonell Maxey, being both their countreyemen, to goe in to the inhabitants and advise their rendring of the place, and by them remonstrated the grounds of our engagement in pursuance of our petition, with assurance of indemnity to their persons and fortunes, which—as farr as our necessities would comorte—was faithfullie observed. Their troope of horse only was excepted, for that shewed premeditated malice, for the rest that were in armes, wee looked upon them as the ordinarie guards of the Corporation, and so were willing to suppose a reason for their forgiveness. Yet from those that were excepted their horses only and armes were taken, and their persons left at libertie; though by agreement upon condition, the towne, their lives and fortunes, were to be at the mercie of Sir Charles Lucas, who hath now receaved the reward of his christian charitie, whilst his barbarous murderers are persecuted with their owne guilt. Among these horse were many of Bardfold and Dedham, two neighbour townes, whose inhabitants subsist by the manufacture of cloath, who being poore and populous are naturally mutinous and bolde, and their masters who sett them on worke being generallie sordid men whose passion for their profit gave them such a continuall jealousie of the decay of trade, that the Parliament—whose constant stile was tenderness of commerce—found them allwayes disposed to receive their impressions, and to derive them to their workmen, so that the clothiers through the whole kingdome were rebels by their trade, but these townes breed an officious race of traytors, who unsummoned are still volunteers in rebellion. Those all escaped and afterwards joined with our besiegers. The gates were opened, and wee marched through the towne in greate order, and drew our men into the lower courte of my Lord Lucas his house, which having beene formerly an abbey was capable of receaving them all, with a designe to encampe there; that our souldiers being still in our sight might be the better diciplined and the readier to receive the enemy. But the inhabitants of the towne who had promised to furnish us with provision, were so distracted with the noveltie of their busines—having never seene an army before—that they

suffered our souldiers to want, which created soe great a mutinie that it was above the skill and authoritie of the officers to appease, for it is in vaine to threaten a lesse punishment to those who are sensible of a greater, and there is noe death more terrible than starving, soe we were forst to let them march into the towne before their quarters were made, where wee reposed that night. The next day about two of the clock in the afternoone wee were alarmed by the enemies drummers before we had the least intelligence of their aproach—such was the negligence of our scouts—and ere we could dispose our men into order they were advanced within muskett shott of the suburbs. We drew out hastilie to them a considerable partie of our foote, and some horse and lyned the hedges. After some dispute—the enemy advancing boldly upon us with a farr greater body of horse and foote—and forced our men to retreat, and pursued them to Head-gate, where stood the Right Honorable the Lord Capell with a partie of horse to receive the enemy; but justly apprehending that the disorder of our men retreating, and the narrowness of the place, would render his horse unserveable—like himselve, that is a man of incomperable honor and presence of judgment in the greatest dangers—hee allighted, and tooke a pike, who was presently seconded by Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, and two or three others, and there these worthies—like Horatius Cocles—oposed themselves to the furie of the enemy, whilst under the cover of their courage, the remains of our men saved themselves within the porte. Then those bucklers of their partie retreated with their faces to the enemy, selling every foote of ground they parted with at the price of the invader's lives. An action—without flatterie to the living, or the memories of the dead—that would be thought as worthy of place in a cronicle, as any that is legible in ancient storic, if the envie to our contemporaries did not make us to idolise our ancestors, as if it were the prerogative of time, and not the quality of the persons, and exploits, that dignified our actions; but I have beene so just to the memories of the dead, that I have purposly concealed the names of the living that seconded them in this encounter, least the envie to those might robb these of their fame. In this service we lost Colonell Cooke, a young gentleman of good expectation, who dyed of his wounds as soone as he was brought of the field, and that worthy gentleman Sir William Campion, whose conduct was equal to his courage, and that was only exceeded by his reasone, for nothing was above his daring that was level with his discretion. Sir William Leyton, and Lieut.-Colonel Rawlins were taken prisoners, with a hundred and fiftie private soldiers, but the enemy sweld their list to a far greater number, by putting in the inhabitants of the suburbs whom they tooke out of their houses. The portes were closed, and our men disposed to the walls, which were boldly attempted by the enemy, being advantaged by some houses of the suburbs which joined to St. Marie's church-yard, from whence they leaped into the towne as confidently as if the extravagance of their daring could have confounded our resolutions, or that it had bin their only busines to seeke—what they found—their graves in that church yard; vallour—if well conducted—worthy of a better cause. In some here might have beene seene the confidence of the assaylant's accustomed to conquer, and the courage of the defendants heightened by the justice of their cause. During the heate of this conflict the enemy—most unsouldierlike—sent in a trumpett with a sumons to render the towne, which was gennerally dispised both by the officers and souldiers, upon which they drew up two pieces of cannon to batter the porte; but that was so well blinded by the howses of the suburbs, that before they could come to their levell they were within

the mercie of our musketiers, who at the first volley kil'd their carriage horses, many of their souldiers, and forced them to leave their cannon under the favour of our shott. Upon this their Generall—being highly enraged—ordered that they should burne the houses which joined to the walls, by which meanes they hoped to have fired the towne, but by God's providence, and our greate industry it was prevented. Notwithstanding their miscarriages in these designes, they continued there onslaught with greate obstinacie untill twelve at night, but by that time being sufficiently beaten into a beleefe of our resolution, they tooke the advantage of the night and drew off to London, about a mile from this towne, leaving us their cannon and many of their dead. This assault was an effect of their furie—which in armes is as fatall as feare—for they fell on upon the strongest quarter of the whole towne, and notwithstanding the unlikelyhood of their attempt and the resolution of our defense, yet—such was their insolence from former success—that they were deafe to the retreat which their Generall often caused to be sounded. This madness amongst the vulgar is more admired than true valour, and the reason is manifest, for they judge only by the appearance without considering the cause, soe that the extreame, though it formes the vice, yet renders the action more conspicuous. But the wise distinguish better, and unless our actions be honorably descended—that is flow from worthy causes—they will allow them noe place among the virtues. In this attempt, according to their owne accompte there were killed and disabled at least 500 of their private souldiers, with many of their considerable officers. On our parte after wee entered the gates wee lost but 17 common souldiers and not one officer of commission.

The next day the enemy kept their distance and consider'd, and though wee found by their looks that they were sicke of their last attempt, yet had wee reingag'd them, wee had certainly given them the meanes of their owne revenge; for they were so numerous in horse and held themselves on a campania, that they would easily have ridd us over, yet wee heare some inconsidering lookers on have censured us as failing in courage, but it is the common practize of meane spirits to cry up imprudent hazards to give themselves the reputation of valiant, knowing they shall be applauded by the vainer—which is the greater parte of mankind—for these ranters would act their parts but coldly if there were not fools to admire them. But wee are soe secure in the just fame of our conduct that wee may safely protest against their sentence.

Wee—like the Jewes in Jerusalem,—with our swords in one hand and our trowells in the other, began to repaire the ruines of our walls which were many, this towne being one of the antientest foundations of the kingdome, for if wee credit historie it was built by Coyle a chiefe King of the Brittaines, whose daughter Hellen was married to Constantius, father to Constantine the Greate. But the walls are a sufficient recorde of its antiquitie, being builte after the olde artelesse fasshion, without flankers and scarce prooffe against arrowes. Towards the north end of the towne there was above five hundred places without any fortification at all, which the enemy in their furie over sawe. In sum the place was so unfitt for a garrison, that it would not have bene thought a fast quarter.

Wee looked into the magazine of the towne, where wee found 70 barrells of powder with some match, and in private houses neare a thousand armes, then we searched the stores for provision and at the Hithe, a parte of the east suburbs where a small river runns into a creeke of the sea, wee found two thousand quarters of rye with a greate proportion of salte and wine, which wee brought into the towne,

and though warr is not to be made with respect, and necessitie would have warranted the making use of this provision, yet wee should have given caution for the reimbursement of the owners, if they had not been our knowne enemies, and actually in armes against us. The inhabitants were as much amaz'd at this plenty as our selves, for the market day before wee enter'd the towne the poore were complayning in the streets that they could not gett corne for their money; those bowell-lesse merchants having ingross'd it to enhance the price. But God—whose Providence is over all his workes—dispos'd it to another end. Thus the Almighty is glorified in our sinns, and out of the eater came meate.

The enimie begann their line of circumvallation on the south parte of the towne. Wee beate our drumms for volunteers, arm'd and disciplin'd our raw men; then wee sent forth parties of horse into Tendring hundred to fetch in provisions, a baren place but the only quarter of the countrey which wee could touch; in which we proceeded with so much respect to our friends that wee injured ourselves. The right honorable the Lord Loughborough was pleased to take the care and trouble of our provisions, of whom and the rest of the noblemen in this engagement wee may truly say, that though their births and merits might justly entitle them to as honorable employments as subjects are capable off, yet they descended to the meanest undertakings that might contribute to the publike ende. Ambition—that was the greatest disease in our former armyes—was heere very much out of countenance to finde that honour had a different but a true value from the humblest undertakings; for wee considered this action as an honorable striving of gentlemen for their birth-rights—I meane their proprieties limited and protected by the lawes—against needy and barbarous murders, and therefore it became us to bring all hands to the worke, having found by sad experience the ruine which had overtaken us in the former warrs by our lazines, which was called moderation, and indifference to the cause, which was stil'd a pious distrust in the arme of flesh, but though it pleased God sometimes to give success extraordinarily to the justice of the cause, yet ordinarily he sells it to the industrie of men. In this interim the Suffolke forces under the comand of Colonel Barnadiston, Colonel Gourden, Colonell Fotheringill, Captain Moody, and others, were perswaded to quitt their passes at Stratford and Nayland—where at first they pretended only the securing of their owne countie—and to take their postes amongst our beseegers, whom we render'd incapable of elusion, by preacquainting them with the grounds of our engagement, and the justice of our proceedings; but those misserable people were forced by those traitors to their countie, to whom Fairfax had sent some troopes of horse, to hazard their lives, that they might loose their liberties. For the commons of Suffolke were so dispos'd to our assistance that there were above foure thousand men readie at an houres warning to march to our succour, with soe greate a sense of our sufferings and their owne succeeding miseries that I heard from one of the most considerable gentlemen of their countie that hee thought they would have forced him out of his house to have lead them. But during this loyall heate there came an order from a person whom his Highness the Prince of Wales had commission'd to be Generall of this countie, commanding them not to move upon their allegiance; this was a malignant reflection from the Presbyterian partie, fatall to their King, and countie, who fearing that the increase of force under our sober conduct might prevent their designe—which was not to set the kingdome at libertie, but only to change their masters—they procur'd this order from the agent for his Highness the Prince of

Wales, being then in London, urging that if wee proceeded wee should give their partie such jealousie, who were conscious of their guilt and had not contracted for their indemnitie, that wee should hinder their conjunction with the Scottish armie, under the commande of Duke Hamilton, and prevent that hopefull engagement of my Lord of Holland—which like an erring light misleade some well affected gentlemen and then vanish'd. Thus were the loyall affections of our neighbours supprisd and the zeale of the whole kingdome cool'd; for most of the counties in England were readie to sett forth by their example, and thus was our greate master and his faithfull subjects sacrificed to the dispaire of this false and fearefull partie, who were at last—to God's glory and their owne eternall confusion—fallne into the pitt which they dig'd for others, having with the losse of their lives and fortunes rays'd this monster to this dreadfull growth; for unless the serpent had devoured serpent hee had never bin a dragon.

From this there hapn'd nothing very memorable until Friday the seaventh of July, when wee made our grand salley upon the east suburbs, with six hundred foote, and a hundred and fiftie horse. This partie was commanded in chiefe by Sir Charles Lucas, under him Sir George Lisle commanded the foote, Sir Bernard Gascoine the horse, and Major Ascott the forlorn hope; who with very great resolution passed the bridge flanked with their cannon, and the houses filled with musketiers, and possest their worke at the end of the streete; then falling into the backs of the houses wee took and killed about a hundred. Not content with this wee advanced, forcing the enemy to retreate, untill they were succoured by their horse, and then the match grew unequal. Wee through the narrownes of the pass not being able to make use of our horse, and fileing our foote through their turnpike, the precipitation of peticulars—as is usuall—hindred the progresse of the generall, so that wee could not bring up our reserves in any order. The enemy regained the ground to their worke, where wee disputed it some time, untill wee had overthrowne their cannon into the river, which wee could not draw off the water being soe high; and then retreated in very greate order. In this action neither of us had any very great cause to boast. On our parte Mr. Weston and Captaine Weekes were prisoners. On the enemies were tooke Captaine Moody, and slew Colonel Shambrooke, successor to Colonel Needham who was killed in their first attempt against the towne, whose regiment their Vice-Admirall Rainsborough—being out of his element—vouchsafed to receive; for private souldiers wee found enough in our prisons to adjust our accounts. But in our treatie for exchange wee received very rude and unsouldierlike messages from that malicious wretch Whaley, who commanded on that parte of their leaguer, which were disadvoued by his Generall, and despised by us.

By this time the enemy had advanced their line of communication to St. John's, my Lord Lucas his house, where wee had made a slight retrenchment to retard their working, which they battered and stormed. But it was resolutely justified untill by their hand granaders our men were much disordered. Then they blew up their ammunition and parte of the house and quitted it, their retreate being secured from our wall. In this action Major Jamot, a Walloone, behaved himself with greate honor and discretion, who though a souldier of fortune acquitted himself through the whole warr with strict integritie and abstinence from plunder, and signalized his courage and conduct in many encounters. The enemy being possest of the house, exercised their brutall rage upon the bare walls, for there was nothing else that remained, this being one of the first houses in England which suffred by that fatall libertie of the

subject, which the prophane vulgar in the beginning of these disorders soe passionately petitioned the Parliament to graunt them; who intending to serve themselves of their blind furie, not only suffred but applauded their violence to their neighbours; but like unskilful counjurors they often raised those spirits which they could [not] lay; for under cover of zeal to the cause, the poore levelled the rich of both parties and

There joined to the house a chappell, under which was a vaulte, the buriall place of this honorable family. Heere their officers and souldiers entered, and broake open the tombs of their ancestors, amongst whom the Lady Lucas and Lady Killigrew, the mother and sister of the present Lord Lucas, were so lately buried, that their sinues and haire were unconsumed."

Then they scattered the bones about with profane jests, and cut off the hair and wore it in their hats.

"The enimie followed this advantage and surprised our guard at the Hithe Church, and then wee were wholly invested.

Wee must needs acknowledge our beseegers wrought hard and not irregularly, but in truth they began at the wronge ende; for had they first possest St. John's, where they closed their line, they had cut us off from the Hithe, and that provision, which fedd seven thousand mouthes, souldiers, and inhabitants for eleven weekes, and without it wee could not have subsisted five days; when wee seriously revolve that the owners of these stores were most of them in their armie, whose particular interest joyned with their general hatred to us—being persons highly disaffected to the government of the Church and State—must needes excite them to sollicite the generall to this undertaking, and nothing in councill to bee opposed to it, wee may safely conclude it was an unpardonable error in their conduct.

Being cutt off from our forage, and having noe provision of hay and oates in the towne, on Saturday the fifteenth of July, about tenn at night, wee attempted to breake away with partie of our horse, ordering them to march northward, and join with the Scotch armie, who—as wee were informed by private letters—were upon their march to our reliefe. But our intelligencers did not penetrate into the subtiltie of the Presbyterian designe, who resolved to sacrifice the royall partie in the forlorn hope—as David did Uriah—least they should rivall them in their interest. But the enimie having blocked up all the passes, wee fayled in our attempt, which upon second thoughts, wee thankfully acknowledged to Providence preserving us against our design. For had the horse passed wee had wanted their flesh, upon which wee fedd six weekes; and their riders whom as wee ordered, made the strongest part of our defence; for as their horses were slaughtered for our provision, they were armed with halberds, brown bills, and sythes, straightened and fastened to handles, about six foote long, weapons which the enimie strongly apprehended, but rather of terror than use, for they required such distances to manage them, that they could not bee brought to fight in a gross. These were divided into three companies, and commanded by my Lord of Norwich, the Lord Capell, and Sir Charles Lucas, who took their postes and huted themselves upon the line, where they fedd and lodged with their souldiers, a wise and worthy undertaking to revive the antient discipline: for though wee humbly confess our sins, the primarie cause which hath pulled downe these judgments upon us, yet wee looke upon our luxuries and remisnesse in discipline as the proximate causes of our ruine. For many of our generall officers in the former warrs had such indulgence for their debaucheries that they adopted none to preferments but the companions of their pleasures, and

those inferior officers and souldiers that were naturally inclined to order, were at length soe deceived by the splendor of their vices, that they corrupted into all sorts of licence, a disease the enimie was not then capable of, for their officers being mechanicks, of the meanest trades, understood no pleasures, soe that to them labour was naturall, which is to bee deducted from the accompts of their meritts."

Therefore he hopes his own party will take this lesson, for in military affairs industry still triumphs over wit.

"The enimie began their approaches on the east part of the towne, called Berrie fields, which wee suffred with great silence from our cannon, for besides our want of ammunition, wee desired an assault, as the likeliest meanes of our releife; only to free us from surprise wee were forst to fire some of the neighbouring houses of the suburbs, where the enimie might have lodged their whole army within pistoll shott of our walls. But soe farr any unnecessary waste, that let the success bee viewed by any considering souldier, and wee are confident hee will condemne our respect for endangering our safetie, which wee endeavored to secure with extremitie of duty. . . . But it was not the enimie's designe to storne us, for they attempted us rather like serpents than souldiers, creeping to our walls to corrupt our people, whom they found prooffe against all their delusions, for wee may justly avow that hitherto our private souldiers acted as resolutely and suffred as cheerfully as any that ever served his Majesty." [There was in most of them a sense of honour which prevented those honest arts practiced in extremities by which common soldiers are deceived into their duty], "especially those gallant youthes the London Apprentices whose worthy loyalties will rise up in judgment against their rebellious masters."

The last month passed quietly, for the enemy knew that we must be reduced by our wants, and we allowed them to make their approaches unchecked for lack of ammunition. Complaints of neglect on the part of their friends in the field. During the siege they did not receive ten lines of advice from any considerable person in the kingdom.

"The enemy intending to feel our pulse, having approached within eight yards of our walls on Berryfield, they battered with six peeces of their cannon for five hours, and drew their men into their trenches with a countenance of falling on. Wee brought up our seconds, amongst whom marched the brave Lord Capell, in the head of halberdies, exposing himself to the greatest hazards with soe resolved a presence that, where hee appeared, the meanest spirits could apprehend no danger, for as it was their wonder did divert their feare But after the enimie had made above 200 greate shott and opened an assaultable breache, they considered who were within and drew off, and soe their design ended in smoake and noise."

But the besieged were now compelled to reduce the allowance of bread to seven ounces a day. "It was received without murmuring by the souldiers, though being made of maulte oates and rye which had taken salte water, it was not only distastefull but such unwholesome foode, that many chose to eat their horse and doggs flesh without it. But the greater suffering was of the poor inhabitants, who having spent their three hundred quarters of corn, which from our excesse of charity wee gave them out of our magazeen, and the cruell enimie not permitting them to passe out of the towne, having shott many women and children that attempted it, they were reduced to that extremity that they eate soape and candle, which they endured with notable resolution, for wee managed our despaires with soe greate an assurance, that an example had a generall influence. But upon review of our magazine, and the provisions of private families, wee found our store soe little,

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that it was thought fitt time to send a letter to Fairfax, wherein wee proposed that if hee would grant a truce for twenty days, and a pass for a messenger to find out Sir Marmaduke Langdale, if wee were informed that in that interim he were not in a condition to releev us then wee would treate with him upon a surrender. But the insolent enimie refused it, whereupon wee resolved to continue our defence, hoping that the justice of our cause and the temper of our proceedings might in some degree make us worthy of the protection of Providence, and our friends." This resolute mind was common to the soldiers and the inhabitants, though the enemy sought to corrupt them by shooting arrows and sending in paper kites bearing printed accounts of their victories, "but God knows our partie like Jonas were fast asleep in that storm." At last all hope was cut off by the news of Cromwell's victory over the Scots of which the enemy sent in a printed account by trumpet. At first we refused to believe it, but after two days further news convinced us, and a Council of War was called which decided that overtures should be made to the enemy.

"But to put a blind before our weaknesse, two of their committee men, our prisoners, were wrought to addresse a letter to our generall officers, wherein they desired that out of their tender bowells to the starving inhabitants of the towne they might have leave to wait up the Lord Fairfax, and mediate an accommodation, which was granted, and they dispatched. But by the stile of the Generall's returne we found that our emissaries were not sufficiently deceived to deceive the enimie, for hee sent them back with this answeare, that wee had held out the towne soe long against him, and to the utmost denied his summons, that the best conditions wee should expect from him must bee to submitt to mercie, only that the inferior officers and soldiers should have libertie to goe to their owne homes." The general sense of the Council of War was that these conditions were incompatible with our honour, and it was proposed that an attempt should be made to cut our way out. "Whereupon the Lord Capell, and Sir Charles Lucas, calling to them Sir William Compton, Sir George Lisle, Sir Bernard Pascombe, and Colonel Tuke, they having viewed the enemies campe, after mature debate resolved to make an issue in the wall, and to saley forth with eight hundred chosen foote and attempt" *The rest is missing.*

COLCHESTER.

"[1648.]—The CASE upon the ARTICLES of COLCHESTER.

It was first proposed to render to the mercy of the Lord General and Parliament.

That being refused it was brought in to render to the mercy of the Lord General who intended to deliver them up to the Parliament.

That being refused they were brought in to render to the mercy of the Lord General, and so signed.

Hence it is clear the General had not reserved a power to render them—as to their lives—to the Parliament.

But supposing it had been so intended this can only be supposed a will or power in him to deliver or not deliver them up as he should see cause, and for his having assured quarter for life after two executed upon the place, and before he delivered up any of the gentlemen to the Parliament, he had thereby determined that will and power in him, and therefore could not after deliver any of them up.

It is clear the General intended not further meaning upon the articles, because he disposed to many officers very many considerable

prisoners without the privity of the Parliament, and those officers to whom they were assigned have ransomed and set all at liberty, many of them after they were sent up to the Parliament, they—as it is conceived—finding their lives were secured by the assuring quarter upon the articles, voted them to banishment. If neither of these be vaild, one being done by the General to whom they rendered, and the other by the Parliament against whom they had offended, and to whom the General had delivered them up, how can any person be secured of his life in a military or parliamentary way?”

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QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA to the MARQUIS OF WORCESTER.

1648, May 20. St. Germain.—“ Nous Henriette Marie de Bourbon Reyne de la Grande Bretagne avons par l'ordre du Roy notre tres honore Seigneur et Mary fait delivrer es mains de notre tres cher, et bien amé cousin Edouard Somerset, Comte et Marquis d'Worcester, un collier de rubis contenant dix gros rubis et cent soixante perles enchassées et enfilées en ore entre les dits rubis, comme aussi deux gros diamans l'un appelle Saucy et l'autre le Portugal, confessans qu'outre les tres grandes devesnes faites par luy, pour ledit Roy notre tres honoré Seigneur il nous a encore fourny trois cens soixante et dix mil livres tournois outre ses tres grands services qu'a ce present mesure il nous fait qui sont au moins d'egale consequence, au regard de quoy nous faisons seavoir que le dit collier et diamans sont totalement pour en disposér par lui soit par vente ou engagement sans que nous, ou aucun en notre nom puisse en faire aucune demande, rechercher ou troubler aucune personne qui achetera ou prestera argent sur lesdits joyaux cy dessus nommer, en temoignage de quoy nous avons signé et fait mettre notre seél royal a cette presente en notre Cour a St. Germain en Laye ce jourdhuy 20 May mil six cens quarante huit.

Signed MARIE HENRIETTE, R.”

ARTHUR, LORD CAPEL to [his daughter] LADY BEAUCHAMP.

N.Y., June 12.—“ My dear Mall,

I pray let the gentleman know that I am very desirous to see him that I mate know more of him from the Prince; they never heere enquired of any man's name that comes to visit mee and refuse none that sayth he come to me. The best time for him to come is half an hour before 5 of the clock att night. Mr. Carnoite will direct him when hee comes to you. I rest

Thy affectionate father,
ARTHUR CAPELL.”

LADY CAPEL to LORD BEAUCHAMP.

[1648,] August 31.—Heard only yesterday of the surrender of Colchester. Her great affliction is that her dear Lord has fallen into such merciless hands. “Let us endeavour if possible to get his confinement to his owne house which is all the favour I can expect from them.”

“I have sent this day to my Lord and have leave to goe and see him.”

LADY CAPEL to LORD [BEAUCHAMP?].

N.Y., February 14.—About a proposed marriage between her son and Lord Northumberland's daughter. Rejoices to hear he is in good health.

[Ten other similar, undated, letters. All on family affairs.]

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LORD CAPEL to LADY BEAUCHAMP.

[1648,] September 9, Windsor.—“My good daughter,

The gentilman that comands heere doth not refuse mee the visitt of my frends, and I doe not apprehend other but that hee is like to use that respect to mee as may stand with the discharge of that trust hee is imployed in, and therefore I cannot discourage that resolution which your Lord tould mee you had to give mee a visitt. I pray present my humble service to my Lady Marques and to the young Ladye, my affectionate service to your Lord. God bless you both. I rest

Your affectionate father,
ARTHUR CAPELL.”

The SAME to the SAME.

[1648.].—“My deare daughter,

I pray send this encloser to my wife this afternoon—about 4 of the clock I remove from hence to the tower—the other business uppon trial will not doe. God bless thee.

Your most affectionate father,
ARTHUR CAPELL.”

My service to your Lord.

The SAME to the SAME.

September 7.—“Your letter was a very great comfort to mee, and the contentment I receive to hear how happy you are in your Lord is an unspeakable joy to mee. I pray present my humble service to my Lady Marques and the yonge ladys. God bless you. I rest

Your most affectionate father,
ARTHUR CAPELL.”

LADY CAPEL to LORD BEAUCHAMP.

[1648,] September 9.—Her only comfort is to hear of her dear Lord, being forcibly banished from his presence. Is very glad Lord Beauchamp will give him a visit at Windsor.

LORD BEAUCHAMP to LADY BEAUCHAMP.

1648, September 25. Bagshot.—To announce his safe arrival at Bagshot, whence they go to Alleford that night, and tomorrow to the King.

“You may be confident I shall omitt noe opportunity to give you newse. My dearest heart.

Your ever affectionate husband,
HEN. BEAUCHAMP.”

[*A type of the affectionate tone of his letters to his wife.*]

The SAME to the SAME.

1648, September 29. Newport.—“I am confident you have heard of the King's passing the first proposition, and yesterday he gave his answer to all the rest in grosse, not refusing any of their demandes except the Bishop's landes, of which he offers leases of 80 and 19 yeares, yet this doth not satisfy heere, the Commissioners pretending they have not power to receive his answer to all together, but in order one after another as they lye, but theire designe in that is very visible they would breake upon the church landes which was the second

proposition, and soe conceile the King's other great offers from the people, but I am confident the King's sudden and home answer hath soe surprised them that they will not be able to avoid a peace."

Hopes to be with her on Thursday.

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A separate paper in a formal clerk's hand.

"Beatissime Domine. Gratissimas Sanctitatis vestræ literas et humanitate et affectu plenas a mense recepimus singulari curâ et industriâ peramantissimi consanguinei nostri Edoardi comitis et marchionis Worcesteriæ, cui originales servandas remisimus, et in quem quoscunque favores sanctitas vestra conferre dignabitur nobismet illos præbuisse habeat persuasum desideramus, neque dubitet quin eos datâ occasione, redditisque Deo juvante mediis, summâ gratitudine nec non ad nutum Sanctitatis vestræ agnoscamus. De cæteris ad nos pertinentibus eidem marchioni omnium subditorum nostrorum optimè merito fidem præbeat optamus, præcipuè cum ei veniam ad Sanctitatem vestram adeundi eo fine dederimus, cogimur enim ut hæc cautius deferantur, sic abruptè Sanctitatis vestræ deosculari manus.

Datum apud curiam nostram penè carcerem, in Insula de Wight, 20 Aprilis 1649.

Sanctitatis Vestræ
devinctissimus Charles, R.

N.B.—There is a mistake in the date, as the King was beheaded Jan. 30, 1649."

Note in pencil:—"It is perhaps a forgery."

On the inner page:—"Beatissimo Padre."

"Haverei già un pezzo fa presogliato l'ardire per lettere di ringratiar vostra sanctità per le gratiose sue et di mandarle la risposta dal Papa."

Endorsed with two lines of cipher.

CHARLES I. to the MARCHIONESS OF WORCESTER. (*Holograph.*)

1648, October 23. Newport.—"Madame,—If my condition were according to your wishes for me or estimation of me, I should not have beene so long in answering your letter, for since it is impossible for me to serve you according to my owen desyres, or as justice would requyre, I am almost ashamed to take notice of your civilities; but knowing that our frendship is so well accompanied with discretion, as you will accept of what I may doe when I cannot as I would, at last I resolved rather to expresse to you my wishes—however at this time ineffectuall—then bee totally uncivil by my silence; wherefore this is to assure you that upon all occasions, either found out by myself—which I shall studdy—or shoven by you—which I shall most willingly embrace—I shall truly show mysele your most reall faithfull constant frend, CHARLES R."

ADVICE FOR L[ORD] C[APEL].

[1648.]—"To insist upon your banishment and to make that argument valid, mention Seyres case declared in Cook's Hist. in his 3rd booke the 104 cap. 230 p. Then desire that Col. John Lilborne may have leave to declare the proceedings in his tryall at Oxford. If this prove not sufficient then desire the judgment of the Parliament may be had as to this point of the law, and for the obtaining of this their shall be a petition readie drawne to be delivered to the Parliament."

[LORD CAPEL.]

[1649.]—"A true copy of the heads my Lord meant to speak of upon the scaffold, transcribed out of the original written with his Lordship's own hand, and sent by him at the instant of his death to Dr. Morley.

Begin when I ended with my enemies those that are the causes of my coming to this place of this violent. . . .

The last addresse I made to them and the last words of it were that they might be partakers of the inestimable and boundless mercies of God in Christ Jesus. I do here again heartily make the same prayer for them.

This is to let you see I am a Christian.

But you must know that I am a Protestant and a true and hearty member of the Church according as it is established by our laws in the 39 Articles.

I love good works but I have not the least confidence in them in the matter of salvation.

My anchor is that Christ loved me, gave Himself for me.

I shall now speak to you as citizens of the world. By the universal law thereof by protection of the sword my life was secured, and contrary thereof my life is taken away. I shall not need to speak more of it, I have so much of it already in a public place.

But that which will seem stranger to you, behold an Englishman acknowledged a Peere, dye contrary to the laws of England, and that which is most strange, for maintaining the laws of England, and the fifth commandment.

Some commendation of the laws.

I cannot imitate a better or greater ingenuity than his who not long since told you.

And truly I gave my vote to the bill that condemned him, here I do acknowledge it that God may be glorified, and all others in the same fault may be admonished to be earnest with God for His pardon, which I assure myself is pardoned to me by the blood of Christ Jesus.

But having intimated the King to you I cannot be silent. Then speake of his virtue and sufficiency.

Of this King with my prayers to God for his prosperity, and the uniting of him to his kingdoms and the kingdoms in him, and that God would continue the government of these kingdoms in that family till thy kingdom come, the consummation of all earthly rule.

Make my beginning my conclusion, that God would forgive my enemies and make them partakers of the inestimable mercies of God in Christ Jesus, that He would turn their hearts from their evil ways. From my soul I forgive them.

To desire the Executioner not to strike till I hold up my hand, for I will repeat the Lord's Prayer, and in holding up my hand say My Jesus receive my spirit.

This copie is verbatim, taken out of the original.

Ita testor,
GEOR. MORLEY."

Narrative by G. MORLEY, BISHOP OF WORCESTER.

[1649.]—"I went often to visit the Rt. Honble. the Lord Capell a little before his death, whilst he was a prisoner in St. James's house, and always found him in such a temper as became an innocent, and well-resolved person.

The night before he was to suffer he told me he had a great desire to receive the Sacrament before his death, if he might receive it from a minister of the King's party, and according to the Liturgy of the

Church of England, but said withall he feared no such person as he would receive it from could give it him without endangering himself, and he was loath to endanger any man. I replied, I knew not what danger there might be in doing that Christian office to a dying man, but was resolved—if he pleased to take it from my hands—to venture anything that could come of it rather than his Lordship should die without that satisfaction. He seemed to be, and no doubt was very glad of this offer of mine, and gave me many thanks for it; desiring me, that—without losing any more of that little time he had left—I would conferm and pray with him, in order to his preparation for receiving the Holy Sacrament the next morning.

I did so and found that he could not accuse himself of any great known sin, committed against the light of his own conscience, but one onely; and that was, his giving of his vote in Parliament for the death of my Lord Strafford; *which—said he—I did against my conscience, not out of any malice to the person of that man, but out of a base fear—they were his own words—and carried away with the violence of a prevailing faction; and for which, said he, I have bin and am heartily sorry; and have often with tears, demanded, and—I hope—obtain'd pardon of Almighty God:* adding, that if I thought it necessary, or fit, he would confess this great and scandallous sin of his, together with the cause of it, openly, upon the scaffold, to God's glory, and his own shame, which I telling him I thought it would be ingenuously and Christianly done of him to do, he did accordingly the next morning.

Then having prayed again with him I left him for that night, in a most Christian temper to his own devout meditations. The next morning—at the hour agreed on between us, which was between 6 and 7—I came to him again, and found him ready to receive me. We went into a chamber alone together, where after some spiritual conference, suitable to the present occasion, I first prayed with him, and then he prayed himself, with very great zeal and fervour, at that for others as well as for himself, nay, for his enemies as well as for his friends; but especially for the King, the Kingdom, and the Church; and all this with such apt and unaffected expressions, and in so regular a method, that one might easily perceive, prayer was a thing he had so often exercis'd that it was grown habituall to him.

Having thus prepared himself, he did with great humility and devotion, receive the Holy Sacrament, together with the Earl of Norwich, and Sir John Owen, who were condemned to suffer with him, but are yet—thanks be to God—both living, and will live, I hope, to see justice done upon those that did condemn them.

Having received the Sacrament, and being much comforted by it—as finding in himself all the gracious effects of it—he was presently put to the tryal of his spiritual strength by taking his last leave of the nearest and dearest relations that can be betwixt flesh and blood, and the strongest ties that a noble nature can have unto the world. For that excellent lady his wife, and his eldest sonne, together with two of his uncles, and his nephew Sir Tho. Corbett, came all into the roome at once—as being not permitted to do it severally—and at once assaulted him—as it were—with such passionate looks, gestures, and words, be-moaning and bewailing him, and themselves—his lady especially—with such sweet and tender expressions of love, sorrow, and pittie, that the greatest natural courage in the world must needs have been shaken with it, had it not been supported—as his was—with more than humane strength and firmness. I am sure it was the saddest sight, that ever I saw; and such an one, as even that great courage of his could not choose, but be a little softened and melted with it; but he quickly recollected

himself, and then with a cheerful countenance told his wife and the rest, that he and they must all submit not onely with patience, but cheerfulness, to the divine Providence ; which, no doubt, had and would order all things so as should be best for him and them too. Tho' perhaps it did not yet appear to them to be so. Then having recommended the care of his children and servants unto his lady, he commanded both her and his sonne—as they loved him—to forgive his enemies, and though—said he unto his sonne—I would not have you neglect any honourable and just occasion to serve the King and the Country, with the hazzard of your life and fortune, yet I would have you to engage yourself—as I thanks be to God for it have done—neither out of desire of revenge, nor hope of reward, but out of a conscience of your duty only. My land, said he, was so settled upon you by your grand-father, that no pretence of crime in me can deprive you of it. The best legacy I can leave with you, is my prayers for you, and a verse of David's Psalms, which I command you, upon my blessing, to make a part of your daily prayers, as I have always made it a part of mine viz. ' Lord, direct me in my ways, and make my paths plain before me ' ; for I have always loved plainness and cleanness both in my words and actions, and abhorred all doubting and dissimulation ; and so I would have you to do also. Then he gave him his blessing, and having embraced his uncles and nephew, he took his last leave of them all, not without some tears on his part, as well as many of theirs ; his poor lady being not able to support such a weight of grief did sink under it, and was fayne to be carried out from him.

As soon as all were gone, and none left in the room but he and I, well Dr.—said he—the hardest thing that I had to do here in this woorld is now past, the parting with this poore woman ; let us now again to the main concernment. I believe—said he—I shall be called upon presently to go to the place where I am to take my leave of all the rest of the world ; and—I thank my God—I find myself very well disposed to it, and prepared for it. And then he told me he was in good hope then when he came to die, he should have nothing else to do, but to die only. For—said he—when I am upon the scaffold, having made a confession of my faith, and said something in honour of my master that was, and for the service of my master that now is, I will only repeat the Lord's Prayer upon my knees, and then lay my head upon the block, desiring the executioner that upon the stretching forth of my right hand—which shall be in the very act of recommending my soul unto my Saviour—he would instantly do his office. And then he shewed me the heads of what he meant to speak of, written with his own hand ; which after he had made use of, he gave unto his servant just as he laid himself down to receive the stroke ; and commanded him to deliver that paper unto me as soon as he was dead, which he did accordingly. We had scarce made an end of reading this paper, when Lieutenant Coll. Boucher the officer appointed to convey him, and the other condemn'd Lords, with Sir John Owen, to the place of execution, knocked at the door, and told him, it was time for his Lordship to go ; whose summons he very readily and cheerfully obeyed.

Presently afterwards Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, the Earl of Norwich, and he, together with Sir John Owen, were carried thorough St. James's Park, in sedans to Sir Robert Cotton's house, beyond the upper end of Westminster Hall, when they were all put into our room, and stayed there at least an houre before Duke Hamilton—who was order'd to die first—was carried to the place of execution, which was upon a scaffold just before Westminster Hall in the New Palace.

During the time of their stay in Sir Robert Cotton's house, my Lord Capel, finding his stomach a little ill, and fearing he might woorse, if he did not do then what he had for a long time accustomed himself to do daily, called me aside and asked me whether he might not take a pipe of tobacco without scandall; saying, he was very affrayd it might very much discompose him if he did not; I told him I thought he might, and that in prudence he ought to do it, rather than hazzard any such inconvenience at such a time, when he had need to be in the best temper. Whereupon Duke Hamilton and the Earl of Holland, drinking each of them a little wine, to comfort their spirits, he took a little tobacco to the same end also. All the time of his being there—which was at least two hours, he being the last of the three, that was to be put to death—he spent either in conference with me, or in soliloquies and prayers unto God. At last when—the other two Lords being already executed—Lieutenant-Coll. Beecher came to fetch him to the scaffold, he first took his leave of my Lord of Norwich, and Sir John Owen—who were reprieved—giving my Lord of Norwich his cane, and would have taken his leave there of me also, but I told him I would wait upon him to the scaffold, and, if I might be suffered, do him the best service I could, in assisting him in the last act of his tragedy. Then before he went out of the room, turning him to the Lieutenant Coll. and the soldiers—who even then, and had been his guard, during his imprisonment in St James's house.—‘Gentlemen’—said he—‘I do not only from my heart forgive you, but thank you all, for that kindness and civility I have found from you; and as I forgive you, so I forgive your officers also even those that are the authors of my death; for I verily believe, that none of them do what they do out of any malice at all to me, but because I stand in the way of something else they have to do, which they think I must and will oppose as long as I live, to the utmost of my power.’ Then calling me to him, and giving me his watch to keep for a remembrance of him, ‘Doctor,’ said he, ‘I believe they will not suffer you to accompany and assist me upon the scaffold; but I thank God, the work wherein I stood especially in need of your help is done; I heartily thank God and you for it. All that I shall desire of you more, is to assist me with your prayers, whilst I am alive; and to do the best you can to comfort my poore wife, when I am dead. And in your prayers for me, desire Almighty God so to assist me with his grace, that in this last act of my life, I may so behave myself as becomes a good Christian, dying in and for so good a cause as this is; and particularly that for the manner of my death, it may be with an humble confidence in God's mercy, and with a modest assurance of a better life, and lastly that I may neither say nor do anything that may savour either of a base fear, or of a vain ostentation.’

When he had said this he was immediately conducted by the aforesaid Lieutent. Coll. and soldiers, thorough Westminster Hall and betwixt a guard of soldiers which stood all along, and kept off the people which thronged to see him, and who admiring the courage and constancy, that appeared in his very countenance, and mine itself, did generally commend, and blessed him, and pray for him with loud exclamations, as he went by them.

I followed him as far as the foot of the scaffold and would have gone up after him; but the Lieutenant Coll. would not suffer, though either of the other Lords had their divines there with them; but they were Presbyterians, and I was generally known to be a Royalist, and Episcopal, which was the only reason I can imagine why they would not suffer me to appear before such a multitude of people as an assis-

tant at such an action ; unless it were, perhaps that they would have the people believe that the Lord Capell died indeed resolutely, like an old Romane, but that the constancy and courage he shewed at his death, was but an effect of his natural temper, and constitution, and not of a Christian faith and hope, or of any sense of piety, as appeared by his refusing or not caring to have a divine with him at his death, which was most false. Indeed dying for loyalty, as he did, he would not in the last act of his life, make use of any of those ministers whom he had reason to think had been the contrivers and plotters ; or at least the promoters and abettors of the most causeless, and the most horrid rebellion that ever had been in the woorld.

When I saw I could be no further useful to him—he having embraced me, and taken his last leave of me at the foot of the scaffold—I presently got myself out of the place, and out of the horror of the sight ; which nothing but the consideration of doing him some service, could have hired me to see.

How he behaved himself afterwards upon ye scaffold, both before and at his death his best friends need desire no better testimony than that which was then given him by his enemies ; who could not choose but admire and openly applaud that virtue of his, which their barbarous cruelty would not suffer the world to enjoy any longer.

Thus died the truely noble, truely valiant and every way most worthy, and right honorable the Lord Capell, a great example of virtue, piety, and loyalty, in the midst of a most vitious profane and rebellious generation. A man, whom the world never valued to his worth, till it grew to be unworthy of him.

GEO. MORLEY."

G. MORLEY, BISHOP OF WORCESTER, to LORD BEAUCHAMP.

[1649,] March 27. Gravesend.—Sends a copy of the heads according unto which his most worthy father-in-law took his farewell of the world. Would have sent the original "but that I think I shall do him and you better service by showing it in his own handwriting to the son of his dear mother." These and other remarkable particulars I observed from him whilst I was doing him the last service of a divine, and of a friend, I have transmitted to his old servant Mr. Symonds to be inserted into the history of his life, which I perceive he intends to write as soon as it shall please God to give him health and strength for the doing of it.

"And now my Lord give a man that bath no ends upon you leave to tell you that you have behaved yourself nobly in this late and great occasion for the tryal of your virtue, that were you not of the family you are, you would in the opinion of all knowing and good men be worthy of the honour and fortune you are born to, even for this one action of yours onely, &c."

H. PUCKERING to the DUCHESS OF [BEAUFORT].

1635, November 30. Warwick.—"In obedience, Madam, to your Grace's command, I have bethought myselfe of what I could most properly observe or remember of my dear Lord your father's military transactions in that time I had the honour to serve under him, whose worth and bravery would become and fill a volume to give him his due. In the beginning of that unfortunate war, I found my Lord at Notingham, where in August 1642 the King set up his standard, and those horse and foote the King brought from the north encreased there dayly, and new comissions and leavys

by that time he had marched through Derbyshire, Staffordshire, and Shropshire, with the addition out of Wales and Cheshire, made up a considerable army when the King came back from Chester unto Shrewsbury. The rise of this army was at York, where my Lord Capell first entered the list, and gave that good example by voluntary contributing pay for 100 horse out of his own purse. For a great while when the army marched, my Lord, with many other Lords and Gentlemen of the best rank, put himself into the King's troope, commanded by my Lord Bernard Stuart, and quartered with it, which puts me in mind of one pleasant story and answer of my Lord's to the King, who coming to Bridgenorth, his troops were quartered out of towne at Sir William Whitmores, a fair large house, which would have given my Lord the accomodation with the other Lords of a good feather-bed. But my Lord went and tumbled in straw in the barne with—I think—100 gentlemen and slept very sound, and comeing the next morning to Court, the King asked him, 'my Lord how did you like your bed the last night?' 'Very well,' says my Lord, 'for since I came with your Ma^{tie} from York, I never before met with a bed long enough for me.' At the battle at Kineton under Edge Hill, which was not long after, my Lord charged in that troop with a most undaunted courage. I remember Madam no other particular action of my Lords that winter, but observed him often called to Councill by his Ma^{tie} when—possibly—he discovered so much ingenuity, togeather with a real integrity for the King's service, that some, who then had the ascendent, thought it best for their purpose to remove my Lord further from the King's care. And so he was sent away in the spring with a comission to command as Lieutenant Generall under the Prince of Wales, in the Counties of Worcester, Salop, Cheshire, and North Wales; but without ever a peny of money, or any other forces more than 80^{ty} horse, which he carried from Oxford—of which 14 were mine—having newly received a commission to serve under him. My Lord tho' a meer stranger in those parts whither he was sent to command, yet was received with very good chierfullness and civility by all the gentlemen who presently fell into resolutions of raiseing contributions monthly for paying such soldiers as should be in the field or garrisons, or for providing armes or amunition or the like. My Lord then set up his head quarters at Shrewsbury, and seting on werke there and at Chester and at other places mills for iron and powder works, in a short time with incredible industry he became master of a great many arms and amunition, in so much that he was able to supply Prince Rupert with powder, who was then siting down before Litchfield and had signified to him his wants. By this time my Lord had filled his regiment of horse to about 400. But two regiments of foote, one raiseing in Denbighshire under Coll. Winn, the other under Sir Michael Woodhouse—after called the Prince of Wales's Regiment—were not yet compleated or come up to him, notwithstanding which at the instance of Prince Rupert, and—I suppose—directions from the Court the better to divert the enemy on that side, and facilitate the seige of Litchfield, my Lord, was obliged to advance and lye at Whitechurch with those horse he had, and only one regiment of Shropshire train'd-bands foote, it being but too open a quarter and within 8 miles of Nantwich. However my Lord proved master of the field and dared the enemy, who at their very first peeping out with their horse and foote were chastised by my Lord in person, and beaten with his horse from Ranmore Heath back into Nantwich.

It happened Madam that not long after that some of those northern forces had laid seige to Warrington a considerable pass over that river

into Cheshire. My good Lord Capell who had his eye everywhere, and his thoughts active, understanding that the garrison's chiefest wants were of salt and powder, resolved to attempt their supply and that without much difficulty, on the Cheshire side. In order to which, he drew out his horse, and some foote mounted, out of Whitchurch to joyne with another party out of Chester; which being joined and marched within 4 or 5 miles of Warrington, by some scouts they had taken it was informed that the place was the day before surrendered, at which my Lord could not but be much startled depending chiefly for that intelligence on some that encouraged him on that design, meeting him forth of Chester, and marching along with him, tho' it was after whispered that such person had notice that morning he came out of Chester that Warrington was delivered up, but had a mind to put that trick upon my Lord Capell, and truly this bad consequence attended it that tho' the party out of Chester was immediately sent back thither, and the horse lay the same night within 7 miles of Whitchurch, yet before they could returne the next morning Sir William Brereton with his forces had cut short from Warrington to Nantwich, plundered it, and in lesse than two hours left it to be bemoan'd by the present coming of my Lord's regiment on the one side, and of Sir Richard Willis's on the other, which lay that night before at Wem seven miles alsoe from Whitchurch, being said to be part of our army from Oxford, and Sir Richard to be Major General of the horse. My Lord, when he drew out had left in the towne Sir Michael Woodhouse with his new raised regiment of foote, and a new troop of horse come in the day before, raised and commanded by one Captaine Price, both which did so very well in their retreat and bringing of their men, that the enemy would not be tempted to follow them out of towne. 'Twas said my Lord's losse in this businesse was of 2,000*l*. left in his wagon at his quarters. After this my Lord marched where he pleased as absolute master of the field, the enemy not caring to looke him in the face. One brush wee chanced to give them, chopping upon them unexpectedly as they were plundering Sir Thomas Hanmer's house. They were a regiment of horse, another of dragoons, with us were my Lord's and Sir Richard Willis's regiments of horse with about 30^{ty} dragoons. Wee happen'd to turn them, and had the chase of them from Hanmer quite through Whitchurch towne to the gates of Nantwich, killing and taking about 100 men, and bringing away prisoners, Lieutenant Coll. Flack who commanded their party, with Major Bromell and Captaine Sanchy, Sir William Brereton's own preaching Captaine Lieutenant. After this when the Queen was landed in the north, and on the march towards Oxford with the forces she brought over Coll. Charles Cavendish with 14 troops of horse attended her as far as Watsat in the county of Stafford, where my Lord your Grace's father was come to receive her, and to wait upon her, with his two regiments of horse and 800 foote, which, when the King received her at Edgehill, returned back into Shropshire.

And now Madam was my Lord in a fair way to maintaine both his garrisons at home and to advance and straighten his enemy's in their quarters, when of a suddaine, upon the King's rising from Gloucester, Sir Michael Woodhouse his regiment was commanded away to the first fight at Newberry, not returning back till some months after, lessened 300 men of what they were, which gave the enemy—who kept all their forces entire—the confidence to plant a garrison in Wem, which my Lord for want of his foote could not prevent. But that lyeing within seven miles of Shrewsbury, and in the very way to Chester, it made my Lord very uneasy, and to cast about how to recover it, which

wee attempted thus. He drew his horse and foote out of Shrewsbury and faced Wem, making a shew to attayne it, but rose and appeared before Nantwich, whither he was sure those of Wem, marching in the night a little about, would be sent for their succour. This happened as my Lord expected and Nantwich looked for my Lord's falling on them at break of day. But leaving lighted matches to amuse them of Nantwich, he cuts short back, marches so that at break of day he is again before Wem, dismounts about eighty horse, storms it, had his men on their works who laid hold of their canon; their best men being gone out for Nantwich, there were not left men enough to defend the place. But it so unluckily fell out that notwithstanding all this, Winn, Collonel of the Welsh regiment being their settled Collonel, Scriven of the trained bands, and Major Broughton of Sir Michael Woodhouses regiment, being shot, all the example or persuasions of my Lord Capel could use to them did signifie nothing, the soldiers would not fall in again, but lost this glorious opportunity of recovering Wem with so much ease and good contrivance, as the greatest soldiers and most experienced in the world could not have designed better. Indeed this moved my glorious Lord's stomach so much, that after the shedding several teares of rage and anger he would not remove out of those trenches, which he had so lately mastered, although they made many desperate shots at him untill he had taken out his pipe, and his friends in a manner forced him away. But now he must expect a present sight of the joynt forces of Nantwich and Wem to follow him in his rear to Shrewsbury, and so they did 3 miles unto Leebridge, but his retreat was so well managed and in such good order, that they were glad to give him over there, his loss in the retreat was of very few men, tho' indeed that of Spotwood, Major of his Dragoons, for his conduct and bravery, was very considerable. But a little before this my Lord had shewed us great gallantry and skill in storming and taking Lappington Church where the enemy had fixed a garrison, till my Lord fired them out, and was the busiest among his soldiers in carrying faggots to the porch. The enemy now they were fixed at Wem and had placed Major General Mitton Governor there, an active and stout man, began to enlarge their quarters towards the borders of Wales, and put up some little garrisons, which were quickly reduced at the landing of those officers and soldiers my Lord of Ormond had sent out of Ireland to serve the King. They came in very evill equipage to Chester, and looked as if they had been used to hardshipp, not having either money, hose, or shoes. The better to keep up their spirits, and since they were come within his precincts, where his Lordshipp believed he might make good use of them, altho' after the first 2 or 3 months from his coming among them he had received no contributions from the countries, he made a shift upon his own credit to provide and furnish every foote soldier with new hose and shoes, and with some money in their purses, a thing they had not of a long time been used to, and perfectly won their hearts. Much about this time—I have forgot whether before or after—for I was then mysele in Oxford, Sir Nicholas Byron with his Lady were going towards Chester, and lay at Ellesmere where Sir Richard Willis's and our regiment were quartered; but in a very dark and tempestuous night tho' we had our usual guards and a patroll with a Lieutenant and 30^{ty} horse abroad, Mitton slipt by that party, and fell into the quarters and carryed away divers horse and men. Among the rest Sir Nicholas Byron, and I think Sir Richard Willis with 2 or 3 of his captains, were taken prisoners, Mark Trevor and Sir Thomas Corbet very narrowly escaping. This lessened our regiment very near 80^{ty} horse, but most of the men persevered. This is the only time that regiment ever happened to be beaten up.

But to return Madam to my Lord Capell's affaires, which now were, and were likely to continue in a good posture, if the mallice of some and the ambition of others had not come in to discompose his fair proceedings, and his Majesties service. The country now being ashamed that they had broken their word in not paying their monthly contributions as promised, exclaime against free quarters, and the unrulinesse of the soldiers, . . . a stranger not fit to govern them, as one whose land and interest lyes among them, mutter out several disaffections which in time must come to the King's ear; or else how should Sir Nicholas Byron—who was once Collonell General—make the way easy for my Lord his nephew, to succeed my Lord Capell, in his command. Your Grace Madam knowes better than I how my Lord your father upon these surmises went up to Oxford, and how he vindicated himselfe in every point unto the King who was entirely satisfied with his proceedings, and how after with his Majesties leave he withdrew to Bristoll, whither my good lady your Grace's mother, brought him the comfort of herselfe and you; but before ever my Lord or I left Shropshire and Cheshire, I cannot but remember that my Lord was so carefull of their countries and the King's service in them, that before his departing, he called all those great officers together at Chester, and representing to them how the posture of affaires stood at present, he consulted with them, and desired their advice particularly concerning Nantwich, which was most proper, then to begin a formal seige of it, or to block it up at a distance, or fix a strong quarter or garrison at Nantwich or somewhere near Nantwich to strengthen it, and hinder its excursions; this last was generally approved of, the first wholly rejected, notwithstanding when my Lord Byron, who had so far gained the point, was sent down to command in my Lord Capell's roome, sat downe before Nantwich, he lost a month's time before it, in the depth of winter, till the enemy drew together to relieve it, and then he was forc'd to raise the seige, and to draw off, and fight them where he was beaten, and most of those brave Irish officers taken prisoners. Much about this time wee had no good successe before Montgomery Castle, where amongst others our regiment was. But things went still more backward after my Lord Capell left those parts. Wee had, indeed, taken Hopton Castle and Brampton Bryan Castle in the spring. Just as Prince Rupert came to Shrewsbury, and went and raised the seige of Newark and came back and forward a considerable army here, with which he marched to the reliefe of York, where he was beaten on the 2nd of July 1644, my Lord Capell's old Regiment was then 400 horse. Sir Thomas Corbet and myselfe had resolved to quit it, since my Lord was no more amongst us, under whose banner we had made our choice to serve the King, but my Lord charmed us to the contrary alleading how it would looke or be taken from him, if upon his laying downe his comission those that served under him should do so too, chiefly when this sommer and Prince Rupert were likely to be full of action. Whereas my Lord's desires being alwayes with us in place of commands, wee took new commissions from Prince Rupert; Mark Trevor—afterwards made Lord Dungannon—commanded that regiment, Sir Thomas Corbet and myselfe were field officers under him, and marched that campagne with Prince Rupert, after whose return from the battle at York, to Chester, and from thence to the King in the West. Sir Thomas and I alsoe left the regiment in quarters in Denbighshire and came to waite on my Lord and Lady Capell at Bristoll, with whom we alsoe found your Grace.

And now Madam the King's fortunes declineing in the North, and very doubtful in the West after the last battle of Newberry, it was

time to consult how to manage the next yeares actions. The King and his Councell resolve upon raising an army in the West by an association of the 3 Counties, Somersetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall, the Prince of Wales to be sent in person thither, attended by his Councell; my Lord Capell is sent for upon this by the King to Oxford, and made not only of the Prince's Councell, but Gentleman alsoe of his Guards, which were to consist of a regiment of horse, another of dragoons, and a third of foote, independent from any commands but my Lord's, and my Lord Capell's from any other but the Prince. The regiment of horse and foote were not long a raising by the Prince's commission appointed in those counties. The dragoons were never compleated. My Lord was so kind to his old regiment as to incorporate them into this, and to continue the same officers in their places, recruiting their thin troopes out of those new levies upon which Collonel Trevor brought over out of Wales with him their remainder, being between 7 or 8 score good men. To which Sir Francis Mackworth, Collonel Tuke, Major General Pert, and others, added their broken regiments, putting them into troops, and served themselves in person under my Lord and the commands of his officers of the field. So that these horse guards were made 10 troopes and marched effective 800 men. The other levies for the Prince's army went on pretty well, which were under my Lord Hopton. But this being the worke of the sommer in which the King lost the battle at Naseby, and my Lord Goreing had no successe before Taunton, Fairfax with his victorious army came to visite the West, and soon made himselfe master of Bristoll, from whence the Prince of Wales had before been gone to Bridgewater, and from thence to Launceston and Tavistock, where he passed the first part of a tedious cold winter. The Prince had about Tavistock near upon 7000 new raised men, foote, besides his guards, and at the least 4000 horse with my Lord Goreing, which as the enemy advanced after takeing Bristoll still drew back farther towards him and Cornwall. The Prince's Councell not thinking the Prince secure soe neare a powerfull enemy, marched next with him to Pendennis Castle, the foote being marched with my Lord Hopton, and all the horse to Torrington, to stop Fairfax—if possible—from coming into Cornwall, but Fairfax sending a strong party at the close of the evening to discover the Prince's forces, both parties engaged so long at the townes end and among the hedges and enclosures, that Fairfax's seconds not only advanced, but the greatest part of his army came up and entered the towne, at what time—by what accident is unknown—the magazeen in the church blew up, both horse and foote retreated, what remained of the scattered foote were sent to Pendennis, or the Mount, the horse divided some to a ford, others over a bridge towards Stratton, where if Collonel Cook, who was with a strong party sent to fall on our rear, had not mistaken one bridge for another, he had unavoidably ruined us all, for our retreat was over towards Stratton in Cornwall, but he went over the Devonshire bridge towards Holesworthy, and our wayes and lanes were so enclosed and narrow, that by daylight wee had brought up our rear not above 4 miles from Torrington. My Lord Capell staid behind the Prince with my Lord Hopton and those forces, as long as there was any probability of keeping the enemy from passing into Cornwall. Collonel Trevor with his officers of the horse, foreseeing that wee should be penned up in Cornwall upon the enemy's further advance, which without foote wee could not possibly hinder, moved my Lord and my Lord Hopton at Torrington, for leave with our regiment of horse to attempt the breaking through and marching to the King to Oxford. The thing was as

yet possible though of great difficulty. The answer wee received was, the Prince was still in Cornwall, and not out of danger, and must not be left without guards. The truth is Madam, they were the horse that himsele or his Councell could chiefly trust to; my Lord Goreings being an ungovernable body without a head, himsele being gone over beyond sea, and followed not long after by my Lord Wentworth his general of the horse, his lieutenant George Porter took horse and went up to London, so that the chiefe command was left to Major General Webb, a stout and knowing brave man, but one who had no power or influence upon them, not haveing been long of that army, and placed in that command, to the disgust of some others that pretended more right to it.

At this passe was the army when Sir Thomas Fairfax entered Cornwall at Stratton, obligeing all our horse to pass on further over Wade bridge where keeping a strong guard, and carrying the body of his army and head quarters to Bodmin, he guarded the other pass at Lestithiell, so that by this wee were quite coup't up, and our hands tyed. Our head quarters was at Truro, where some of the Prince's Councell staid, and many daies pass'd without any considerable action of the forces on either side. At last was sent a party of about 700 commanded horse with Collonel Rich, to discover what wee were doeing. Six troopes of our regiment were to come upon the out guard that night, who, when they came to relieve a like number of my Lord Goreing's horse, they found the Major that was over that party asleep in a barn, and not able to give any manner of account of the enemy whose body lay within 5 miles of them, but were glad to be relieved and march off. These men were not gone out of sight, when drawing towards night a body of the enemy was seen to move. Their strength or number could not at that distance be judged. But the alarum was thereupon sent to the quarters, and that party newly gone off, sent to and desired to return and joyne, but they would not. It happened that Colonel Rich came so quick upon ours that wee had but just time to withdraw two parties of about 40 horse a peece, sent to two churches a mile off, as out guards to our main guards; and a corporal sent out with a patrole of a dozen horse for discovery, was forced to fight his way through the enemy to come home to us. Not knowing but this might be the van of their whole army Collonel Trevor drew of my Lord's with 3 other troopes in orderly retreat, Sir Thomas Corbet's and Major General Pert's two troopes giveing the enemy a very brisk charge before the mouth of the lane, whither they alsoe were to follow in retreat, which charge I believe the enemy did not like because he followed not our party further. In this charge only 5 or 6 lost, besides Coronet Coe taken prisoner, and Major General Pert—a very brave person—who 10 dayes after dyed at Bodrain of his wounds. I have been Madam the longer and more particuler upon this passage because it was the last action that happen'd in the West. For the very next day Sir Thomas Fairfax sent an offer and propositions to treat about our disbanding and laying downe of arms, to which might be observed a greater concurrence and unity of mind than had been some time before in their marshall affairs. Three or four of our chiefest officers were ordered to goe to Sir Thomas Fairfax's head quarters at Bodmin, where in as many dayes articles were agreed, and thereupon our army presently disbanded. And truly Madam wee were drawn into such streights that wee could not doe otherwise. It was now too late to breake through. The two passes in the middle between them with his whole body at Bodmin. The bridges were pulled up and trees cut downe in all places behind him to pussell our horse. About Barn-

stable lay Massey ready to receive us, with 2000 horse at Exeter. On the other hand Sir Harden Waller was before the towne. If wee could have made our way thus far, those that then besieged Laycock House would a new entertained us. And last of all Dolbier who besieged Basing House would probably make a sad example of us. So that no hopes being left to get in a body to the King, or to keep with the Prince, who was by this time taking shipp for Scilly, wee fairly saved a bloody nose, and carried most of the officers—with a convoy—to the King to Oxford. The troopers goeing with passes and convoys to their several homes.

And now Madam wee are at an end of my Lord your Father's military employments in the North West, or West of England, which were concluded with as much prudential care, indefatigable industry, and unparraleld courage, as could be seen in the greatest master of art or war. He seem'd to me always cut out for heroick undertakings, minding only the service of his Prince, whilst others promoted their own private ends, and this appeared yet further when he could serve his master no longer with his sword, his purse, or credit, his uncontrolable loyalty and zeal gave his pen that employment which proved so fatal to him not long after, by those admirable letters which were to be seen printed at the end of his incomparable booke, left as a monument of his glory and fame to all eternity, and to the ignominy and shame of all his inhuman butchers. But tis not fit I should dilate on this unnatural subject, I humbly beg your Graces pardon wherein I have transgressed, many things may have slippt my memory after so long a time, but what this paper doth contain is nothing else but truth. The abruptnesse and discomposure of it must alsoe be excused, besides the ill choice of the paper, which really Madam, the shakeing of my hand and the weaknesse of my sight incident to old age hinders me to transcribe and put into a more becomeing fashion. Therefore be pleased Madam to forgive and accept of it as it is, and coming from the sincere obedience of a true Capelist, who alwaies did and shall esteem his greatest honour to be under that title, and that of

Madam

Your Grace's most dutifull and
humble Serv^t

H. PUCKERING.

Warwick 30
Nov^r 1685.

I beg that my Duty and service may by your Grace be made acceptable to the Duke of Beaufort."

THE CHARACTER OF ARTHUR, LORD ESSEX.

"At 16 yeares of age in the middle of June 1648 when his father my Lord Capell defended the town of Colchester against the rebells, a serjeant with two men came to Hadham to carry him to the Generall at the League before Colchester. He was then very sickly and had scarce rid ever on horseback, or been out of the family, and from the time that Cromwell first took away the horses there, never could be one kept, soe that he was forced to hire horses for himself and one man, which was all that would be allowed him, and was soe ill used that he was forced sometimes to lye in a cabin, and sometimes in a little thachet house, with two soldiers lying by him in straw, and every day was carryed round the works. The first day they sent my Lord word that his son was there and whether he would not surrender, which he answered that if

his wife and all his children were there he would doe his duty. However with much solicitation on the sixth of July he had leave to return.

The conversation of Mr. Algernon Sidney who was cozen german to his lady, and some others misled him to all those errors and false principles which afterwards brought him to ruin.

Note. He never was in the army any more than a Lord Lieutenant of a county. He was sent on an embassy to the King of Denmark in the year 1670, 22 Car. II. When his ship drew near the coast of that country the English Resident waited on him to congratulate his safe passage into those seas, and then communicated to him the news that country afforded, particularly the Order of Council made there, that all Embassadors should strike saile to the King's ships as they passed through the Sound, and that there were three guns laid at Cronenberg, where his Excellency should land, to give him notice of it. But if any Ambassador refused to strike upon the discharge of the last gun, there was a fire of guns layd to sink his vessel. And further informed his Excellency that in obedience to this order the French Embassadors had performed this duty before they landed, and advised him to do the like, otherwise to pass by in the night and land in some place distant from the Castle. When his Excellency had heard him he thanked him for the notice, but excused himself that he could not follow his advice for he represented the person of his Master, who was a sovereign Prince, and by the Law of Nations, no King ought to strike to another, and to escape by the darkness of the night did shew a timorous spirit which did not become the courage of an Ambassador, who was bound in honour to maintain the right of his Prince. Then he declared his resolution to all the gentlemen there that he intended to appear before the Castle of Coningberg about four o'clock the next day in the afternoon, and would not strike sail, therefore advised all those who dreaded the danger and hazard thereof, that they would take the boat and land at some other place, for he would not betray the right and honour of his Master.

The next day his Excellency appeared before the Castle at the appointed hour when the Governor gave him a gun, which was answered by another. Then a second was shot from the Castle before the ship. After that a third which tore the rigging of it. Yet the Ambassador would not strike, but sail forward, and landing without any other harm was honourably received and conducted to his lodgings.

The Governor of the Castle gave notice to the King of the time and manner of his landing, upon which the King applauded the courage of his Excellency, commanding the Governor that he should give him all the respect, observance, and honour that was due to an Ambassador, conduct him with the greatest grandeur to Copenhagen, and take care that nothing should be wanting that was due to the greatest Ambassador.

The next day the Governor and Great Officers at Court waited on his Excellency at his lodgings at Croningburg, and congratulated his arrival there. Those ceremonyes being passed the Governor and the King's officers offered to conduct him to the royall city of Copenhagen, but his Excellency complained that the Governor had assaulted his ship, tore his tackling and rigging, violated the priviledges of an Ambassador, and that it did not become him to proceed any further till his Master was righted, and satisfaction made for the affront which the Governor had given upon his landing. Thereupon Commissioners were appointed to examine the matter, and upon the hearing they ordered that the Governor should ask his Excellency forgiveness on his knees in the open street before his lodgings in Croninberg; which act was publicly performed whilst his Excellency stood in his balcony, to the glory of the King of England, and the honour of the English nation."

CHARLES II. to the MARQUIS OF WORCESTER.

MSS. OF THE
DUKE OF
BEAUFORT.

1649, October $\frac{31}{2}$. Jersey.—“My Lord Worcester. I am truly sensible of your greate meritt and sufferings in the service of the King my Father, and I shall never be wanting to reward and encourage as well that kindness to his person as that zeale to his service which you have exprest in all your actions, and which I doubt not but you will still continue to me. I feare that in this conjuncture of tyme it will not be seasonable for me to graunt, nor for you to receyve the addition of honour you desire, neyther can I at this tyme send the order you mention concerning the garter, but be confident that I will in due tyme give you such satisfaction in these particulars, and in all other things that you can reasonably expect from me, as shall lett you see with how much trueth and kindness I am

Your affectionate friend

(Signed) CHARLES R.

I doe not send the letter to Monsieur Monbrun till I understand more particularly from you what the intention of it is, which I doe not yet well understand.”

1649, November 4.—Copy of an Order of Parliament to the Committee at Goldsmith's Hall to examine into the state of the lands, &c. made over for the purpose of raising 50,000*l.* for Ireland.

—— to the MARQUIS OF HERTFORD.

1650, July 23.—“MY LORD,

By the enclosed order your Lordship will see the resolution taken by the Councill concerning the place of your abode which according to the order is herewith sent unto your Lordshippe that you may take notice thereof and dispose of yourselfe accordingly.

1650, July 23.—Order by the Councill of State at Whitehall that upon some information given to the Councill and consideration thereupon had, it is held requisite for the better securitie of the publique peace, and accordingly endorst that the Marquesse of Hertford doe make his repairs to some of his houses in Wiltshire, or to his house neare Hartley Rowe and there continue within the limitts appointed by the late Act for confining of delinquents for the space of six moneths next ensuing unlesse the Parliament or Councill shall otherwise order. And that this order be sent unto the said Lord Marquesse who is to take notice thereof and within fourteene dayes after the receipt thereof to conform himselfe thereto accordingly.”

The MARQUIS OF HERTFORD to his son, LORD BEAUCHAMP.

1651, June 15. Totnam.—“Deare Harry. I am very gladd toe heare that you have your health soe well in the Towre. It seems it is a place entailed upon our famylie, for wee have now helde it five generations, yeat toe speake the truth I like not the place soe well but that I coulede be very well contented the entayle should be cutt off and settled upon some other familie that better deserves it. I wish you here with all my harte, the place being very pleasant at this season. Some newes I shall sende you from hence, though not verie goode, yet no whitt dangerous to be uttered, poare Pugg is deade; but I fall into extravagances willing to entertaine as long as I can, and therefore with my blessing to yourselfe and your wife I rest

Your most affectionate father that entirely loves you

HERTFORDE.”

Heraldic seal.

The SAME to the SAME.

1651, July 27. Totnam.—Is very glad he is endeavouring his liberty for a month. Hopes he may succeed for this is the worst time of all the year to be in such a place.

Believes Epsom waters will do him much good. Intends to take them himself if he can get leave.

Heraldic seal.

The COUNCIL OF STATE, at WHITEHALL.

1651, July 28.—“Upon reading the petition of Henry, Lord Beauchamp now prisoner in the Tower with the two certificates of Doctor Wedderbarne and Doctor Paggot setting forth his sickly condition, and that it is necessary for the recovery of his health that he should be at liberty to drinke the waters at Epsham for the space of a month, It is thereupon ordered that the Lord Beauchamp giving Bond to the Keepers of the Liberties &c. himselfe in ten thousand pounds, and two sufficient securities in five thousand pounds each conditional that he shall render himself again prisoner in the Tower upon the first of September next, there to continue upon the former warrant or sooner if the Councell shall require it, and that in the meane tyme he shall not act anything to the prejudice of the Commonwealth, that thereupon he be at libertie for that tyme, and that a warrant be issued to the Lieutenant of the Tower for that purpose.

E. GUALTER FROST, Secr.”

The COUNCIL OF STATE, at WHITEHALL.

1651, September 9.—Order “That the Lord Beauchamp be bayled, he first taking the engagement himselfe becoming bound to the keepers of the libertie &c. in ten thousand pounds with two sureties each in five thousand pounds conditional that he shall appeare upon sumons and act nothing to the prejudice of the Commonwealth; and that he shall not for the space of a month next after such securitie given, depart out of the limmitts of the late lynes of communication.

GUALTER FROST, Secr.”

1651, August 10.—Order of the Council that Lord Beauchamp surrender himself to the Tower according to the condition of his bond.

GUALTER FROST, Secr.

CHARLES II. to LORD BEAUCHAMP.

1653-[4,] March 1.—“I should have thanked you for my gloves before this time, if I had mett with a conveniency of sending, I am very much concerned in your health and therefore have given order to an honest fellow to stay with you in the country, and to give me frequent accounts how you do; take heede of melancholique, I keepe myself from it as well as I can, and so must you. Remember me to all your friends and be confident I shall alwaies be very hartly yours.”

(No signature.)

CHARLES II. to LADY BEAUCHAMP. (*Holograph.*)

[1654,] May 28. Paris.—“If the part I have borne in your late iosse could have given you any ease, much of your greefe would be abated for indeede I have beene exceedingly troubled at it, nor can I have many more such losses; you will beleieve I will do my part to repayre what can be recovered, and to preserve what is left, and that I can never

forgett what I owe to you and yours, who shall alwayes bee as much within my particular care, as the wife of such a husband, and the daughter of such a father, ought to be, to whose memoryes more regarde cannot be payde then is dew from

Madame your very affectionate and constant frind

CHARLES R."

MSS. OF THE
DUKE OF
BEAUFORT.

A memorandum with these two letters:—"The little letter, in the Duchesse of Beaufort's own hand, was writ to my Lord Beauchamp by King Charles the Second. The other to me the May after his death. M. B."

LORD HERBERT to LADY HERBERT.

N.Y. August 30.—Has safely arrived in London.

"I was last night examined and am now in the tower. I have . . . ready so well satisfyed you of my innocence that I am sure my being lodged heere cannot fright you, neither can I imagin my restraint should bee long, for I think I only owe it to my Lordship. I desire that you would not resolve upon your journey hither till you heare further from mee, for I hope yet you may lye in the country and not have the trouble of any journey to bring us together. If these hopes faile mee, and that I see my selfe to continue longer than I can yet fancy I will let you know it and send the coach downe for your women and—if you thinke fit—the children to come up in &c."

Seal.

LADY CAPEL.

Petition of Elizabeth Lady Capel, the disconsolate widow of the late Lord Capel, to the Lords in Parliament. That those who took part in the notorious wickedness of her husband's death may be punished.

The CAPEL ESTATES.

A list of the Manors settled by Sir Arthur Capel, grandfather to the late Lord Capel, before the marriage of Lord Capel.

The MARQUIS OF WORCESTER [II.] to LORD

N.D.—A very earnest desire that Lord Arlington, Principal Secretary of State, should represent his case to the King so that all prejudices against himself may be removed. If he sought his own interest he would not want forty or fifty thousand pounds yearly beyond seas, while he as good as wants bread at home, where he was born to five and thirty thousand pounds of land of inheritance and five hundred thousand in cash left by his grandfather, which, for so good a cause as he has lost it for, he joyfully renounces it. "My dear Lord, look once more upon both my petitions, and if the King thinks me not worthy of common justice to be heard . . . and me to be laid aside I will gladly acquiesce and will no further trouble the King nor importune your Lordship."

A copy of the Marquis of Worcester's [II.] "ejaculatory and extemporary thanksgiving prayer when first with his corporall eyes he did see finished a perfect tryall of his water-commanding-engine delightfull and usefull to whomsoever hath in recomendation eyther knowledge profit or pleasure."

An earnest thanksgiving that an insight into so great a secret of nature beneficial to all mankind has been vouchsafed to him, with a prayer that he may not be puffed up by this and manv more unheard of and

unparalleled inventions. His end is to serve his country, disabuse his enemies, reimburse his creditors, recompence his benefactors, and reinhearten his distressed family.

A small piece of paper (apparently of the same date as the last) containing these notes:—

- “1. Intelligence at a distance communicative and not limited to distance nor by it the time prolonged.
2. The fountains of pleasure, with artificiall snow or haile or thunder and quantity not limited.
3. Discourse to be had by a lamp.
4. A brass head capable to receave at the ear a whisper, and the mouth thereof to render answers in any language to the interogater.”

LORD HERBERT to [his wife,] LADY HERBERT.

[1660,] May 9. London.—“Wee have this night received our instructions and tomorrow begin our journey towards the king, whom wee are commanded to acquaint with what great joy and acclamation hee was heere proclaimed, and to let him know that the Parliament hath enjoyed all ministers in England and Ireland to pray for him, the Duke of York, and the rest of the royal progeny, and ordered that the armes of the Commonwealth where ever they are standing, bee taken downe, and that his Majesty's bee set in the place. Wee are further to beseech his Majesty to return with speede to his dominions and government; and finally to acquaint him that the Parliament hath given order to the Admirall to obey his commands with the Navy, and to desire that he will please to signify to us when and where he will land, and whether he will come from Dover by land, or to London by water, where lodged, and how his pleasure is to bee received. I hope wee shall soone returne with him wee go for, and to have nothing wanting to my particular satisfaction—as when hee is heere there will not bee to the general—I desire you would begin to jorney this way some time next weeke, that I may finde you heere at my returne, in order to which I have given order that lodgings such as can be found bee taken where you may bee till you can chuse yourself a house to your minde, for I cannot bee onywhere, with any contentment without you.”

The SAME to the SAME.

[1661,] July 16. London. — Parliament will end its sitting, he believes, in a few days.

We have today, seeing it is impossible to pass the Act we were about for new moulding the militia before our rising, began a new one which will probably be passed tomorrow to confirm former commissions and instructions which are to be in force until the Parliament have time to pass a new Act.

Postscript:—“I must needes write newes of a great conquest wee had yesterday in the House. It was upon Mr. Prinne who did that to us hee never could bee brought to do before to any persons breathing by any meanes imaginable. Hee owned himself very submissively to have committed an offence and askt our pardon with teares in his eyes. It was upon this occasion. Wee having sent up to the Lords an Act, which I formerly mentioned, concerning the purging of Corporations, he having with all his might opposed it in the House without prevailing, writ a pamphlet without a name, wherein he arraignes all that serve

in the Parliament for burroughs, of perjury, and the King himself of no lesse if he assent to it. This he called the petition of the Citizens of London, and divers others Corporations of England. The book wee found upon examination to bee his, and he ingeniously owned it. Upon which being ordered to withdraw, the House took both the paper and his punishment into debate, and having voted the thing seditious, scandalous, false, and illegall, they sent for him to heare the censure wee had passt and to know whether hee would concurre with us in it, ordering the Speaker, when he appeared, to give a sharp reprehension, which truly hee did, for hee reproacht him with all hee had already suffered, his imprisonments, his being in the pillory and stigmatized; told him the House thought he deserved from them—if either they considered the doing themselves right, or executing justice upon him—to have all those punishments renewed upon him; but that in consideration of his having been of late instrumentall in restoring our King to us, the House was willing to show him favour if hee did repent his fault and concurre with them in the ceasure of himself and his booke. Mr. Prinne, contrary to what everybody expected from his temper, very humbly and penitently begg'd pardon of the House, owned the judgment they had given to be just and that hee did concurre with us in it, and shoulde receive the pardon hee askt from us as a meere mercy and not at all bee pretended to by any merit of his. This we esteeme I assure you a conquest worthy to be bragged of, and therefore I cannot forbear letting you know it, &c., &c.”

The SAME to the SAME.

1661, December 19. London.—Had fully intended to be with her at Badminton on Tuesday next, but being on a Committee that is to meet during the recess of the House, which is to be until the day after twelfth day, and those named being commanded to attend it, he cannot go so far. Desires her to meet him that night at Lord Abervenny's at Sherborne.

The reason of this Committee is the discovery of a design of very dangerous consequences, which the Chancellor communicated from the King, and the King judging it necessary there should be a Committee of Lords and Commons to sit and consider what proposals should be made to Parliament at their meeting again for such a force to be constantly, at least for some time, upon duty as a security to the King and kingdom, and the trained bands be relieved from the continual duty they are now on.

“It seems they had laid their businesse in a very methodical way. There were seaven interests taken in, which are opposite to the present government. These seaven had each their three representatives; the Commonwealth men three, whereof Harrington and Wildman were two: the purchasers of King's lands, &c. three; the Londoners three; the Anabaptists and Independents three; the disbanded officers three; the Rumpe three; and the Long Parliament three. All which, except the three last, met constantly and deputed out of themselves seaven to carry the designe more closely which took an oath of secrecy, and whereof five are already in hold, the other two in towne but not yet lighted on.”

The SAME to the SAME.

[1662,] January 9. London.—Describes part of his journey to London, where he arrived late. Is uncertain if he will have to pay his five pounds for not being there that day, but Peter, his footman, told him as soon as he came to his lodging it was said that he must.

"I believe wee shall have no report from our Committee, for the Lord Chancellour hath at a free conference declared from the King that hee was very sorry that there should bee so ill a construction made of what had bin declared concerning the plot, as if it was in order to the setting up of a standing force, which was a thing that the King abhorred, and would not accept of though the Parliament should offer it, that the Committee was not desired to any such end, nor the plot invented for that purpose, for that the King would engage himself now upon the word of a King that it should appeare that there was such a real thing, and so clearly that nobody should doubt it, but that yet because of some persons not being taken, it was not fit to discover any more of it. The newes heere is that wee are falling out with all our neighbours, the Spanish Embassadour warned to bee gone without expecting any audience publick or private, the French have declared and sent word that their ships shall never heerafte strike saile to the English, a thing never hitherto disputed, and must breede a warre or wee come off as poorely as the Spaniards did in disowning what his Embassadour did in disputing place with the French.

The Dutch they say have sent fifty saile of ships to waylay our fleete and fight them when they go for the Queene which they are not yet, nor to Tangers which they say it is probable may bee already lost by their delay, and that which is worst of all the victuall is putrified and spoiled, and most of the men aboard sick or dead.

I must not omit to tell you a passage betweene the Queene Mother of England and the Admirall of France, because it takes so much among the English heere, it was upon his telling her that hee had had order from the King his master that no French ship should strike saile to an English one. She asked how many ships hee would send togeather that should bee strong enough to dare to refuse it? He said five. 'How then,' said shee, 'if they should meete with six?' 'If there bee danger of meeting more,' said hee, 'wee'le send a dozen togeather.' 'But now if those should meete with twenty,' said shee? 'Why,' said hee, 'if there bee likelihood of meeting a greater number wee'le send thirty.' 'No,' said shee, 'let's come a little neerer the businesse, what will the thirty bee able to do if they meete with six English ones?'"

LORD CORNBURY to [the MARCHIONESS OF WORCESTER.]

1662, June 10. Hampton Court.—"Though I doubt not but your Ladyship heares from better hands then mine how matters goe at Court, yett in obedience to your commands, I thinke my selfe obliged to trouble you, though it be with a very ill and imperfect account. I will not say anything of the Queen's person to you, my Lord havinge seene her, and given you a more ample account then I can by letter; but I will tell you that which is best of all, and which I am sure your Ladyship will be very glad to heare; the King likes her very well, is much taken with her witt and conversation, sayes he will out-doe all that pretend to be good husbands, and that it is his owne fault if he be not happy, for he is as happy in his wife as any man can be. He is extremely fond and spends all his time with her, which I thinke is an argument he is well pleased. Certainly she is a woman of a great deale of discretion and judgement, of extraordinary piety, full of sweetnesse and goodnesse, and must needs gaine the affections of all people by her very gracious and obliging carriage; and no doubt but we shall be all very happy in her, if it please God to give her health, which indeed she hath wanted of late; she hath been indisposed almost ever since I have been here, with a feavourish distemper, and hath

been lett blood twice, but God be thanked, she is now very well again, and goes abroad tomorrow; she had many physicians called and amongst the rest Dr. Frazier, but nothing was done but by the prescription of her owne Portuguese doctor. Many impute this indisposition of the Queene's to the cough she gott on shipboard; but more to her ill dyett, which I beleewe, is the strangest you ever heard of—and she cannot yett bring herself to eate English meate—it is either eggs and sugar, or eggs and lard, and now and then a piece of a burnt leane pullett—for the Portugueses complaine that all our meate is too fatt—and she eates soe little of all this, that it is almost impossible she can receive any nourishment by it; but I hope she will by degrees be as well-pleased with our English dyett, as she is with our cloathes, which she says she likes very well, though she cannot persuade the Portuguese ladys to follow her example for they still weare their *guardenfantos*. The Queen is much concerned that the English ladys spend soe much time in dressing themselves, she feares they bestow but little on God Almighty, and in houswivry.

We have yett a very unsettled family, nothing at all in order. Not one Lady of the Bedchamber named besides my Lady Suffolke, who is in wayting, and they say both the number and persons you formerly heard mentioned will be much altered. The four dressers are fixed, who are my Lady Wood, Lady Scroope, Mrs. Fraizer, and Mrs. La Garde. The Maydes of Honour are likewise in waiting, viz. Mrs. Cary, Mrs. Stuart, Mrs. Wells, Mrs. Price, Mrs. Boynton, Mrs. Warmesiry. The Maydes of the Privy Chamber are but two, my Lady Mary Savage, my Lady Betty Levingstone—my Lord Newbrugh's Daughter. Men there are only fixed in their offices, My Lord Chesterfield, Mr. Montague, my selfe, and Mr. Cholmeley for a Gentlemen-Usher; noe other office is yett visibly disposed of, though I thinke there are forty pretenders to every one: and they are all here, both men and woemen, expecting their doome, and I am sure they will not be all pleased. There are twenty little intrigues and factions stirring, but with those I doe not meddle, and therefore will not venture to give you any account of them; only thus much I will tell you, that there are great endeavours used to make ————, you know who, a Lady of the Bedchamber, but it is hoped by many they will not take effect; a little time will show us a great deale, I will say no more of this for feare of burning my fingers. The King sayes he will settle the Queene's family within very few dayes. I hope it will be done within a fortnight and then my business will not be soe much but that I may doe what I will till Michaelmasse, and by the grace of God, I will make what hast I can into the countrey, it is much better walking in the parke at Cornbury then in a gallery here. I have not yett been here a weeke and really I am quite weary of the Court already. Doe you not thinke then I am like to make an excellent good courtier? I know you will not believe mee, but God willing I intend to be very speedily at Cornbury, and hope to see your Ladyship there in your way up to London.

“I must not leave off without giving you most humble thanks for your favours to me at Badmanton, and must confesse to have soe many obligations to you, that I can never acknowledge them enough. It is now high time to aske you ten thousand pardons for giving you this long and impertinent trouble, which your owne commands hath brought upon you, for I know you have farr more exact accounts of every thing here, even from very report; but for variety sometimes an impertinent letter is not amisse; And I am so glad of all opportunitys to present my service to you, that I forgett my selfe and thinke I may be as tedious in a letter, as in my discourses with you and you have pardoned so many of those, that I cannot but hope you will doe the

same now. I beseech you present my most humble service to my Lord and lett him know I have taken care of the Commissioners names he gave me. I did not thinke it manners to trouble him with a letter after soe tedious a one to your Ladyship. I hope your lettle sonne continues well and all the rest of your family, which yet they may doe and enjoy all the happinesse this world can afford, is the constant prayer of him, that desires to have the honour to be owned as, Your Ladyship's most affectionate

Brother and faithful servant,
H. CORNBURY."

LORD HERBERT to LADY HERBERT.

1666, September 26. [London.]—Noakes is to be sent to command at Chepstow with 10s. a week the same allowance as Gibbs had. He is to keep the soldiers orderly, see that the Protestants go to church, and cashier any mutinous or debauched men.

Is going in haste this morning to the House.

The SAME to the SAME.

1666, October 2. London.—Has been a hard day of exercise and fasting. Has just come from Whitehall where he had but now alighted out of the Duke's coach, who had kept them hunting without eating or drinking all day, though the King, with whom he had gone, was so wise as to slip away when they were at a fault and get to dinner in good time at Lord St. Alban's.

For all their riding had had a poor day's sport, the Duke's hounds behaving themselves but very lewdly.

The painter says he has both more oil and colours at Badminton than are to be had in all the town.

The SAME to the SAME.

1666, November 14. London.—Has scarcely time even for writing. It is now past 9 o'clock. Has just come from "the Council for printing, where do what we could though I tried hard, and so did Sir Rt. Atkins and those few friends of his that stood to it, wee could not hinder the Committee from voting Colonel Atkins his patent and monopoly, which scap't being judged so in the worst of times, and hath bin of a very long continuance.

The morning, till indeede two of the clock in the afternoone, we spent upon the Poll Bill, where wee have charged servants at twelve pence in the pound for their wages, and all personall estates at the hundredth penny. Wee now every day make some little progresse in that great affair, but it moves not so fast as I would have it, since I thinke it is of concerne to attend it, and yet am impatient to bee with you. This weeke is wholly devoted to it."

Intends to come down for a few days, and desires a riding horse to be sent to meet him at Ramsbury.

Had he thought Serjeant Bret would have refused to come would have ordered him to keep away. Does not at all like the temper of the garrison which expects thus to be choosers of their officers. Will take an opportunity to purge them. Confirms her orders about Bret. Does not think he will be such a fool as to wait for any from him.

"Heere are the greatest preparations made as to richnesse of cloathes that may be against Thursday next, which is the Queene's birthday, and nobody, they say, is ever to be smiled on again by the Queene that doth not come that day very richly clad. There is to bee a great and

publicke ball that night in the great hall which now is turned into a theater for the Court players, in lieu of the cockpit.

MSS. OF THE
DUKE OF
BEAUFORT.

"I am resolved to save charges, and indeed not to do a thing so unsuitable to the times as dancing so publickly I conceive to bee, nor appeare at Court that night, nor consequently tomorrow, because I would not bee thought just that day to absent myselfe. I have enough to employ both my time and money in, without in spending either so much as I thinke so I should. My brother Howard hath bin very earnest with mee to accept of lodgings in Arundell House, but I have hitherto refused them. I find my Lord Winchelsea's secretary is there still, I met him this day with my brother, and ask't to have got one of his bookes of the present state of the Turkish Empire, which they say hee has described well, but he had none left, neither are there many in towne, most being burnt by the late fire. But I am promest by a bookbinder hee will procure mee one for twenty shillings. If I can have it I will send it down to you."

The SAME to the SAME.

1666, November 17. London.—Tuesday is a thanksgiving day for the decrease of the plague.

The House has this day confirmed what it voted in Committee of the whole House, viz. the taxing of all public offices and employments, except military order muster and pay, at three shillings in the pound, all lawyers gains at two shillings in the pound, personal estates at one in the hundred. Thinks that on Wednesday honours and dignities in the House will be brought in, though they escaped in Committee.

Sir Philip Howard has been accused before the Committee by Sir Richard Everard of trying to tempt a married French priest to recant. The man seems to be a bad character, and the accuser did not appear.

Had after 10 o'clock on Thursday been to Whitehall to see the remainder of the ball. Never saw greater bravery. Believes there were a hundred vests that at the least cost a hundred pounds. Some were adorned with jewels above a thousand. The Lord Chamberlain's was one. The ladies much richer than the men. It was the gloriousest assembly everybody said that has been in England since the King's return, except the Coronation.

Has not dared to appear at Court these four or five days because he is not fine enough to be seen in such company.

The SAME to the SAME.

October 7. Hereford.—"The King could hardly have bin re-ceaved with more respect and ceremony, nor more demonstrations of joy then I was, being first met—though I gave but a day's warning—by above a hundred Gentlemen of Quality and the Sheriffe, who came above five miles out of the towne towards mee; and before I came to the gates, the Mayor and Aldermen in their gownes stood ready to receive mee, and delivered mee the keys of their towne. From which place to my lodging, which was above half a mile, there was a lanemade by mee by my owne soldiers, and the townsmen with their banners, which when I had past through they gave mee a volley of shot, and the great guns from the Castle, and afterwards drew up before my lodging, where they gave two more followed by hugh shoutes. And this day the Mayor and all the Aldermen with a great number of gentlemen came both forenoone and afternoone to attend mee to church, where the minister also made mee a great compliment out of the pulpit. I go tomorrow morning to Monmouth, and

thence return next day to the forest, and then—after another visit to Gloucester on Friday—home to Badminton.”

The MARQUIS of WORCESTER to KING CHARLES II.

[1666-7.]—“To ease your Majestie of a trouble incident to a prolixity of speech, and a naturall defect of utterance, which I accuse myself of, I have presumed here to sett downe sumarily in writinge what I desire—if your Majestie approve thereof—to speak in the House of Lords, whereby your Majestie may gather how farr—some things being rectified—I am confident of myselfe to serve you, praying your Majestie’s favourable construction of what I shall endeavour candidly to submitt unto your Majestie. In the first place accordinge to your most gracious commands layd upon me at the Hague, when I offered to make my Lord Chancellor privie to what I should att any tyme presume to offer to your Majestie’s transcendent judgment, haveing sufficiently suffered for treatinge with the late King of happy memory alone, to which request of myne you were pleased to give this most gracious and never to be forgotten reply, that notwithstanding you would have me first to acquaint yourself therewith, and then only such as your Majestie should consent unto and think proper for itt. In pursuance whereof I most humbly offer this following discourse, which I shall with a most redde and implycitt obedience augment, diminish, or alter, as your Majestie shall thinke fittest, disputinge nothing, much lesse waveing anything that your Majestie shall command, either to substance or circumstance—

My Lords,

Amongst Almighty God’s infinite mercies to me in this world I account it one of the greatest that His divine goodnesse vouchsafed me parents as well carefull as able to give me virtuous education, and extraordinary breeding, att home and abroad, in Germanie, France, and Ittaly, allowing me abundantly in those parts and since most plentifully att my master of happy memory the late King’s court; by which meanes, had it not been my owne fault, I ought to have become better able and more capable to serve Almighty God, my King, and contry, which obligatory ends of theirs have I allwayse had in myne eyes as drawinge and suckinge them thence, it beinge certainly the greatest and surest portions parents can leave to their children, since breedinge and knowledge cannot be taken from them, when as riches and possessions are fadinge and perrishable. Witnessse my owne case my Lords, yett by deare bought experience, and their greate expenses, for which I honor the happy memory of my most beloved parents more then for my very life drawne from them, they givinge me by the one but my beinge, and by the other my *bene esse*. Whereby I finde nothinge more certain than that the way to make oneseife considerably usefull to his Prince and nation is the surest meanes for him to become cherished by them, which they then doe for their owne sake not his, though he had spent and lost above 7 or 800,000*l.* sterling, and narrowly escaped severall tymes, both by sea and land, emminent dangers, and longe and close imprisonment, and a scaffold threateneinge death as I have done. *Experto crede Roberto* my Lords, yett happy is this day unto me, wherein I have the honour sittinge amongst your Lordships to expresse from my hearte that I have nott the least repineinge thought within me, though I had suffered tenn tymes more for soe good a cause, and for soe

gracious and oblidginge a master as the late Kinge of happy memory was unto me. And for soe majesticall and promiseinge a Prince as my now Soveraigne is, whome God long preserve, and morally speaking cannot doe amisse whilst he hearkens to soe wise a greate counsell and soe tender of his good and wellfare as your Lordships, assisted by soe discreet, experienced, and well affected persons as sitt now in the Honourable House of Commons, the whole kingdome's representatives. And may your Lordships be ever as tender of your innate priviledges, members, and birthrights, as they of their's, and both of you equally likewise tender of his Majestie's just and undoubted prerogatives, upon which two hinges, or rather baysses, that is our most gracious King's prerogatives and the birthright of his subjects, this excellent government of Kinge and Parliament outvies and excells all other in the world. Lett them therefore my Lords hould together as the surest proppes of a settled kingdome, his Majestie's power consistinge in nothinge more then in the greatnesse of your Lordships, who are as well by divine Providence as humane policy allotted to be as it were the medium betweene the Kinge and the people; that is to interpose yourselves as mediators if the King's supream authority should become seveare, which cannot be feared from soe gracious a Prince, as also to be curbers of the people's rustick stubbornesse, if they should prove insolent, which cannott likewise happen to a nation that hath soe lately smarted for such inconveniences as had the Lord's former greatnesse and power beene continued in them, could never have happened. For as I hould with the ould sayinge, noe Bishoppes noe Kinge, soe may I bouldly averr that noe power of temporall Lords beinge extant there will be neither Bishopp or Kinge. But I am too tedious my Lords, yett what I further shall presume to say will need noe elloquence, beinge upon a theme pleasinge as I humbly conceive to the mynds of all your Lordships, there beinge none of you whose birth brings you unto this place, butt soe much generositie possesses your hearts that you conclude and harbour a firme resolution to believe and fellow that noble and heroicke maxime *Beatius est dare quam accipere*, sence *Beneficium accipere est libertatem vendere*, a thing beneath your Lordships. Accordinge then to which maxime as haveinge the honour to be a member of this House, esteemeinge in the first place the right of Peerage even before the titles of Earle, Marquise, or Duke, as a Peere therefore I say of this House I shall—with your Lordships' approbation—humbly offer a present unto his most excellent Majestie our most gracious Soveraigne, a present my Lords which cannot be donn without you, and fitt to be owned by a House of Lords, it beinge noe lesse then to raise an auxiliary troope for his Majestie's Life Guard of an hundred horse, and commonly called in France an hundred maistres, that is each cavalier to keepe a servant with a lead horse as well as his owne, and one of them to be worth 100*l*. The whole troope shall amount the first day unto upwards of teun thousand pounds, besides arms and equipage accordingly. Nay my Lords every one of this troope shall be of that quality and power as to be capable to rayse, at his Majestie's command, an hundred men in 14 dayes, and att the enteringe into the troope shall furnish into his Majestie's storehouse a 100 foote armes, two parts fire armes, and the third pikes, att his owne proper cost and charges, and marked by him there to be kept till his Majestie's occasions be to raise men accordingly, but God long preserve his Majestie from needing of them, yett if att any time then will his Majestie have in readdinesse att a fortnight's warning 10,000 men, without costing his Majestie or the kingdome sixpence, till they be raysed and armed. And that most worthy nobleman the Earle of Northampton who, according to the

Spanish saying, soe many brothers united, soe many castles, hath approved himself to be such in gallantry and strength for his King and kingdome's defence, is desirous and willinge through his zeal to his Majestie's service to be but Lieutenant to the said troope. But the whole troope consisting of such persons qualified as above mentioned voluntiers, and not serving for pay or gaine, will deservedly require nott to be putt upon common services, and not to be commanded but by his Majestie, or his most deserving Generall, the Duke of Albemarle, and they themselves not to be tyed to daily duties, but to have liberty to substitute some gentleman of quality, or an experienced officer, to serve for him att any time when his Majestie requires nott his personal appearance, and that the Captain of the troope gives way unto it. I presume my Lords to nominate my Lord of Northampton but as second to me, because his goodnesse and zeal to his Majestie's service makes his Lordship contented to give me the precedence as Captaine though far lesse worthy, and shall indeed be but a servant to his Lordship and the rest of the troope in order to his Majestie's command, and the welfare of his tenderly beloved people. The rest of the troope shall be nominated when your Lordships shall approve of the motion, and his Majestie vouchsafe an acceptance thereof. They shall all of them be approved persons in zeal, loyalty, and allowed by you, and doe ambition the honour of being called a Troope of the House of Lords, and being soe termed, and most of them of your members, I dare without vanity affirme that noe King in Christendome but may boast of such a troope. And it will not only be a safety to his Majestie's person, but an honour to the whole nation, and an evident testimony of your Lordships, constant loyalty and zeal to both King and kingdome, and will keep up the honour of this House, and nott subject it again to be thrust out of doors. And I beseech your Lordships that I may be rightly understood, for it is my duty to his Majestie and the honour I bear to this House, and not the ambition of being Captaine of the saide troope, that makes me to motion the raying thereof, for as I acknowledge that there are many greater persons in the House, as well titular as reall in merit and power, any of whome, if they please to undertake it I shall with more joy and readinesse serve as trooper therein than to have the command thereof.

My second humble offer as disposable by your Lordships, is att my owne costs and charges, but under your Lordships' name and approbation, and out of the accruing profits of my water commanding engine, to cause to be erected a competent ordinary affording as well wine as meate for one meale a day for forty indigent officers, such as the calamity of the late tymes have brought to soe pressing necessities as none of your Lordships I am confident but is very sensible thereof, especially of such persons who, had not their zeal to their King and country transported them, might have lived plentifully of their owne, yet if your Lordships' commiseratinge eyes looke not speedily upon them may follow the destiny of some others of qualitie, yea colonels, and never were under my command, yett I never made distinction when his Majestie's honour or service was interested, or his well deserving subjects suffered and were within my power of relieffe; for whose burialls it hath been my good fortune to pay, they not leaving behind them to the value of an angell. And I humbly conceive this act of charitie worthy your Lordships' owneing, since your Lordships cheerfully passing the Act of my water commanding engine inableth me thereunto. And I most humbly offer this little testimonie of gratitude to be under your name thus employed. And I intend there shall be soe good order given therein within 6 months as that there shall be a stipend given to a person to read unto

them dureing their meales either of millitary affaires or history, the better to avoid frivolous discourse tending to quarrells and quaffing.

Thirdly in favour and benefitt of the commonalty as well as your Lordships, and for the general good and honour of this most famous cittie of London, I most humbly offer under your Lordships' name and protection, to cause a faire causie to be made, upon which without disturbance two carts may passe one by the other, for 2 myles together at 4 of the greatest avenues to the cittie, as the Lord Mayor and Aldermen shall best advise. And at the end of each of the 4 causies an hospitall, and house of correction to be erected and indowed with a perpetuittie of 500*l.* a yeare to each house, and this pious worke to begin within two yeares, and to be finished within seaven.

Fowerthly, and indeed I should have begun with it accordinge to the true rule a *Jove principium*, I doe humbly offer in honour of this House to cause 1,000*l.* a yeare for ten yeares from Michaelmas come twelvemonth, to be allotted towards the building of Paul's, according as his Grace the Lord Archbushopp of Canterbury, and the Bushopp of London, and now Bushopp of Winchester, together with the Dean and Chapter of Paul's, shall sett forth, and may continue a memorable gift from the House of Lords.

And thus I humbly conceave to have offered an acknowledgment of thankfullnesse, both to his Majestie, and to your Lordships, spirituall and temporall, and for the honourable House of Commons, for passing the Act of my water commandinge engen; and to improve this my humble thanckfullnesse shall be my dayly exercise and study, noe wayes meaning that what here I offer shall sett a period thereunto, soe as your Lordships will be pleased to set your helpinge hands to remove some misconstructions and personall inconveniences, which if nott diverted from my mynde, and from a too generally received oppinion, though upon false grounds, and not appearing otherwise then false. I beseech your Lordships to be soe tender of a member of yours as to contribute to the vendicating of me therein, whereof no wayes doubting but that your Lordships will remove such an absolute remora to all my intended services, and therefore I will presume to lay my case openly and chearfully before you, not doubting but that at your Lordships' intercessions his most gracious Majestie—having given way that I should speak thus before your Lordships—will vouchsafe a concurrence, and suffer himself to be disabused, and such false and malicious oppinions to be eradicated out of his princely minde, as have been endeavoured by either envie, mallice, or ignorance, to be rooted therein, and soe certainly have obstructed the naturall influence of grace and favour which could not otherwise but have been the effecte of soe greate a surm as shynes within a throne of soe much goodnesse and majesty.

Now whether my meritts have been considerable I beg leave here to sett down, not as a trumpett to proclayme them, but narrative wise, modestly yet truly, for your Lordships' better information, accusing myselfe in some things with the same candor and freedome, as to vindicate myself in others, desiring to stand or fall by your Lordships' just judgment, and his Majestie's gracious proceeding thereon, noe further relying even upon his Majestie's most gracious act of general pardon then in compliance with others his Majestie's subjects have taken it out, yett with soe greate a reluctance through the clearnesse of my heart not to have deserved for it that the Lord upon the Woolsacke was forced to chide me to it through his tendernesse of my good, and as I humbly conceave a further apprehension then I could have of a necessitie thereof. For which his tender care I acknowledge thankfullnesse, yett at the same time I must humbly aske leave to stand upon my justification,

humbly praying to be rightly understood, for I doe it not out of pride or vaine glorie, but purely *me defendendo*, and if anybody, *se defendendo*, kills another, the law quitts him, much more will your Lordships pronounce me not guilty of arrogance though I should arrogate to myself a praiseworthy desert and not through too much modestie be meale mouth and not discover what of right appertaines to the blessed memorie of my dead father, and even my owne commendations, crying with Virgil, *sic vos non vobis nidificatis aves, sic vos non vobis velleria fertis oves, sic vos non vobis fertis aratra boves, sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes*. Know then my noble Lords that here I speak is not to derogate from the meritt of the Roman Catholicks from their duty and love to their sovereign, we having all of us with an unanimous resolution, *nemine contradicente*, that is to say no one gentleman of qualitie throughout the whole nation but has stucke to the cause, adventuringe his life and lost his whole fortune therein, yett give me leave to aver it bouldly that all the Catholicks of England assisted not my father or me to the value of 5*l.* without reall securitie for it. And such indeed as at this time lyeth heviest upon me, and this I aver as in the presence of Almighty God, and your Lordships.

In the second place, how came the then Marquisse of Harford, after his defeat in the West, with recrutes to his Majestie at Oxford but by my father's meanes and myne. The forces that I sent with him had cost me 8,000*l.*, and 2,000*l.* my father lent him reddey money. How came Sir John Berrons regiment of horse to be first rayseed, but by 5,000*l.* in gold, given him by my father. How came the Forest of Dean to be reduced; Goodrige strong castle to be taken; Monmouth itself with its garrison to be surprised; Chepstow, Newporte, and Cardiffe, to be taken and secured for his Majestie, but by my forces, and my father's money? How came Ragland Castle to be the first fortified and last rendered, but 50,000*l.* disbursed therein by my father?

How came his Majestie's armie to be considerable before Edgehill fight but by the men I brought? And how was his Majestie recruited at Gloucester sidge, even after the defeat given by Waller to my men. God forgive those of the King's party who were the occasion that 1,500 gentlemen were surprised, and I not dispatched from Oxford until the day after. Yet, my Lords, at 14 dayes warninge I brought 4,000 foote and 800 horse to the sidge of Gloucester, payinge them 6,000*l.* down upon the naile at Gloucester, besides my troope of Life Guards, consisting of six score noblemen and gentlemen, whose estates amounted to above three score thousand pounds a yeare, most of whom I furnished with horse and armes, which of a sudden they could not doe themselves, for I was then master of 34 horses in my stable, for the worst of which I have refused 100*l.*, and above 40 others lovely, worth 50*l.* a horse. I kept a table for the said troope, not only at Gloucester sidge, but all the way to the west, without soe much as making use of free quarter, but all upon the penny, for General Ruven complained of me to the Kinge, who graciously and smilingly reprehending me publickly, I desire to know my accuser, and called my Lord General Ruven, afterwards made Earle of Branford, before his Majesty, who objecting that it was of ill example and made them to be thought the more burdensome, my humble replye was that I yielded to his Excellencie to be a better soldier, but still to be a soldier of fortune, here today and God knows where tomorrow, and therefore needed not care for the love of the people, but though I were killed myselfe I should leave my posteritie behind me, towards whom I would not leave a grudge in the people, but whilst I could serve his Majestie upon my owne purse and credit I would readdyly doe it, and afterward leave it to such as his Lordship. I confesse I rayseed this troope with-

out my father's consent first asked, his Majestie's peremptorie commands and the shortnesse of tyme requiringe, and I confesse his Lordship checkt me for it, and said I had undone myself thereby, and replied that 5 or 6,000*l.* would not undoe me, the horses being all my owne all-redde, and the arms cominge by accident to Bristoll, afforded a sudden and cheeper meanes for it. My father answered that he did allow that 6 or 16,000*l.* would not undoe me, but the consequence would be that the love and power I had in my country would be perspicuous although I should have thancks from the King, yett others, though his Majestie's well wishers, yett through envy they would hate me for it, which I confesse I have found too true, and my services have been more retarded by those who called themselves the King's friends than obstructed by his enemies.

Pardon me my Lords if I detaine you a little longer, descending to some particulars as near as I can call to mynde, and begininge first to tell your Lordships that I was not privie nor present with his Majestie at Greenwich when he first took his resolution for the north, and removed without the Queen to Theobalds, from whence he was pleased to write me a lamentable letter by the hands of Sir John Berron, averring that he had but 600*l.*, and 300*l.* of which was given to defray his horses, which the Marquisse of Hamilton, then Master of the Horse, refused to doe, fearinge to displease the Parliament. But upon such a lamentable complaint and pressing necessities of my deare master—yett noe waves adviseing him unto the journey—I sent him—

To Theobalds, 3,000*l.*

To Huntingdon, after his departinge from Theobalds, 3,000*l.*

To Nottingham, 4,000*l.*

To Yorke, 8,000*l.*

And took order for a table to be kept for several experienced officers who by this meanes were kept from takeing armes for the Parliament, and were redde for the King's service, and the defrayinge of their debts heare, theire jorney into Yorke, and theire table there, which none of them but two knew it came from other hand than the Kinge's privie purse, yett stood me in 1,500*l.*

And these summes with as great privacy as may be, keeping good correspondence with the Parliament, and myselfe present att London to avoid suspicion, beinge then trusted both by Kinge and Parliament.

For victuallinge the Tower of London by his Majestie's command I sent to the then Lieutenant Sir John Byrron, in old plate, under pretence of quaining it, 2,500*l.*

By a fained pretence getting leave of the Parliament—the circumstance beinge too tedious to relate to your Lordships, but yett notable in itself—I went with their passe to Yorke, and carried to his Majestie in reddie money, 15,000*l.*

In Bills and Assurancies, 80,500*l.*

For both which sums I had his Majestie's note yett extant for 95,500*l.*, which done in two dayes, and his Majestie's further commands received, I returned to the Parliament with a plausable answer to a message sent from them by me, and I agreed with the Parliament to remove the magazen of powder and ammunition from Monmouth, which was a towne of my owne, to Carlyon, a town of the Earl of Pembroke, a professed adherent unto them, which they took kindly att my hands, though done by designe by me, who could not have pretension to take it from the towne of Monmouth, had it been still there.

For the raysinge of Sir John Byron's regement of horse, beinge the first completed, 5,000*l.*

Things being thus set in order between his Majestie and me, I fairely took leave of the Parliament to goe downe to my father, where I noe sooner arrived but there came directed unto me from his Majestie a commission of array, whereof I presently by a servant of my owne sent word to the Parliament, with a letter to the House of Lords, which I directed to my Lord of Holland, and to the House of Commons to Mr. Pim, in both which I offered to intercede to his Majestie, and conceived I should prevaile to suspend the commission of array, if they should make an Act that their Militia should not come into my country. But they with civill complements and thanks replied that his Majestie's was soe illegall, and theires' for the good of the kingdome soe just and necessarie, that by noe meanes would they varie the one for the other. At which I declared myself irritated to see that they durst tell me that anything commanded by my master was illegall, and professed. I would obey his Majestie's commands, and lett them send at their perills. Soe imediately and in eight dayes tyme I raysed six regiments, fortified Monmouth, Chepstow, and Ragland, fetching away the magazen from the Earle of Pembroke's towne Carlyon, and placed it in Ragland Castle, leavinge a garrison in lieu thereof. Garrisoned likewise Cardiffe, Brecknock, Hereford, Goodridge Castle, and the Forest of Dean, after I had taken them from the enemye.

To the then Lord Marquisse of Hereford in Wales as many forces as cost me the rayseing and arming

Lent him to prosecute that expedition

Raysinge of forces in Wales first and last number of twelve thousand men and them whilst the country was tottering them weekly for fifteen months speaking, and it shall be made good Brought to Oxford and delivered owne hands.

My jorney to Ireland with levyes and incident there, as well att sea as att land [*cypher*]. The furnishing of troopes of 6 score armes, and most of them with horses, some of them of an hundred pound price, and many of 50*l*. For though the gentlemen betwixt them made above 60,000*l*. per annum land of inheritance, yett being unexpectedly raysed in 8 dayes could not furnish themselves, which I did accordinge to their qualitties, togeather with their servants to the number of 200, keepinge a constant table for them the whole jorney all along from Gloucester into the west, whereat they never wanted wine, that beinge carried along with us, but oftentimes beare together with 6,000*l*. in reddey money payed my foote soldiers at the rayseing of the sidge of Gloucester; which all modestly rated come unto aboute 25,000*l*.

The keepinge of the garrison of Ragland towards which till the very last cast there was never a penny contribution raysed or exacted, amounted to at the least 40,000*l*.

Total, 318,000*l*.

Besides the garrison of Monmouth, both towne and castle, Chepstowe, Gowthridge, with Hinaw and the Forest of Deane, recovered from the enemye, all on my charge, till Sir William Vavisar came who hath had of me 500 twenty shilling pieces att a tyme, to incourage him to go on att Gloucester, besides likewise the charge of reduceing Abergavenny, Carlyon, and Newporte, to his Majestie's obedience.

Further more for seaven yeares both in England and Ireland, I allowed twenty pounds each meale, to which all officers and gentlemen were wellcome, and I believe the charges in these particulars, not to be inserted or charged on this account, amounts to one half as much as

the former summs, I never received a farthinge towards it as Genera or . . . , nor a penny out of my estate in 20 yeares . . . these times came unto upwards of . . . *omnibus viis and modis*, which alone amounted unto 600,000*l*.

These sumes added together balance the accounts, and make good that I have spent, lent . . . for my King and county, *re vera*, 918,000*l*. Nine hundred and eighteen thousand pounds.

My Lords being conscious of all this, and many things forgotten by me to sett downe, I was become prooffe against any thing the King's enemies could doe against me, since by their principles I knew I deserved it. But since his Majestie's return and happy restoration, itt hath allmost stupified me to have been soe layed by as not to have had any promise made good to me for which I had his Majestie's royall word, hand, or even the great seale of England, but of the contrary. I humbly beseech your Lordships' leave to sett downe what with all submission to his Majestie's will and pleasure, flesh and blood cannot but resent, yett soe far only as shall stand with the dutie of a loyall subject, and the unquencheable zeal of my reall heart towards my King and country, and a most humble submission to your Lordships' better judgment, casting myself wholly at your disposall and favorable construction of what I shall sett downe accordinge to the ould sayinge that loosers may have leave to speake."

LADY HERBERT to LORD HERBERT.

[1667,] January 24. [London.]—My sister Docie was married last Tuesday in your house. The King gave her. He dined here, and as much company as the house would hold. My mother is dying.

Lord Bedford advises you to leave the business in the country to the Deputy Lieutenants, as everybody else does. Lord Cleveland is dying.

The SAME to the SAME.

Saturday night.—Has taken her last leave of her mother.

The MARQUIS OF WORCESTER to the MARCHIONESS.

[1667.]—. . . "I would tell you all that hath passed at Sheernesse whither I was commanded in with my regiment upon Tuesday last, as I was going for London, the Dutch then appearing near it, but the time being short, it being late, I shall only tell you that I found my men extreamely cheerful, and ready, though the post we were put into was dangerous enough, it being to defend the only naked part of the fort. They wrought so well in their owne defence, the Dutch taking up the river Thames, that by Wednesday we had thrown up a breast work that covered us pretty well. The enemy on Thursday coming out of the river Thames lay over against us, but Sir Edward Spragg's squadron coming out after them they busied themselves wholly in shooting at his ships, against whom they spent neere a thousand shot without his returning one, the distance indeed being such that no gun could do execution. At last the tide turning, and the winde being full east, Spragg retired towards the river again, but they, though they had both wind and tide, did not think fit to pursue. Yesterday morning, Sir Joseph Jordan came in behind them coming from Harwich with four frigates and 15 men of warre, and having both winde and tide, we hoped would have done great execution upon them, but his frigates being small, and the fire ships made up in haste, and manned with such men as could be got of a suddaine, they did not answer our expecta-

tion, burning only four of our owne fire ships, and doing them no mischief. This morning we found their ships, I meane the enemy's, sunk down 7 leagues below Sheernesse, out of possibility of returning with to-morrow's tide, which is the last of the spring ones, so that I thought I might safely returne to London, where I am I thanke God come safe in few hours in a yacht the Prince lent mee and Coll. Legge. I find heere the peace to be signed by the King this night, being already so by the French and Dutch which will I suppose put a stop to further fears."

The SAME to the SAME.

1667, July 27.—The Dutch got but little by going up the river, having lost eleven fire ships and only burned three of our fire ships, and have retreated out of the river.

The SAME to the SAME.

1667, September 17. Worcester House.—Has received orders to change the garrison in Chepstow. It is to be held by a company of the Duke of York's regiment, but to obey his orders.

Had had his choice of that whole regiment, and Colonel Sidney's. The captains had been eager to come under his orders though they knew they were to be commanded by his deputy, which captains in some places stomach.

Had obtained some commissions for some of his officers in the King's regiment, to take the places of the papist officers who were removed.

"On Sunday I had the honour with my Lord General to bee Godfather to the Duke of Yorke's sonne . . . and gave him by the Duke's desire the name of Edgar, the Duke fancying that name because hee was the first King that had the dominion of the seas, which hee went upon about the kingdome every year with a thousand ships.

"The Duchesse would faine have had it James, but the Duke would not because hee had buried one of that name.

"Some were very earnest to have had it Henry, but whether that being my name, one of the Godfathers, the Duke might fancy the other might take it ill, or for what other reason I know not, hee had no fancy to it."

The child is small and not very well.

The Archbishop christened the child and the Bishop of Winchester held the book. I having learned what was customary, sent 100 guineas to the nurse and midwife.

The King went yesterday stag hunting to Bagshot, he returns on Saturday.

Heraldic seal.

The SAME to the SAME.

February 25.—Is much importuned by the Duke of Monmouth and others to go with the King to Newmarket.

The SAME to the SAME.

February 27.—Has taken two footmen that play the violin, and another that plays very well, but will not wear a livery, to teach them and as many of my family as will learn. Supposes the page will be cne.

The SAME to the SAME.

MSS. OF THE
DUKE OF
BEAUFORT.
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1674, November 8.—Has bought a painted screen, and ventured with his little skill to buy pictures at Somerset House for above a hundred pounds, sold at outcry as the way is in Holland. Is buying a necklace of pearls for Mall to wear two or three years hence, for he has observed that till then the children of the greatest quality do not wear any. They are a set fit for any maiden lady to wear until she marries, and then they say the custom is it should go to the next, the husband or his friends presenting the married one with a better.

Four of the six pictures he is buying have no frames.

The SAME to the SAME.

1674, December 1. [London.]—The pictures bought are for the staircase, they cost 193*l.* which with frames and carriage will come to nearly 250*l.* Of little and great together he has bought above thirty and all, except six Roman heads which are ordinary, and one or two other pieces, are indifferent good in the judgment of those who understand these things.

The SAME to the SAME.

1675, June 5.—Has come to town soon enough to see the House of Lords receive greater affronts than ever were offered to it except in the time of the late rebellion. “Sir John Churchill, . . . Pemberton, Serjeant Peck and Mr. Parker, a lawyer, imprisoned in the towre by warrant of the House of Commons for pleading at our barre, in an appeale by our order, and the King justifying the Commons so far as to refuse to turne out the Lieutenant of the Towre for not delivering them backe to the blacke rodde who demanded them by our order, though they were taken out of the Chancery Court where the King himself is alwaies supposed to be present. This hath struck such a damp upon us all that wee have adjourned with a resolution to proceede in nothing till our honour be vindicated, which if wee hold so we are at an ende of all businesse for there is no manner of likelyhood of that the King taking a course absolutely contrary to it. I am so much concerned at it—and so are indeed all the temporall Lords that are not of the Court, and some of them too—that I can think of no other thing and therefore write nothing more.”

The SAME to the SAME, at Badminton.

1675, June 8. [London.]—“I sate up last night at the play at Court—which was to entertaine the Prince of Newbough—till one of the clock in the morning.

Yesterday I drunke three or four glasses with the prisoners in the Tower. I know not how it is possible to compose that businesse which puts all other in Parliament to a stand. Wee ordered yesterday a *habeas corpus* to the Lieutenant of the Tower to bring his prisoners this day before us, but hee carryed the writs into the House of Commons, who ordered him not to obey them. This day wee have ordered an *alias*, and to-morrow, if this bee not obeyed, a *pluries*, which is the method according to law; if that bee not obeyed, the Sheriff is to bring them with the *posse comitatus*, as the lawyers say. I have not bin able to get my Lord Burlington yet to go with mee to the Master of the Rolls about (securing) the Dutchesse her jointure, and withdrawing her *caveat* against the will. Tomorrow hee promises to go.”

MSS. OF THE
DUKE OF
BEAUFORT.

Postscript.—"They will have it heere that the small-pox and purple feaver is at the Bath, and the Dutchesse of Portsmouth puts off her journey upon it. The King askt mee about it as soone as I came to towne, pray enquire and let mee know the truth."

The SAME to the SAME.

1676-[7], March 17. [London.]—Has no manner of diversion or satisfaction here.

Sir Charles Sedley's *Cleopatra* has been acted often, and to-day a new play of the death of Alexander, but I have not been to see either, living a mighty drudging life.

"The Lords have put the Bill which we call for the securing the Protestant Religion in case a King or Queene should happen to bee of another—against which the Duke and many others have entered their protestation—and the other for Popish recusants registering themselves, in pretty farre advance.

Both Houses waited upon the King yesterday with the addresse against France and for the preservation of the Low Cuntries, to which the King answered he did agree in his own mind with his two Houses, and would endeavour the preservation of the one, and to stop the progresse of the other, as farre as should consist with the peace and safety of this Kingdom. The Commons have moved an addresse to the King for bringing over the Duke of Norfolk, and voted yesterday that all those who had compelled, advised, or promoted, the sending over any men into the French King's service since the King's proclamation against it, are enemies to the King and Kingdom. There has been nothing yet of Ludlow, the King having since my cumming to towne sent to the gentlemen that attended him about it and askt his leave to come and bring their greevance to him, but I do not heare as yet that they have bin with him, if they have not in a day or two they will."

The Duchess of Portsmouth tells mee she intends to be at Bath in June, when the King goes to Portsmouth.

The SAME to the SAME.

1677, July 26. [London.]—Had spoken to the Lord Treasurer about Charles and his cousin going to Nimeguen. He is much against the plan. He says the place is inconvenient and excessively dear, there being hardly room for the plenipotentiaries themselves.

No one who could avoid it would think of going there. A little house and provisions according would be 800*l.* a year. That he had written to his cousin Herbert to stay at Saumure till his new governor comes in the place of Dr. Chamberlain. Dr. C.'s salary had been 100*l.* a year.

The Queen has given the King so great an opinion of the white and pied pheasants and other things at Badminton, that she says if he were not very lazy and averse to a journey, and fond of London, he would go down on purpose to see them.

The SAME to the SAME.

1677, November 15. [London.]—Has this day sent to her son at Oxford 300*l.* worth of (ware?) and 50*l.* in money, and intends to send him a coach and horses as he desires it, "though when I was at Oxford it was not thought necessary."

When he has finished his own business, and seen the Prince and Princess of Orange take boat in the river, which will be either Saturday, Sunday, or Monday, he is coming down. Is staying at home because

he is in mourning, and this is not a time to appear in town without very glorious apparel.

Wishes he had some fox hounds to spare as the Prince of Orange is mighty desirous to get a good pack and has asked for some. He had been very pleased with a gelding given to him, and would be glad to have such another.

The SAME to the SAME.

[1678], January 24. [London.]—"Mr. Godolphin for whose returne out of Flanders the King was faine to adjourne the Parliament—hee being to bring resolutions from thence, that hee desired to acquaint the Houses with at their first sitting—is now come back, so that certainly on Monday wee shall fall to our businesse.

His cheefe errand they say was to get the Spaniard to put Ostend into our hands, a place they will hardly keepe, and that would have bin very necessary for us to have for landing our men, and supplying them from heere with all things necessary from time to time, and for a great many other considerations; but the Spaniard had rather loose it to the French than wee should have it, tho' they expect all manner of assistance from us."

Is sorry the works at home go on no faster. Instructions about enclosing some land on Mr. Codrington's side . . . "if the cover could be broom and elder instead of furs it would bee better, for so the King now does at Newmarket, finding furzes too strong a retreewe, and observing that the spaniels commonly kill them (partridges) there before they rise . . . I do not think I shall lend (or send) the Prince of Orange any hounds, therefore Drake need not covet to get any more."

The SAME to the SAME.

1677-8, January 29.—Sends the King's Speech for which the Lords gave him thanks that day.

"Yesterday we admitted my nephew of Arundel—for so he is now called since his father is Duke of Norfolk—and the Lord Ferrers of Chertley to the seats which their families had. The first at the upper end of the Barons bench is Baron Mowbray, was something disputed by Lord Audley and some other barons. But the other not at all, they having not succeeded in the first. The Archbishop also took his seat, having been consecrated the day before."

We had a vast entertainment afterwards where all the people of quality, and, I think, the whole House of Commons were, where we drank healths to the success of the war with France, and confusion to those that should obstruct it. That is the good success the first, begun by the Duke of Monmouth, the other by the Lord Treasurer.

We have this day released Lord Pembroke out of the Tower, and yesterday the Duke of Buckingham asked the House's pardon and was admitted.

The SAME to the SAME.

1677-8, March 14.—Thinks he shall be satisfied with having made the folly and malice of his enemies manifest, and not speak to the King about it.

The SAME to the SAME. (A fragment.)

"And Dutch army, and very neere of an equality in all other respects, for 'tis likely all but my Lord Ossery will come too late, there

MSS. OF THE
DUKE OF
BEAUFORT.

being news today of an engagement, and the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Feversham, and the Earl of Plimmouth going not till Tuesday, the two first to the French, the last to the Holland army, and today the Duke of Albemarle and Lord Moulgrave, the first to the Dutch, and the second to the French, so that the King will have one sonne on one side, and one on the other, a Duke on the one side and a Duke on the other, two Earls, and two Knights of the Garter on each side. I am sure you'll be glad that another did not go to make it uneven, I mean your most affectionate husband."

[1678.]—A strongly worded protest, without name or date, against the attacks made upon the Marquis of Worcester by Protestants, though the whole county can testify that he is not only himself a Protestant, but married the eminently Protestant lady, daughter of the martyred Lord Capel. All his household are Protestants except two old servants of near four score years of age, who came to him with the estates from his uncle and cousin, whom he cannot in honour discharge.

An account of Prance's confession and retractations.

The MARQUIS OF WORCESTER to the MARCHIONESS.

1678, April 11.—The Speaker's illness has caused the House to adjourn until Monday, when the new Speaker Sir R. Sawyer is to be presented to the King. Our Speaker also, the Chancellor, is ill.

Yesterday being the Fast day was wholly spent in devotion. Our House by appointment went to the Abbey to hear a sermon from the Bishop of St. David's. It was a very good one and we have ordered it to be printed.

Has seen a second paper of Arnold's in which he leaves out a friend or two, but enlarges somewhat as to Milb . . . and so does Scudamore. This testimony has so inflamed the House they talk of nothing less than drawing up an impeachment against him. Tomorrow the marble for the banquetting house and my closet chimney, and the sarsinet for the cover of the bed, which is risen, as all silks are, a fourth part in price, will be sent down.

The SAME to the SAME.

1678, April 27. Worcester House.—I found your brother Harry upon thorns to go and manage the Poll Bill, nobody else acting upon it in his neighbourhood. He seems to doubt now the Hollanders joining, as his last letter intimated, and consequently the Houses sitting long.

The Committee has sat thrice this week, but she has an account of all that passed there, by one she thinks good for nothing. Does not find that he was mentioned from the first day until yesterday, when Sir Trevor Williams said Mr. Arnold had written to a member of the House that he was threatened with ruin for the information he had given. He said the House should be informed of this.

"If Sir Trevor does say this in the House it will give my friends an opportunity, and I thinke oblige them, to say that in my behalfe which I now find them very unwilling to do for fear of crossing what the best of them I find desire to promote, and nothing lesse I perceive will, if that does, persuade them to consider mee so much as to declare, though indeed my Br. says Mr. Poole was so generous at the Committee as to mention the decrease of popery in Monmouthshire, though his friends did not like hee should do me justice at that rate."

The SAME to the SAME.

MSS. OF THE
DUKE OF
BEAUFORT.
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1678, May 4.—We sat to-day until two, and yesterday until after one o'clock, and have done nothing but resolve to go upon the Bill of Popery on Monday morning. Hears that a new set of informations have come out of Monmouthshire, but knows not what they are.

The SAME to the SAME.

1678, May 9.—Had been to see Sir R. Howard's running horses which he would sell, but there is not one up to his weight.

The rest of the letter upon parliamentary matters.

"Wee could not yesterday proceede in the Bill against the growth of popery, because it was necessary to have the Judges present, and they cannot bee spared from Westminster Hal! till after the terme."

The SAME to the SAME.

1678, June 13.—"We lost yesterday one of our Privy Councillours Sir Robert Carre. The King ordering at the rising of the Councill that the clarke should blott him out of the roll, hec having it seems misbehaved himself in the House of Commons. The towne talks that his place of Chancellour of the Dutchy is given to Sir W. Talbot, who has bin extremely zealous in promoting his Majesty's service there, but I heare from better hands that Sir Robert's place is for life, and is not liable to be taken away at will. Wee have put off the determination of Lord Purbeck's businesse till Saterdag upon the Duke of Buckingham's desire, and on Monday wee determine whether there lyes an appeale to us from the Ecclesiastical Court in the case of Mr. Codrington, whom they have judged lawfully married to his Italian wife."

The SAME to the SAME.

1678, June 15.—About Lord Purbeck's case, and domestic matters.

The SAME to the SAME.

1678, June 22.—"Wee yesterday finding an impossibility if wee past the Bill for the £200000 for disbanding the army, that it could possibly bee don by the time therein limited, which is the last of this month for those in England, and the 27th of the next for those beyond sea, and consequently that the money would not bee levyed ner the worke performed, there being penalties of disability upon those employed that should meddle with the money, if the thing were not performed by the days there mentioned, have enlarged each time a month. But whether the Commons will agree to this alteration I do not yet know. They desire to conferre first with us, which cannot bee till Tuesday, our House having adjourned till then, though their's sit again on Monday. They have this day finish't their new Bill against Popery."

The SAME to the SAME, at Badminton.

1678, July 6.—Believes the Houses will have finished business by the beginning of the week after next, and will then rise. Both Houses are very weary, especially because of the hot weather; the House of Lords has been sitting to a very late hour of late. It seldom now rises before 5 o'clock; yesterday it was at 6 o'clock, &c.

The SAME to the SAME.

1678, July 18.—“I endeavoured yesterday to have don the businesse of H.M. which I told you the King had refered till then in order to our speaking together with my Lord Ch. after Councell, but though another had bin very earnest with him to do it as well as myself, the [art] of the House of Commons was so great that it would by no meanes bee allowed of. I went afterwards to him that had helped, and made it an argument why hee should presse the old businesse in order to redeeme the ill consequence of those other things done in favour to the adverse party, and hee promist hee would, but going againe to-day I find hee has not yet had an opportunity, yesterday and to-day having bin wholly employed in consultation with forraigne ministers in order for the Maine affaire, and dispatching the Marquis of Burgomeria, one of the Spanish ministers, and my Lord Feversham into the Low Countreys and Holland to know what they can and will do in opposition to France, against whom wee now seeme so in earnest that the most knowing conclude wee shall certainly enter into warre, unless the King of France for fear of so powerful a conjunction make the Swede propose rather to sit downe by their losse than hinder the peace of Christendome, contenting himself with the hopes of meeting a compensation some other way hereafter.

Lord Berkeley was yesterday sworne of the Councell to his no little satisfaction, as you may imagine.”

Is very anxious to get into the country.

The SAME to the SAME.

1678, November 7. Worcester House.—Had arrived in good time this night. Had performed the journey with more ease than could be imagined, “and using links and a cart horse wee drove as hard and as safely as if it had bin day, so that I reached Maidenhead by nine of the clock this morning, where having rested five houres, I arrived heere by the close of the night.”

Hears that the Duke has declared in the House of Lords that he will, to satisfy some, forbear assisting at any Council further than as a peer in the Lords’ House.

The SAME to the SAME.

1678, November 10.—Let Price know that there is an information against him and that I have engaged he shall appear, therefore for the sake of both he must not stir from Badminton, so that he may be ready when sent for.

Has not time to write more as he has to be at the Council at 3 o’clock.

The SAME to the SAME.

1678, November 11.—Bedlow informed the House of Commons last night that he heard Price was a priest, and that he was in this plot. Believes he only pretends to speak from hearsay, but that is enough to have him sent for, he believes.

“I should bee willing to save them the trouble of sending so farr as Badminton where I should not bee fond to have a messenger’s face appeare upon such an accompt, therefore by advice of the Lords that are my friends, and of this Committee of Examinations, whereof your brother and my Lord Ailsebury are two, I have sent this to order Price to come away immediately, and if hee meets nobody for him sooner, that

hee come up and stay at Colebrook or thereabouts or neerer heere, so if hee bee not within 10 miles to bee ready at a call; and to let me know where he is."

Captain Spalding is also accused. He had better come up to justify himself. He has leave by this to come.

Postscript.—Let Price come away at once least the messenger overtake him at Badminton.

MSS. OF THE
DUKE OF
BEAUFORT.

The SAME to the SAME.

1678, November 12.—It is a very wearisome life here with little satisfaction in it. We either sit morning and afternoon, or the whole day without adjourning for a dining time. This day we made two sittings of it. After a motion had been made in the morning by Lord Shaftesbury for releasing Rogers, as not duly taken into custody because in time of prorogation and without fees, but not agreed to, though it is possible upon the next motion it may; the House received the report of Bedlow's examination both concerning the murder of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey and the plot. The first of which he said to be done at Somerset House, and in the other among others he accuses Price to have been consulted with as he was told, but says that they said that Price warned them not to let me be acquainted with it, for if I were I should be sure to discover it, and do my best to prevent it's takeing effect. He accuses further Captain Spalding that he would have delivered them Chepstow Castle, and that my cousin Milborne Vaughan of Courtfield, and others of the Romish persuasion, were likewise in it. All of whom are ordered to be sent for by messengers.

The afternoon we spent wholly in the Bill for hindering Papists to sit in either House of Parliament, which we were correctly put in mind of yesterday, and pressed to pass, but have not gone near through it.

The SAME to the SAME.

1678, November 14.—"Wee have this day as good as voted the Popish Lords out of the House at the Committee of the whole House, for wee have voted none shall sit that will not take the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. The debate held till 5 of the clock. I find by your letter you have not a right apprehension how things go heere, when you desire if possible Bedlow may be safe kept; for hee is at this time a man of that extreame credit that hee may point out whom hee pleases to bee safe kept. There is nobody hee mentions to have bin talked of by the Jesuits hee says hee was imployed by, but is sent for into custody. This day Mr. T. St. John's eldest sonne who was mentioned by them, surrendered himself, hearing of the order to take him into custody, and was, though interceded for by my Lord Marquis of Winchester, sent to the prison of the King's Bench."

Expects that Price and the others mentioned will be imprisoned in like manner. Thinks it would be not amiss if she would write to her brother Essex to befriend them. Is much mistaken if they are not innocent.

Bedlow's pardon will be out to-morrow or next day. He confesses he has been a great rogue but hopes the service he is now doing will make amends, &c. "Hee takes great care to vindicate mee, for, he says, those Jesuits that told him they had consulted Price in the affair said that hee told them that I was not a person to bee attempted in it, for hee knew it was impossible to reconcile mee to it, but that I would immediately discover it if I should heare on't."

The MARCHIONESS OF WORCESTER to the MARQUIS.

1678, November 16.—“I am very glad that Bedlow hath yett soe much honesty as to speake the truth of you, I cannot but extreemely lament the unhappy age wee live in, when a man whose whole life hath been nothing but vilanie and pagentrie, and whose word would not have been taken for sixpence, shall now have it in his power to ruine any man; but as this is too true, soe is Almighty God’s providence to you much the more to bee acknowledged . . . for not only preserving you from the hurt he might have done you, but to make him doe you the best servis hee could, though I am very confident, and have some reason to bee soe, that he is managed by those that are as malicious as can bee to you.”

The MARQUIS OF WORCESTER to the MARCHIONESS.

1678, November 19.—Feels that, for the good of both, he must part with Price even when he is released, the prejudice is so great.

He surrendered last night to the serjeant and was to-day committed to the King’s Bench, “which is the greatest favour wee show to anybody though never so slightly accused.”

One of those accused by Bedlow yesterday, being a member of our House, and sent for by a warrant of the Chief Justice after our House was up, avoided being taken and complained to us in his place, testifying his abhorrence of the Plot. After a long debate wee ourselves committed him to the Black Rod.

“You will see in the House of Commons’ votes that Secretary Williamson was yesterday sent to the Towre, upon which this morning the King assembled the Council, and afterwards sent for the House of Commons into the Banketting House, where hee told them that hee would bee civiller to them than they had bin to him, for though they had sent one of his Secretariys to the Towre without acquainting him with it, hee would acquaint them that hee intended to send for him out againe, which hee immediately did. The House has spent all this day since in dispute concerning this businesse, but I know not the result, coming in pretty early to write, and not having spoken with any of the House of Commons since they risse, your sonne coming home about 3 of the clock and not returning thither any more this evening.”

The SAME to the SAME.

1678, November 21.—“I am very glad to find by Charles that hee has writ all the newes, for else, cumming in pretty late, and being forced to send my letters early, the City being so full of guards that a footman is an houre in getting from Ludgate to the Post-house, I should not have had time.”

Capt. Spalding and my cousin (Winsour ?) were heard to day at our bar, and the two Bedlows to accuse. One of them said Captain Spalding was at Mass at Somerset House. This he absolutely denies and says he was never there but once, to see a Captain of the Guard. The other said Captain Spalding was to deliver up Chepstow Castle into my cousin . . . hands for my brother Powis, that he was told to by the Jesuits and by Sir Henry Tishburne, and to confirm it further he said that Captain Spalding, riding with him between Chepstow and Abergavenny, told him he was got into Chepstow by Lord Brudenell in order to a design. A very probable thing that he should communicate to him if it had been so! However upon his being asked by the Lord Chancellor and confessing that it was five years since he took the sacrament he was committed to the King’s Bench.

"My cousin (Winsour?) wee got off, and hee will bee with you in a day or two, being the only person that has had his name mentioned by Bedlow, or any other, that has not bin imprisoned."

The SAME to the SAME.

1678, November 23.—Finds that he must not be absent even for an hour when the Council and Parliament are sitting or something happens to make him repent his being away.

"This happens very seldome, unless a Committee of Lords sit upon some business that I am concerned in, as yesterday about the militia, which the House of Commons desire wee should join in an addresse to the King to have ordered to bee called together a third part in every county for fourteen days, to bee succeeded by the other two third partes for fourteene days each, which wee could not find wee had power to do by the former Acts, which wee communicated this day at a conference to them. Wee had two other conferences likewise upon the Bill for securing the King's person, and hindering Papists to sit in either House of Parliament, in which I believe wee shall agree, they having past our proviso concerning the Duke, and wee being content to waive our amendments about the Queene's and Duchesse's English servants, provided they will leave the Queene's name quite out of the Bill, and leave it to the construction of the law, which will have regard to the articles of marriage.

Your two newes that you desired to bee informed of are neither of them true. The Duke of Monmouth being as well in health as ever I saw him, and Sir B. Compton, who dined with mee to-day, saying his brother has never had any guard but upon the Gunpowder Treason day. Here is not a day passes but wee heare of somebody or other killed or hurt by the Papists. Yesterday they say a woman that cried the narrative of Staley's trial, the goldsmith's sonne who was condemned on Thursday to bee hanged, drawne, and quartered, for saying hee would kill the King, was runne through by a papist that ranne away when hee had don it, and to day my brother Essex told us in the House that the brother of a man that was lately killed neer the towre, as I take it, at Bedford, says his brother came up to testify against Capt. Spalding, and was therefore killed. I have not had time to inquire into the truth of it."

The SAME to the SAME.

1678, November 26.—"This has bin a day of great duty, the Councill having sat twice, that is from eight till eleven in the morning, and from three till six in the afternoone, and the House twice, that is from eleven to two, and from six to past eight this night. The occasion of its sitting in the morning, and yesterday morning, is no secret, for I heard it from everybody I met at Whitehall before I went in, and it was all over the towne the night before, viz. Oates his accusing the Queene of having resolved ever since July last to poison the King. That of this afternoone was occasioned by what you see in the enclosed, the addresse of the House of Commons for Bedlow's pardon beforehand for what hee should this day say, which the King there tells them hee will take time to consider of and answer to. The answer is not in the paper because the votes of this afternoone are not there, but I heare it was in the negative, the Attorney having declared to the King that a pardon of an offence before it is committed is not good in law. I know not what further application they will make, but I heare this answer did not please, and that it

was observed by some of that House that, when the King gave his answers without consulting his Council they were alwaies gracious, but when hee advised with them, they generally were otherwise. I heare besides they were angry in other things, and Sir Trevor moved that the garrison of Chepstow should bee disbanded, and the armes removed, and the castle demolisht, it having alwaies bin in ill hands, and was, as I heare, seconded by Sir Gilbert Garrard. What Bedlow intends to say when hee has his pardon nobody knows, but it seems to bee the accusation of some great person. Wee had this day two conferences with the Commons about the Bill for preserving the King's person, and hindring papists from sitting in either House of Parliament. In the first they gave us reasons why they could not agree to our amendments of leaving the Queene out, at the second wee acquainted them with our being content that the Queene should have no men servants of that perswasion, only nine women, and the Duchesse five, to which I heare they have agreed, and that the Bill is past. If so, no member after this weeke is to come into either House without taking the oathes and declaration. My Lord of Berkshire and Lord Cardigan are gon they say for France, I suppose with leave, I am sure the second had. The first, they talke in towne, should bee gon, the rather by reason of some letters taken amongst Coleman's papers, and supposed to bee his, under another name. I know not whether he bee gon or no, but I have not seene him these two or three days in the House. My Lord of Salisbury has begged a couple of hounds of me, which I desire should bee good ones, &c."

The SAME to the SAME.

1678, November 28.—Has been three weeks in town this night. The Parliament and Council sat until nine last night. Has just come in at that hour this night from Parliament, which has sat forenoon and afternoon. He had in the interval been at the Council which sat then. "At least I was summoned to one, and a Committee of it sat. About 8 at night a conference was desired by the Commons, at which they delivered us an addresse to which they desired our concurrence, which is, that having received information of a dangerous conspiracy against his Majesty's life, wherein to our great astonishment wee find the Queene accused, wee therefore desire his Majesty would bee pleased, for the safety of his person, forthwith to remove her and all her family, and all other papists or reputed papists from the Court. Wee immediately adjourned till tomorrow morning, 9 of the clock, and ordered Mr. Oates and Mr. Bedlow, the two witnesses in the case, to be brought at that hour to give their evidence to us, after which wee shall resolve whether to join or no in this addresse. A quarrel yesterday betwixt my Lord of Pembroke and Lord Dorset took up a great deale of our time, but judging Lord of Pembroke to have bin in the wrong, wee inclined to confine him to his house at Wilton, which hee has this day of himself desired leave to go to, which is a punishment I envy, and should go neere to commit a fault so I knew a confinement to Badminton should bee my sentence."

Mr. Coleman has this day received his sentence. His own letters were enough to condemn him, but besides that Mr. Oates swore he saw him give fourscore guineas to the four Irishmen that were to have murdered the King at Windsor, and Mr. Bedlow heard him say he would wade through the blood of a hundred heretic kings to reach to the establishment of the Catholic faith.

"After sentence Coleman said, as I was informed by severall that were there, that hee thought the jury had don according to their consciences

and to justice, but that now that hee was justly condemned and had no manner of hope of escaping death hee hoped hee might, having no interest in what hee said, hee beleevd, being so soon to answer before that great tribunall where, though his sins had bin very great, hee yet hoped for mercy, and then did protest upon his salvation, that hee had never seen the face of either of those gentlemen, except that of Mr. Oates at the Council table when hee was examined, and where as one of the clarkes of the Councill certified—being required to it in the trial by Mr. Coleman—Mr. Oates acknowledged hee had never seen him before after having look't a great while upon him."

Had that day presented the Mayor of Bristol, who was then knighted.

The SAME to the SAME.

1678, December 3.—Mr. Coleman was executed to-day and said the same as he had at his condemnation. That if the contents of his letters were treason he was justly condemned. That he knew no more than he had discovered, and never knew of any design on the King's life. The grand jury have to-day found the bill against Lord Bellasis and Langhorne.

The SAME to the SAME.

1678, December 5.—Lord Shaftesbury will have it that all the garri-son of Chepstow are Papists, and that none of the men have been at church for three years. We were at it today for an hour, and yesterday as long, and he would have the matter examined by the Bishop of Llandaff, Mr. Lewis of St. Pierre, and Mr. Kemish the last sheriff. I wished the House to examine it, but it being too little a business for them, I consented it should be examined by those three and three men of mine, viz., Sir H. Evans, Thomas Morgan, and Thomas Herbert. Lord Shaftesbury and the Committee say that the information comes from the Bishop.

Had told the House of the quarrel between the Bishop and Captain Spalding so that he was not a fit person to whom to refer the case.

Thinks the falconers should be discharged for the hawks they have are not worth the keeping, neither will there be, he thinks, any time for hawking this season.

They may have the hawks as a gratuity.

Will keep two servants [named] as long as he can, but a Bill is proposed to forbid any Protestant to keep a Papist servant.

We had five impeachments brought from the Commons today, for each Lord severally. The first, Lord Arundel of Wardour, brought up by Mr. Wharton, Colonel Cooke's brother in law. The second, Lord Powis, brought by Mr. B. Maynard, Lord Maynard's son. The third, Lord Bellasis, brought by Mr. Thynne, I mean Tom of ten Thousand. The fourth, Lord Petre, brought by Mr. Philip Warwick. The last, against Lord Stafford, brought by Mr. Jerome How.

"This brings it quite out of the method the trials were in, the Grand Jury having found the Bills, which had fitted them for such a trial as Lord of Pembroke had, and would have bin in the Hall. Now it will be in the House, and after another manner.

The hounds Drake names, will not—according to their character—bee proper for Lord Salisbury, hee having nothing but buck and hare. Therefore I would have him propose some harriers, my Lord says he cares not what colour, therefore if the reddish dogs bee good harriers they will be proper &c."

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The MARCHIONESS OF WORCESTER to the MARQUIS.

N.D.—It is so suspicious a time she is very careful what she writes by post though she cannot find that the seals of any of his letters have been tampered with.

It would be well if more care were taken about the letters which come into the country. One was written to one of the Pigotts in Bristol which they say laid great emphasis on three of the Marquis's servants being in the plot. Supposes they mean Price, Captain Spalding, and Wintle. The two last cannot without much perversion be supposed to be his servants. It is strange how people remember all the malice of the late war, but not its inconveniences. The King's enemies do not always work, as Hudebras says, under ground, for they have emissaries in all countries, who spread reports which are credited as if people were out of their wits.

For instance a grave gentleman told Mr. Glanvill that the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Herbert, had fled with only two men servants. There has been a report that you are in the Tower. It will be wise therefore not to dismiss both the falconers, or people will fancy you are not coming into the country.

Wonders that her cousin Winter does not come into the country to show himself. People will hardly believe he is yet at liberty.

The MARQUIS OF WORCESTER to the MARCHIONESS.

1678, December 7.—“I forgot to tell you in mine of last night that Powell that was lost, and thought murdered, was brought last night before the King whilst hee was at Council. The King asked him what made him go away. He said being frighted with a terrible dreame. Hee told his wife in the morning when hee waked, hee wished no ill might befall him, having had such a dreame, and before hee was come to himself out of the fright, hee went out of his house, and then out of towne, and having bought a little horse went to Worcester. The King asked him how hee came to be clapped in prison there. Hee said because his name was in the Gazette, the Mayor secured him. The King asked why hee was so melancholy. Hee said that hee had some hard creditors that fell upon him, though hee was worth above 2000*l.* more than hee owed. The King asked him several other questions, as whether hee had bin showed a black and a white booke wherein the Papists had set their friends that they would have, and those they intended to destroy, whereof hee was one, as had bin reported. He said no, but hee had heard of such a booke, but would not owne that to bee reason of his going away. The King advised him to go home to his wife, and trust to him for keeping him, and the rest of the kingdom, in peace and safety.

Till this man came up few people here would beleieve him alive, but that the story of his being at Worcester was feigned. I have had but a little peace this morning from Lord Shaftesbury, but on Monday I expect wee shall bee at it againe about Rogers his commitment, which hee says was not warrantable, being after the prorogation, and I doubt hee will carry it, though the clarke, my Lord Bridgwater, and other lords, said when the Parliament rise, that it might bee done, and upon that encouragement wee proceeded.”

Thinks Parliament will sit a long time, and therefore he is negotiating with Lord Paget to take his house near Colebrook.

The SAME to the SAME [at Troy].

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[1678,] Thursday. Newbury.—Not having received any letters, and he and Mr. St “being very inquisitive after news at this time, enquired if there was no Muddyman’s letter in the house, and at last we heard there was a man in the house that had the liberty to peruse a parson’s letters that lives at Hamsted, who uses to have news. I sent to him and he sent me Muddymans letter, in which there is nothing considerable, and a private letter to the parson himself, wherein I find that your brother Harry Capell, Sir Thomas Lee, and Mr. Hambden, were sent by the House of Commons to Mr. Coleman to offer him his pardon from the King, which they had leave to do in case he would make a free discovery of the whole conspiracy, and that they reported to the House they could have nothing from him, but that he was so unhappy that they already knew enough to hang him. He confessed only that he had received money from France for propagating the Catholic cause and had distributed it.”

The MARCHIONESS OF WORCESTER to the MARQUIS.

December 4.—Hears that Mr. Barker is so frightened he will not stay in the country. Very much wonders at the folly of the gentlemen in allowing so many silly things to be done in the country. Is not frightened herself.

A messenger from her cousin Winter had been stopped by the watch at Wickwar because he was carrying it to Badminton. He was taken before Mr. Smith, who, instead of reproving them, only said that he would be answerable for the man. It is easy to see much of the old leaven remains. Hears that the soldiers are most ready in taking the oath.

The SAME to the SAME.

1678, December 14.—*Endorsed*, My wife, Dec. 14th, 78, to go to Mr. Arundell.

“I doubt this will bee the longest [letter] you have had yett, for I am willing you should know the terrible fright—I, and indeed—all this part of England hath bin in with this allarume of the French, which I gues by your letter was made nothing of att London. I beleve you gues pritty well what my disorder was by my last letter. The Mayor of Bristoll in Councell desired Mr. Fitzherbert to send presently to mee that I might dispatch to all your Deputy Lieutenants; what Mr. Fitzherbert writ was bad enough, but Mr. Thurston who hapend to bee in the towne, and soe was sent to mee, assured mee it was most certaine, and told many circumstances; within tow howers after this came in a message from the Dr. with worse circumstances then before. I sent for Mr. Cothrington, and sent later to my Cosen Cooke, with a note of just what the Mayor had writ, and his desire that they might bee acquainted. In this horrible feare I continued till Thursday just before super, then the Dr. came in—who I had sent for, being very ill with the fright—who assured us it was all false. Then I began to bee frighted what the consequence might bee of putting all people in armes in this manner, and was desirous to doe what I could towards the quieting them againe, but am soe fearfull of meddling lest you should not bee pleased, or that I should doe you prejudice by it, but pritty luckily I had opportunities of doing it soe that I hope you will not dislike.

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Friday morning came the inclosed for you, directed to mee that I might see how your business there went, and finding them all in such a fright there I immediately dispatched a messenger, and writ with my owne hande—as the inclosed—to Capt. Booth. I was the willinger to send that I might lett your friends know that Rumsey, town-clerke of Bristoll, was gone privately to Chepstow by watter, I suppose to assist the B; I writ Her: Jones word of it. Yesterday when I thought all quiet, comes in the enclosed from Sir R. Atkins, which gave mee some new apprehensions, but I had more witt then to send it as hee advised; Mr. Cothrington sent upon Thursday to his Br. Windham's and had in returne a long letter, the substance of which I drew out and sent to Sir R. A.; the coppys of my letter and the paper I have put in this. Now give mee leave to give you as farr as I know an account how all your officers behaved themselves upon this occasion. I will begin neer home. Truly Mr. Cothrington was not onely extreemly ready as to all things of action, but very prudent, and with all the respect imaginable to you, and extreemly tender not to doe more then they ought to doe, but hee is sadly yoakt, Mr. Smith would not admitt of his warrants but sent of his owne drawing, where hee told the country all the story and much more, of severall towns burnt, and when all was done, ordered them onely to bee ready at an howers warning. The meeting was at Wotton, wher the clothiers were all for givinge of their trade, and turning of all there workmen. But Mr. Cothrington is gone this day to satisfie them, and will doe all that may bee to quiet them.

“Mr. Winter's part was very pleasant. His man was in the house when the alarume came to mee, soe I sent him away to his master with the same as I had done to the rest, and yesterday his man came to mee to lett mee know that the story was all false, and that his master bid him tell mee hee had done nothing yett, and desired to know from mee whether hee should raise the militia. It was hard to answer him without laughing. I know not well the meaning, but I find Sir R. Atkins very forward to beleve this, and to bee in armes.”

Mr. Cothrington has behaved himself so very well she is anxious to support his request that the Marquis should use his influence to procure the office of Governor of Barbadoes for his cousin Cothrington if Sir J[onathan] Atkins should be removed. The report that he is a Papist makes this likely.

Before making this request she had made inquiries of Mr. FitzH.'s son who lived there. He says that he was deputy governor for five years under one of the Lord Willoughbys. and gives him an extraordinary high character. The Dr. is to make further inquiries as to his character among the Bristol merchants.

The SAME to the SAME.

[1678,] December 16. Badminton.—“I sent you a great company of papers last post. I cannot forbear sending you tow more that you may see I had ground for my fright. Mr. FitzH. was the first, and within tow hours after his sonn came from Bristoll with a confirmation, and just as I was going to bed, the Dr.'s letter, which I concluded hee had very good ground for, else hee would not have sent one a purpose. When I received the first of this news I was writing to you, and had writ allmost tow sheets of paper, much of it was what strang stories were aboute the country, for something of it I had heard but did not beleve; but upon the Mayor of Bristoll's sending, and all the other confirmations, I never doubted it, but threw my letter in the fier and writ I know not myself what. Truly it is

hard to describe the disorder all people were in. This is certaine that the nonconformists in all places were very brisk upon it, and spread it everywhere, and I am told by severall that any man would have been knockt of the head that had but seemed to doubt it. 'Tis strang what numbers of men in all places were in readines, but very few armes, and as I heare everywhere talk of what you have at Chepstow, hoping there to bee suplyed. All the feare was that there was not enough there. If the King had this accident rightly represented to him I am confident hee would thinke the keeping up that garrison more his business than your's. . . .

All that I yett heare of under your command have behaved themselves more regularly than their neighbours, having proceeded according to rules, but in Wiltshire and Somerseishire the captains summon there men without the Deputy Lieutenants, and the townes raise money to pay them, and as I am told doe many very odd things."

The justices having heard that watch is kept in the neighbouring counties have ordered the like here, and Mr. Smith, who will always have his own way, would have it double what it used to be. It has been kept for three weeks or more, and the people are weary of it. Mr. Cothrington wishes to know if it must continue.

Proposes to melt or otherwise dispose of some odd old things in the house that belonged to his cousin Somerset, which are useless here, and not convenient to bring away.

Is anxious to hear that he has a house for her, and thinks Lord Bristoll's at Chelsea better than Lord Paget's, which is too far away from town. Thinks Sir N. Crisp's the worst situated, and worst house she ever saw. Thinks she must travel on a Monday or Thursday so as to have one of the Bath coaches. Two coaches of his own will not do for there will be at least 15 to travel in coaches.

LORD HERBERT to his father [the MARQUIS OF WORCESTER.]

[1678,] December 24. Worcester Lodge.—Apology for neglect in sending the news of Wednesday and Thursday. Had heard nothing about it until the next day. Sends now all the news "which is more than I am afraid we shall be able to graspe,—or at least all the matter of our proceedings these two last Parliament dayes, Saturday and yesterday, that is my Lord Treasurer's letters to Mr. Montague of which the first and the articles are very exact copies, but for the last I cannot promise so much for, it being the last I copied when I was a little weary and was read by one in the Speaker's chamber to 10 or 12 of us that copyed it a little too far, but as to the 2 first, I examined them with the originalls after I had copyed them in short hand and found them very exact. The letter dated 25 March is that which is the most taken notice of, and which has given the most light to us for the impeachment, which was agreed upon on Saturday night and ingrossed and ordered to be carried up by my uncle Henry Capell after I came away, before which there was only one article passed, upon which as well as upon the others that were made before and after the division being made. The victorious side was alwayes 179, although there were some changed sides, and some went away, and others came in before every question, which has been looked upon as an omen—amongst them that wish it—that my Lord Treasurer is to loose his place in the year /79, which Sir Stephen Fox and Sir Philip Warwick the Sollicitor,—and which Sir Robert Holmes and Sir Robert Howard had done if there had not been two comfortable words *durante vita* as they say in their Patents—have already lost for voteing against

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the Treasurer, but not it's supposed without hopes of readmission, but those of them that have good lodgings as Sir Stephen Fox has, which he has built up in part, are warned out of them, as I was informed by his son whom I was to see on Sunday night. They say some have been so bold—as Sir Stephen Fox in particular—as to tell the King that if he had voted for my Lord Treasurer, knowing so much as he did, he had voted against the King and that he would if the King would give him leave so prove it to him as he should not doubt of it, which altho it did not make any impression upon the King yet it has made people have a worse opinion of my Lord Treasurer, Sir Stephen having the opportunity of knowing more of him than other people have.

“Yesterday was apprehended one Prants a silversmith, whom Bedloe swears was one of the murtherers of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, who has they say confessed so much as to confirme wholly Bedloe's testimony concerning that business, and has brought himself to that pass that he is liable to be hanged if he does not discover the Plot, which by the effects of the Adresse of the Lords to the King for a pardon for him in case he discover more of it, have upon farther consideration prevailed with him to discover the porter of Somerset House, and one Penruddock an innkeeper in Southwark—where they say your Lordship's horses used to stand when you were at Chiswick—and promises to discover the whole plot.

We did nothing in our house in the morning but hear two or three letters read that were sent from the King, that were—one I think from Sir Lionel Jenkins—to shew how Mr. Mountague had been in conference with the Pope's Nuntio at Paris, and other things of which he cleared himself very well, although they were sent thither to shew us the reasons the King had to seize Mount . . papers. This was the only imployment of the morning, although we had great tricks used to have the impeachment put again to the vote, but we could not be brought to what—if I may dare say it since your Lordship was not in the House—the Lords were—what with the K.'s pressing them and the Prince being present all the while the matter was debated—which was to have him present, and to let two questions be carried, which were contrary to all precedents either at home or abroad. The first was whether he should be sequestered from Parliament, or at least withdrawn from the House, while the debate was about him, which was carried in the negative, viz., that he should be present and that he should not be committed. The second was whether the precedents should be inspected to know whether this be parliamentary or indeed legall, and was carried that none should be inspected, so that it is believed we shall have very angry proceedings in our house on Thursday next. Upon it I know not what will be the issue of the great discontents these proceedings of the Lords have bred, and the putting out of members of our house for giving their votes contrary to expectation, unless it be the proverb my Lord Thomond wrote in great letters in a letter last post to Sir William Farmer, viz., that he is sure, if God does not amend all, the ——— must end all.

My Aunt Powis was just now pleased to come hither, and tells me that my Lord Pembroke has so displeased the King by voting against the Prince after he had promised to vote for him, that it is impossible for him now to get the Custos Rotulorum's place, so that she says she hopes your Lordship will not be displeased—since my Lord Chancellour nor nobody knows she ever concerned herself in it—if I did propose the thing to my uncle Essex to get it of my Lord Chancellour for me, which I will not do if there be any time to be spared, because the sessions being to be there very soon, but if not I hope your Lordship will not be angry if I propose it before your Lordship comes, which I have the

more reason to venture upon doing since I know of no inconvenience in the thing, and that your Lordship was pleased to have it proposed to my Lord Chancellor for Brecknockshire I think.

Mr. Price was sent for to appeare this afternoone before the King and Council. If I know anything more of what he hath done at Mr. Harcourt's return I shall write it in the cover.

I am my Lord, your L's obedient son,

HERBERT."

The MARCHIONESS OF WORCESTER to the MARQUIS.

[1678,] December 30.—All the waggons are going up to town this week to fetch down goods for the fair. A load of goods this week will be 12*d.* in a hundred cheaper than next week, and after the fair there will be none to be had under 7*d.* a hundred, and hardly at that. [*This is with reference to sending things to London.*]

Begs him to forbid his servants in town writing news to those in the country. By accident she had heard the usher of the hall had received one. She had sent for it, and found that it was all about the Lords' House, but not in agreement with his letters; and that the King had promised the Treasurer to protect him for one week, but after that he must shift for himself; and a long story of Prance and Bedlow, not a word of it true, she is confident. It is very inconvenient having such things reported from this house, for the place gives authority to them. Finds that this correspondence has always gone on when he is in town. This letter, anonymous, she is sure was from Yorkshire. His servants would do better to mind their own business and leave State affairs to those who ought to manage them.

CHEPSTOW CASTLE.

1678, December 31.—A certificate signed by Thomas Dolman that on this day the Marquis of Worcester presented to his Majesty, present in Council, four papers, certifying that all the officers and soldiers of the garrison of Chepstow Castle had taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, received the Sacrament, and subscribed the Declaration appointed by the late Act of Parliament. One serjeant, two corporals, and one drummer, were present and personally testified that there had been only one Papist in the garrison, and he had been turned out five years since on his refusing to take the oaths, that all the soldiers used to receive the Sacrament once a year while in garrison. That by Captain Spalding's order the roll was called every Sunday at the church door, and all absentees fined, and that the deponents were generally in default and paid the fines, which were expended on making a walk in the Castle, and on other things necessary for the soldiers. That upon every fifth of November all the soldiers attended at the church, leaving their firearms behind. That Captain Spalding always attended the church service. That when oaths were tendered they never knew of any one's absenting himself, or putting forward another man to represent him. That John Rosser who was turned out five years ago was the only Papist they have ever known as belonging to the garrison. The Board was satisfied, and ordered the Memorial to be entered in the Council Book.

Four schedules with signatures are annexed.

The garrison numbers 53.

The MARQUIS OF WORCESTER to the MARCHIONESS.

1678-9, January 2.—Had made an offer of 100*l.* a year, and to keep the housekeeper and gardener, for Lord Paget's house, but finds

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he asks 200l., and will therefore treat for Lord Berkeley's house at Cranford.

W. BEDLOE to the MARQUIS OF WORCESTER.

1679, September 5. Monmouth.—Has made it his business on his journey through Reading, Newbury, Marlborough, &c. to contradict all reports unfavourable to his Lordship; that at Bristol, Gloucester, Hereford, and many other places when he saw the accusations in the coffee houses, he tore them up, and sent the coffee men to prison.

The MARQUIS OF WORCESTER to W. BEDLOE.

1679, September 9. Worcester House.—Acknowledges the above letter.

The MARQUIS OF WORCESTER.

A paper containing the speeches in Parliament against the Marquis of Worcester as in the Diary at the end of these notes.

The MARQUIS OF WORCESTER to W. BEDLOE.

[1679].—Had in his last letter told her of Oates' accusations against the Queen, he now sends the address sent to them by the House of Commons.

We yesterday heard the witnesses themselves, and after debating it from 9 in the morning to 6 at night we almost unanimously refused it, there being but five for it. "I suppose I may name them since they desired if it was carried against them they might have leave to enter their protestations. They were Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Hallifax, Lord Wharton, Lord Grey, and Sir Herbert of Cherbury.

"I suppose I may also tell you the evidence, since what was delivered at the barr of both Houses, though in the presence of none but members of each cannot be presumed to be any great secret.

[Three pages of the stories of Oates and Bedloe.]

"On Monday we shall give the Commons our reasons at a conference why we did not agree with them. My Lord Ailsbury came to mee this day, and condemning mightily his sonn's discourse to me, asked mee at last what you would take for your . . ." [End of page and the rest missing.]

The SAME to the SAME.

[1679].—[The latter half of a letter, of which the first part is missing.]

"I have had a little brashing at Council this evening, because the morning's was but a short one, by the Lord Herbert of Cherbury, though I thinke much to his Lordship's disadvantage. The business was this. Hee writ up about three weekes ago that the Deputy Lieutenants of Montgomeryshire had not done their duties in the search of Powis Castle, and that there were arms hid there in the walls and under ground. Upon which the Councill ordered hee should have power given him to search for them, and I sent to some of the Deputy Lieutenants to attend him in it, no Peer's house being by the Act to be searched without one. The Deputy Lieutenants upon receipt of my letters send to offer their service. He instead of making use of them, in doing what he was ordered, tells them in a letter I might have spared my paines in sending them orders, for hee could tell how to command any of them, by the King and Council's order. I acquainted the King and Council of this, and desired to know what he

had done upon that order, for it would have bin a good prooffe for Mr. Attorney against Lord Powis to show hee was in the plot if concealed arms had bin found. Hee made so fumbling an excuse, and showed so much malice and so little wit that I pitied him, and would not urge things so far as I might, seeing everybody very shame of him. From thence I went to the Queene to give her thanks for laying my sister so obligingly aside, for being to keepe none but Roman Catholicks about her that are not Portugese, shee intends but three ladys of the bed-chamber of that number, the rest to be Maids of Honour and Dressers, and out of civility thinks shee could do no lesse, since the King stuck to her, and showed so much concerne for her when shee was accused, than to choose the D. of Portsmouth in the first place, so that there remained but two to go with her to her devotions, which it will be necessary should bee almost alwaies upon duty, which before they were but now and then upon, and but for a day at a time, so that in effect they must bee drudges, which shee could not imagine considering my sister's circumstances shee could not bee. Yet shee was so tender of her that shee sent my Br. Clarendon to mee to have her consent before shee would choose, which I carryed today with as great a compliment as I could make."

CHEPSTOW CASTLE.

1679, May 3.—A list of all the guns, stores, and habiliments of war now in Chepstow Castle.

THE MARQUIS OF WORCESTER to the MARCHIONESS.

[1680.]—Was at a Committee of Council this afternoon, and has to be at the Council itself to-morrow morning.

Gives the heads of the King's speech as far as he can remember. The King said that having an ill memory and desiring to forget nothing he would read what he had to say. He told us that the several prorogations had been to very good purpose to himself and his allies. That he had made a league with Spain as he had before with Holland, and they with Spain. That he hoped what was so much desired by former Parliaments would be acceptable to this one, and that though many might have wished it sooner it was not now too late. He was prepared to do all things for the maintenance of the established religion, provided we did not alter the succession. That Tangier was in a bad condition and needed aid beyond his resources.

THE SAME to the SAME.

1681, March 25. [Oxford,] Jesus College.—This town is not very pleasing to him. The want of a cross post to Bristol is a great disappointment.

No one knows how long we shall remain here, "the House of Commons not having yet declared themselves—as a House—in anything, but the general opinion is they will be very angry, which after the King's speech I do not see how it can consist with long sitting, if the King continue firm to what hee has there declared, and seems in all discourses to stick to. There was yesterday an opportunity offered him to declare himself, to which I ignorantly contributed, but was glad of what it produced; and because you will like what the King said I will repeat as much as I remember of it. Lord Shaftesbury comes up smiling to our end of the house and says, I have an expedient put into my hand in this paper—which he shewed—that will comply with the King's speech, and satisfy the people too, and this hee communicates to Lord Chancellour. I being neare asked him whether I and some other

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lords by mee might not see it. No says hee the king must see it first, and if you will shew it him—for I must not come up to him—then you shall see it. Lord Chancellour—who would not leave his seate—said to me, ‘pray my Lord do.’ So I took it and then carried it to the King, thinking it truly some pleasant jest intended for the King to laugh at, for so it seemed by the Chancellour and his laughing, and I could not imagine that any serious man could think really to accommodate all things between the King and the Parliament in six lines, which was all I could see in the letter. When the King read it, he found the expedient was to settle the Crown upon the Duke of Monmouth. ‘Ay marry,’ says hee, ‘heere is an expedient indeede, if one woulde trample over all laws of God and man.’ Says Lord Shaftesbury, who came pretty neere to see what would follow, ‘Sir will you give mee leave to make it as lawful as wee can?’ Says the King ‘that’s just robbery luty [?], and whoever goes about such things can bee no better than knaves, by the grace of God,’ says the King, ‘I will stick to that that is law, and maintaine the Church as it is now establisht, and not bee of a religion that can make all things lawfull, as I know Presbytery can, and overrule all laws that do not advance their religion, and in that they are ten times worse than the Pope, for tho’ hee will have all things under him that can bee pressed to bee in ordire spiritualties, hee allows it to bee argued whither they are so or no; but the Presbyterians twice when I was in Scotland came into the Parliament house, and bid them proceede no further in some things than were before them for they had judged them to entrench upon the Kirk.’ Several other things hee said of his resolution to stand by the Church, though hee should have never so few stand by him. Lord Shaftesbury said no Church nor Clergy were but would impose upon the government. I said, not the Church of England. Says hee, because they were never in power and authority. Says the King, ‘I hope they are now, and I will not bee for lessening it, and if I do I know I lesse my crowne, for wee must march together.’ So that I thinke now—and I have reason to believe so from what hee told me before in private—that hee will not bee angry with us for being against the bill for repealing the Statute of the 35th of Eliz., which wee are this morning to go upon, and I believe shall throw out. Lord Darby petitioned yesterday to be bayled, and after a debate of two hours wee adjourned it till Monday.

I receaved yesterday a letter from my cosin Tom Herbert, wherein I find hee takes his being not allowed to proceede in the election at Monmouth very heavily, which I am mighty sorry for, and as you know was as displeasing to me upon several accounts, and my directions were not pursued on it.

“P.S.—I must not omit one very good reply of the King’s to Lord Shaftesbury. The King speaking of standing by the Church and Government though hee had never so few, said, ‘I am not like others that the older they grow the fearfuller they are. I thinke the lesse wee can live according to nature, the lesse wee ought to value one’s life.’ ‘Pray,’ says both Lord Chancellour and Lord Shaftesbury, ‘do not bee so unconcerned for your life for in it depends all our good.’ ‘And yet,’ says the King, ‘*I am the only Arbitrary Man.*’”

The SAME to the SAME, at Badminton.

1681, March 28. Oxford.—Is glad to hear she walks about among the workmen. He and his son are well. The bed and furniture in his chamber look well, and have so much reputation that his servants tell him many strangers come to see it, and it is much cried up. Thinks truly that both rooms and furniture are better than the King’s in Christ Church.

Sends a list of the votes, and of the parliament men. [*Not in this letter.*]

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Does not find that the House of Commons is likely to agree either with the King or the House of Lords. "Not with the King, for you see the Bill of Exclusion ordered, which the King declares in his speech against. Nor with the Lords for you see they will have Fitz-Harris tried by impeachment, and the Lords have left it to the law, which is certainly the regular course, the proofes being so home by there witnesses that hee must certainly bee condemned at law—who appears to all men a horrid villaine—in bespattering not only this King but his father and grandfather with being Papists and indeavouring to bring in Popery, with several other horrid assertions. Who set him at work is not found out, but the party that endeavours to have him tryed by impeachment is certainly the most favourable to him, for hee is sure to be hanged in the King's Bench, and there are many things may happen to save him the other way, as Prorogation, Dissolutions, &c. Or if the King will have him suffer hee must bee obliged to continue the Parliament sitting, whatever reason they give him to the contrary till it bee done, which they may prolong that are prosecutors as long as they please. If it were not for one of those reasons possibly some would not bee so fond of having a commoner in a criminal matter tryed by the Lords, who are not his peeres, contrary to Magna Charta. My Lord Howard of Escrick made a long speeche to excuse himselfe that, contrary to a maxime hee has, and the truest—hee says—that a man can governe himselfe by—viz. that Papists are not convertable by Protestants at this time—hee had bin so overcome by his good nature as to suffer this man to eate and bee constantly at his house at Knightsbridge for a great while togeather before this broke out, which I should have bin very sorry had bin at mine. Wee [?] have displeased the Commons in another affaire, and that is by not allowing a Committee of both Houses to examine our clerke about the losse of the Bill to repeal the Statute of the 25th of Queene Eliz., and are not for ought I see like to please them in anything.

I have not time to write any more, Prayers having bin long this morning in the Colledge, at which I constantly am, and not beginning till eight o'clock, and the King being to sit early."

The SAME to the SAME.

N.D.—Her brother writes that the Council had met for the purpose of taking new informations about the Plot. "The Duke of Monmouth came into the Council and took his usual place there, and as I heare, the King shewed the same kindnesse as hee used to doe, and 'tis said speaks of him soe at other times. He has delivered up his commission as General &c."

The news on Saturday was that the Duke of Monmouth was to go to Hamburg and Berlin on Wednesday or Thursday, and the Duke on Friday next, and the King to Newmarket on Saturday. The Queen and Court go with them. The phisicians came to the Council to acquaint them they intend to give the King the Jesuits powder five or six times before he goes to Newmarket, which they agreed to. He looks well, eats two meals of meat a day as he used to do.

"You may remember that I told you of a gentleman that was to bend or breake, I find from good hands the same resolution holds, and if hee doe not bend hee is to lose his place. I beleve there is not the least doubt of the Parliament sitting at the time."

"I am told that notwithstanding all arts possible to make it otherwise the people are not so evident against the Duke as they have been, but it is strange the making the Duke of Monmouth his competitor with the Duke, hath given Monmouth a strange interest more than hee had, for the fear of Popery is soe great that they are apt to catch at any rotten reed rather than venture that. It is said hee attempted—I know not whether succeeded—the Duke of Southampton, and that incensed the King. 'Tis so extravagant that I think it must bee made &c."

The SAME to the SAME.

1681, June 16. Cranford.—Cannot be down before the muster because no answer has yet come to the letter sent by Lord CC., as he told me to-day at the Council at Hampton Court, and he cannot get the King to appoint a day for the other business, which now cannot be this week, Mr. Secretary going this day to London, and not coming to Windsor till Wednesday.

Remarks about the coming musters in Gloucestershire.

"Tom Cheeke told mee this morning at Hampton Court that Fitzharris desired him to tell the King that if hee would change his punishment into transportation or perpetuall banishment hee would discover who put him upon accusing the Queene, the Duke, and the Earl of Danby, and make it out by more than his own testimony."

Had stayed so long at dinner at Ned Prayers' lodge, with the Lord Chancellor and Lord Conway, he has not time to write more.

The SAME to the SAME.

1681, July 2. London.—"You will the lesse grutch my stay in these parts when I tell you of this days' worke, and that wee have this morning signed a warrant at the Council—the King present—to send Lord Shaftesbury to the Tower, who had nothing to say for himself but that if a certaine sort of witnesses were believed—whom very lately hee magnified and would have to bee sufficient ones—no man in England was safe as to life or fortune. Wee afterwards had the papers left in Dr. Hawkins his hands, referred to by Fitzharris at his execution and attested by the Dr.—who is the Minister of the Tower, and who put him in mind every line hee writ of his being to answer so soone at God's tribunall—and three other witnesses, wherein hee declares how hee had bin induc't by the Sheriffs and the Recorder to say what hee did against the Queene, Duke, and Earle of Danby, being promist it should save him till a Parliament, and there hee should bee acquitted. All which hee declares to bee utterly false, and askes God and the persons concerned forgiveness for having sworne it, and renounces God's pardon if what hee now says bee not true. The thing itself will bee speedily in print and therefore I only slightly mention some particulars in it.

I hope though with great difficulty—which I did not expect from . . . —that Harold and Price will bee left out, for Lord Ch. who was very loath to do it and opposed it highly, told mee to-day it should bee, but I must see it done after the obstructions I have met with, or it may yet faile."

Goes this evening to Cranford, to-morrow to Windsor. A male bald faced calf is to be caught for Lord Norrice, and another with a female bald faced, and another ordinary one, for Lord Winchelsea, and a bald faced fawn for Sir Robert Atkins.

The SAME to the SAME.

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1681, November 12. [London].—Has come home late because the King went to a play in the afternoon, a thing he does very seldom, and I not much oftener, and he had felt himself obliged in good manners to do so too.

The King pricked last night the English sheriffs. I had my roll ready, but put off giving it in "because of a doubt in the King whether hee should prick in two or three countys good men or men notoriously ill, because of incapacitating them for being chosen in case a Parliament should bee within the year, and hee will consider which between this and next Wednesday. There is a Commission of Oyer and Terminer for the trying of Lord Shaftesbury, but it must bee by a London jury, so all advantage the King will have by it probably speaking is that the people will see the jury is againe foresworne, and that the evidence was full enough in case the jury had bin impartiall."

The MARCHIONESS OF WORCESTER to the MARQUIS.

[1681,] December 3.—Approves of the proposed purchase of the house at Chelsea.

If he wishes to make the King a present he can give him a young peacock and peahen such as are not to be found elsewhere. Their necks are coloured as the others, the heads and the feathers on the top of them are milk white, which makes their shining necks extremely fine. Their bodies and long feathers are ash colour, spotted with black. They are lovely birds.

The MARQUIS OF WORCESTER to the MARCHIONESS.

1681, December 11.—People are mighty busy in making their interest for Parliament men, though there is nothing yet resolved of that kind, it depending on what the King of France will do, whether continue his blocking Luxembourg or no.

The SAME to the SAME.

1681, December 17. [London].—Has just written by the King's command to thank the Mayor of Bristol for so vigorously putting in execution the laws against conventicles. Hopes the City will do the like, having received a like injunction. Has bought Lady Bristol's house at Chelsea for 5,000*l*. The road to it is so dry that most times he has been able to walk in the highway and in a quarter of an hour from Lord Arlington's. The water is brought from Kensington in pipes and is very good.

The SAME to the SAME.

1682, June 24. Chelsea.—The King and Queen came yesterday to town. The Lord President is my neighbour. He keeps a very mighty good table. Had gone with him to the Council where the business was between Lord Ormond and the Lord Privy Seal, "but the passages Lord of Ormond takes exception at being out of the printed book, Lord Privy Seal has time to compare the print with his manuscript to see if they agree before he owns them to be his, and when he does he is to defend them the best he can, but I think he will have much to do."

The SAME to the SAME.

1682, November 27. [London].—Has little news, only it is certain Lord Shaftesbury has been seen at the Brill, in Holland.

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Had left the question of his title to the heralds who advised much a new one rather than the continuance of an old one, which, though practised in several cases of late, is not according to rule. "Therefore I have chosen Beaufort, and that my son be called Worcester, the heralds saying that the title is most eligible which brings in remembrance the family one comes of. There are several other promotions, as Lord Norris made Earl of Abington; Lord Hyde, Earl of Rochester; Lord Cambden, an English Earl—I know not his title—Lord Townsend a Viscount; George Legge and Sir John Bennet, English Barons, the first of Dartmouth, the second of Osestree; Churchill, a Scotch Baron, or Viscount I know not which, so that I find the reason why the King was unwilling to open the doore."

The SAME to the SAME.

1682, November 28.—Finds by her letter that he had not lighted on the title she would have chosen, but now it cannot be helped.

The feast of the Artillery Company has taken up the whole day, and so tired him that after waiting on the Duke back to Whitehall he had come home to Chelsea.

There was a vast deal of company, and almost all the people of quality at the feast.

The stewards that treated us were the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Oxford, Earl of Arundel, and Lord Faulkland, who have resigned their places to the Duke of Ormond, Earl of Sunderland, Earl of Alesbury, and Lord Falconbridge. The four (Lieutenants?) are the two Sheriffs, North and Rich, Sir R. Hadcock, and another Knight. The Mayor, Recorder, both Sheriffs, and the major part of the Aldermen were there.

Capt. Mathews has brought some partridges from Tangiers, and he hopes to get some antelopes.

The SAME to the SAME.

[1682.]—Much worried with his own and other people's business. This morning had been turned out of bed early in the ugliest mist ever seen or smelt, to wait upon the King on behalf of one Captain Mathews, who partaking of his master Monmouth's fall is turned out of his employment in the Guards. . . . Dares not be a minute from the Council while it sits. I had much ado to procure my cousin Tom (?) Herbert an order to see the affidavits made against him and more time to answer the charge. Ned Seymour was against me, which I did not expect, and for Arnold, but I hope it will not be so when the dispute comes between my son and him. Feels it necessary to be more at Court than usual, which is no great delight.

The DUKE OF BEAUFORT.

1683, November 22.—Papers in an action by the Duke of Beaufort, against J. Arnold, Esq., in which the jury gave 10,000*l.* damages, ending with—

"This is to certify at the desire of the said John Arnold and in his own words, that he thinks himself bound as a Christian and a gentleman to take shame upon himself for all his scandalous misdemeanours towards the Duke of Beaufort, and to make this publick acknowledgment of his Grace's generous and undeserved condescensions towards his relief, declaring likewise that this advertisement is true in every circumstance and the voluntary act of—"

The DUKE OF BEAUFORT to the DUCHESS.

N.Y., August 31. Birmingham.—Will be at Woodstock by noon on Saturday. Has left Shrewsbury for Powis Castle, by which means

he has escaped bad quarters in several places and the hard duty of riding to Holywell and back. Expects to-morrow to join the King at Coventry.

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"I suppose you take it for granted the King will bee with you again on Tuesday, the time for dinner to bee ready I will send the night before. The High Sheriff and gentlemen I suppose will meet the King on Monday upon the confines of the county."

THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to the DUKE OF BEAUFORT.

1684-5, March 23rd.—Order to the Duke of Beaufort to attend the Coronation.

THE EARL OF PETERBOROUGH and the EARL OF ARLINGTON to the
DUKE OF BEAUFORT.

1685, May 16.—Certificate that the Duke of Beaufort was this day sworn and admitted one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber.

THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT to J. SMITH, of Nibley.

1685, June 17. Bristol.—Desiring him to get together such of the tenants and neighbours as he can trust with arms, and secure Berkeley Castle from a surprise by the enemy. He is hereby authorised to obtain arms by taking them from all persons not authorised by Act of Parliament to carry them.

(Signed) JAMES R.

THE DUCHESS OF BEAUFORT to the DUKE.

[1685,] June 23. Chelsea.—Hopes to come down in a few days, but hears there is a troop of horse rambling about Wiltshire for plunder. Her friends are as concerned at her going "as if I were going to Taunton."

Sir John Guise has been before the Council.

A letter has come from Justice Hopton, with an account of Sir R. Gwin. She has sent it to her brother C. to show the King. Co. Jeffries sends a very good account of their militia. Hopes that Bristol will be safe if the rebels begin to desert their mock king.

The marriage of "Mall" with Lord Ossory is to be in the country.

THE SAME to the SAME.

[1685,] London.—A letter has come from Lord Ossory from Salisbury, but the express left him last night at Bridport.

Fears he is in a very dangerous place.

KING JAMES II. to the DUKE OF BEAUFORT.

1686-7, February 12. Whitehall.—"I forgott when you went out of towne to give you directions to speake with such Parliament men as you shall see in the country, about what I intend to endeavor to have done when they shall meet next, which is to have the two tests and penal laws repealed, that my Catholick subjects may be in the same condition the rest of my subjects are. Therefore pray take pains with such as make difficulty to promis to comply with my so resonable desires, and gett as many of them as you can to promise you positively that they will do it, so that against you come back hither you may be able to give me a true account, and send to such as are any thing neare you to come to you that you may speake with them about it. As for the Herefordsheir men that are in towne, I have spoken with all of them, and they have

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fully satisfied me. I heare Sir John Morgan is in the country, be sure to send for him, and speak with him for if he will not comply of which I do not doubt, he shall be no longer in my pay. Speake also to as many as you can of the Welsh members, and take great care to gett none but such as you can be sure of to be chosen in the vacancys which are where you have to do. I have a very good prospect of being able to carry it in both houses but no pains must be spared to gain people, which is all I have now to say.

The DUKE OF BEAUFORT to the DUCHESS.

1687, June 16. Windsor.—The King is quite well of a slight touch of the gout which hindered him from spending all Monday in the camp in seeing his men drawn up several ways and in several figures, which lasted until eight o'clock at night, with no interval except for dinner, which was on the table at Lord Churchill's before he came first out of the field, and was no very long meal.

It was a fine day. Yesterday was hot, but it did not hinder the King from going again to the camp, where he dined with Lord Dunbarton, and stayed all the whole afternoon, seeing the train of artillery march in, and Lord Dunbarton's regiment of fusiliers, which the King saw that night encamp, being on horseback all the afternoon till six o'clock, at which time he took coach and came back to Windsor. He is so well he intends to hunt stag to-morrow.

Had not had time in either of his last two letters to tell her of the extraordinary good fortune of the Duke of Albemarle in recovering a Spanish wreck that has lain in the sea forty-two years, and been fished for by several natives, but chiefly by the Spaniards that lost her in the seas near the [ren]ardys. His share in the silver already brought here comes to between forty and fifty thousand pounds. He and his partners offer the King at a venture for his share, which is by agreement to be but a tenth, 20,000*l*. The others that went shares with him were Lord Falkland, Sir James Hayes, and Sir John Narborough, but their's was each of them but half his. This project went a begging for a great while, and Lord Sunderland, Lord Portsmouth, and several others, refused to be concerned in it, and to venture any money upon it. Sir Richard Hoddock was so unlucky that he sold his hundred pound share for ninety but a month or two before the thing was found. It would have brought him eight thousand pounds.

This may chance stop the Duke of Albemarle's going to Jamaica, though he says he is still resolved to go. Lord Devonshire was yesterday fined 30,000*l*. in the King's Bench, and to be there in prison till he pays it. The Duke of Grafton has had there the better of Lord Berkeley in the business of the riot at Nonsuch.

The King has been this afternoon at the Cockpit, seeing Lord Gurdison's cocks fight, where I won three guineas of his Majesty, and two of Lord Churchill.

The SAME to the SAME.

N.Y., October 29.—Has just come from the greatest entertainment he ever saw at a Lord Mayor's feast in the city, and the best ordered, though there was the greatest concourse there and in the streets that was ever known, and the greatest acclamations all through the city as the King passed. The Queen did not dare venture, remembering that the Bristol entertainment had put her out of order, but all the nobility

in town, and the foreign Ministers were there. The Pope's Nuncio in particular was invited by the Lord Mayor and nobly entertained.

[Most of these letters are long, but the greater part of them is taken up with family and domestic affairs.]

A MEMORANDUM in the DUKE OF BEAUFORT's own handwriting.

"This Paper was deliver'd me by his Majesty with his owne hand on Wensday the 26th of October 1687, at his Cabinet Council in Lord Sunderland's office. Lord Chancellour, Lord President, Lord Middleton, Lord Dartmouth, and Lord Godolphin sitting with him, and Mr. Bridgeman one of the Clerkes standing by, and is the same with that deliver'd to the Duke of Norfolk, Earle of Bathe, Lord Preston, and Lord Walgrave, who were called in and received theirs the same sitting."

"The King's indorsed Instructions October 26, 1687.

That the Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of Gloucester, Hereford, Monmouth, North Wales, South Wales, and of the City of Bristol, do call before him all the deputy Lieutenants and Justices of Peace within his Lieutenancy either jointly or separately as he shall think best, and aske him one by one the following questions :

1. If in case he shall be chosen Knight of the Shire, or Burgess of a Town, when the King shall think fitt to call a Parliament, whether he will be for taking off the Penal Laws and the Tests?
2. Whether he will assist and contribute to the election of such members as shall be for taking off the Penal Laws and Tests?
3. Whether he will support the King's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, by living friendly with those of all perswasions, as subjects of the same Prince, and good Christians ought to do?

"As he shall ask these questions of all Deputy Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace, so he shall particularly write down what every one answers, whether he consents, refuseth, or is doubtfull. That he likewise do bring the King as good an account as he can of all the several Corporations within his Lieutenancy, what powers of such as are willing to comply with these measures have credit enough of their own to be chosen Parliament men, or may be chosen if assisted by their friends. And lastly what Catholicks and what Dissenters are fitt to be added either to the list of Deputy Lieutenants, or to the Commission of the Peace throughout the said Lieutenancy."

The DUKE OF BEAUFORT to the DUCHESS, at Badminton.

[1688,] June 7.—"The Queene comes out now every night into the drawing and looks well though extreamly big. Shee goes out . . . as soone as it can be got ready. The King has been a hunting and is just now returned after a great chase and killing a very fat stagge.

"5 in the evening.

"The Queene intends to breede up what God sends her by hand. I told my sister of your invented porringer and intend to tell the Queene of it. Men whisper you will present the Queene with a gold one or referre my wisper to Mr. Child for a pattern, who I think used to make them. I leave to you what you think most adviseable. If they had not bin made pretty common the first certainly would bee best. Do you resolve."

The SAME to the SAME.

N.Y., March 28, Badminton.—Hears that the King's party is much stronger than it was, and the other discouraged, and the coffee houses no longer talking treason at the rate they once did.

The DUCHESS OF BEAUFORT to the DUKE.

[1688,] December 15. Badminton.—Trusts he has arrived safely with the Prince at London. Had been in very great anxiety.

"Last night at 2 o'clock Mr. Cothrington sends mee a letter that hee had certaine intelligence that a great body of Irish were come within 5 mile of Wotton Bassett, and that they burnt and killed all as they came along.

"Some of your servants being towards Anton saw, as they said, a regiment of dragoones march through to Malmesbury in the evening. I wisht him to send to give them notice. Hee had before sent to Sir Thomas Stevens, Sir G. Low, to Sir John Guise at Glocester, and indeed everywhere. This morning by that time it was light hee came hither, he sent his B^r to Malmesbury, who returned him an answer that Andover was burnt; with this hee and I thought it but a story, and I was pritty quiet; but aboute 11 o'clock hee comes with a troope of gentlemen hee said that were come to defend mee and to bee directed by mee what to do, but with news that Reading and Newbury was burnt, and that they were come as farr as Marlborough. I thankt them and wisht them to march up, for that it was allwaies I have heard better to fight an enemy out of one's owne country. But still they delayed goeing away; att last hee came and told mee they wanted armes, and heard I had some heer and cannon. I told them I had aboute 60 musketts to defend the house, and that it would bee strange that gentlemen that came to assiste mee should take away what I had to defend mee. In short they would not goe without them. I desired if they tooke them they would leave a note with their names to it that they would accompt for them. There is tow of Stevens's sonns of Cherington, tow of Judge Hales's grand children, and one Talboys. The cannon I had cary'd into the Court. Cater has been at Thornbury where Sir R. Ashfield is with his troope, and a great many more. I have sent Cater back againe to them to tell them that I had a letter this day from you from Reading, and that you must passe through Newbury, and that you mention not anything but all quiet, and that you were last night, I beleve, with the Prince at Windsor, and that the letters from London assure mee that the Kinge is driven ashore and coming up to towne, and that they write all will bee well. Skinner came with news that there was tow thousand at Sodbery, and that they were coming hither for armes. I sent thither, the messenger is returned; hee says Sir T. Stevens and old Raymond is there, and hee judges about a hunder'd, but no speech of their coming hither. The country is in a great disturbance. It were very well if you could procure the Prince—or whoever else gives order—to send down orders unto the country to lett the countrys know that they should bee quiet, for that hee comes to maintaine the laws, and not to countenance these disorders. I trust you are safe where you are; I would not for anything in the world you were heer; I hope in God all will bee quiett againe in a little time, the hopes that you are safe makes mee very couragious. I have sent to desire Sir Gabriell Low to come and bee heer this night, tho' I hope there will bee no need of him."

The SAME to the SAME, at Beaufort House.

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[1688,] December 17.—News has come that the King is dead or dying.

“I much feare this is a part of our Friday night’s business still to keepe the people ready to do mischief. I have sent to several of the gentlemen what I heard, and that I was sure this must be a story framed to do mischief.

I believe you will wonder when I tell you that a letter from Drake yesterday did very good sarvis. He sent one on purpose with a letter to acquaint us that the same news had raised all their country, onely they had fibbed (or filbed) with other towns—that country was all in armes—the gentlemen sent immediately to Salisbury, which was reported to be of fire, where they found no such thing there nor anywhere else, so they presently dispersed the people and all was quiet by Saturday night. But our people heere were not so, for Sir John Ashfield’s troop and at lest 400 more met upon the splats yesterday, where they continued until two o’clock, and then went to Wotton—there were a great many gentlemen. I sent Drake’s letter to Sir G. Low, who it seems gave it to Lord Dursley, hee read it to the company, who finding their neighbours wisdome thought fitt to dismissee their’s too, so the troope was sent home, and the country people promised to go home to their houses and settle to worke.

“I am assured by very sober people that within lesse than twentie mile of this place there were many more than twentie thousand up, and the rable extreame rude and not only threatening mee but most that were in commission. Their had been care taken to blow about amongst them the King being gone out of the Kingdome all commissions ceased, and not only them but the laws. It is God’s great mercy they did no hurt, Sir G. Low, and Major Raymond have been extreame carefull of mee, and truly I think if they had not managed very prudently I might have had some mischief done. I am told from a pretty good hand that Mr. Berkley and Chester had perswaded Sir John Ash: to go in with your troope to Sir John Guise. Several would not send in their horse upon his warrant, but with those he had they say he declared hee would go to the P: . This they say hee did upon second thoughts. I beleve Sir J. G. does not thinke fitt to apaare openly, but these people who took the muskets from heare are all his creatures. All is at present quiet, but the Prebeterians wonderfully busy. Mr. Lake who came this day to see mee tells mee that a leading man of them came to him this morning in the street, and askt him what hee thought now, whether wee should not have a Commonwealth. As I am writing Cater comes to mee and tells mee Sir T. Stevens sent for him this morning and bid him bring mee a note of some armes that were taken from him by your order, and that hee expects to have them delivered to him. Cater satisfied him that they were never brought hither. However hee would have him bring the note. I sent him word that you were now at Windsor with the Prince and I would send you word. One thing in our alarums was pleasant. The troopes of dragoons proved to bee Mr. Trenchard with, I am told, 120 horse. They say hee was to guard £11000 in tow wagons from Bristoll to Oxford; 2 such wagons did lie at Sodbury Thursday night, and onely six troopers with them—I suppose Malmesbury is the neerer way—so Trenchard with his troope chose to go that way. Mr. Cothrington sent the alarme of the Irish thither, which as soone as they had, they rid away to Gloucester as fast as they could, the reason they gave was they could not fight without Sir John Guises orders, I suppose this is another spur fight. Last night

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Lord Thomond sent a gentleman with a letter directed to you and mee. It was to complain that his sonn was gone without his leave, and in it a letter to him that my daughter was left without money. His desire was that you would sent a note to Mr. Atwell, Lord Thomond's goldsmith, to keep some in his hands for her. I askt his man what this meant. Hee tells mee that last Wendesday when Lord O'Brien came to his father in a soldiers habitt and declared his resolution to go to the Prince, hee quarelled with him, but gave him notes for his whole Christmas halfe year, so that your poore daughter is in a sad case without money for her and her children, and in a papist's house within 3 mile of Lord Peterbourgh's house, which was then puling down, the mobile having puled downe another gentleman's house within a mile of Northampton &c."

Has accepted a tenant for a farm because the bailiffe says 'he will bee a very good husband upon it.'

ELIZABETH, LADY CAPEL.

A schedule of the estates inherited by Elizabeth, Lady Capel, from her father, Sir Charles Moryson, Bart. Attached to a petition to Parliament for their restoration.

AN UNDATED PAPER.

"Lord Huntington taken up, said to be discharged on taking the oathes. Lord Marlborough taken into custody. Fergason sent to Newgate. Warrants against very many, non to be found. Mr. Ridley in custody. Capt. Carter from Ushant adviseth can see nothing. Delavall 2 leagues from Haver. Dr. Grace sendeth advice has taken only fisher boats, who say 500 and more transport ships are in Normandy ports, men on board, but knows nothing of the French fleet, this the Court will informe us excepted as the Jacobites say in K. J. declaration besides judges, jurys, witnesses, and such as were concerned in Ashton's death, and one more, yet non left without hopes if will merritt.

Ormond, Winchester, Sunderland, Bathe, Danby, Nottingham, Newport, Bishop of London, Asaff, Delamere, Colcester, Cornbury, Dunblane, Churchill, Sir R. How, Sir J. Worden, Sir S. Grimston, Sir S. Fox, Sir G. Treby, Sir B. Dixmond, Sir J. Oxenden, Dr. Burnett, Dr. Tilotson, F. Russell, R. Lewson, J. Trenchard, C. Duncumb, Edwards, Hunt, Nappleton, men of Feversham who used the King ill.

Could say something of the fleete but mum is good."

R. SOUTHWELL to the DUKE OF BEAUFORT.

1688, December 14. Kingsweston.—"The news of yesterday is not so surprising as it is very great, for when one had a crab-tree cudgel and the other but a hollow cane, it was easy to see the event.

"Whether the King and Queen have embarked together, or where they are gone is uncertain, though Dunkirk be named. And whether the Prince will be declared Protector or proclaimed King, and attend for this until the Princess arrives is now the talk.

"I did not hear of my son in nine days after he went. He turned volunteer under the Earl of Mackersfield, and there he is. But as he began his compliments more early than his father, I am now thinking to get up to London when I can, and to do the like. I believe this news will be most of all amazing in France, and that all our thunderbolts will light there, besides what may fall from the rest of Europe. They have great desolations and inhumanities to account for, and it looks as if heaven were now disposed to be an avenger."

TH. HERBERT to ———.

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1695-6, March 12.—Three of the plotters were tried yesterday at the adjourned sessions at the Old Bailey for conspiring the King's death, and their evidence by four witnesses against them, for which they are condemned. . . . Sir William Parkyns it is like will be one to be tried. He was taken in a gentleman's chamber in the Temple upon Tuesday last. Upon the trial of those above mentioned it appears that he was at all their meetings.

A parcel of 40 letters from Lord Coventry to Lady Coventry between the years 1690 and 1709. Many of them interesting, but dealing exclusively with domestic affairs.

The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to the EARL OF COVENTRY.

1700, February 26.—Order to impress any seamen, and those reasonably suspected to be seamen, who may be found in the county of Worcester being of able body. They are to be sent under guard to the Sheriff of the next county towards the sea, and so on from Sheriff to Sheriff until they are delivered to the conductor appointed by the Admiral. A place of security to be provided in each county. Each man to have a shilling press money, and an allowance of sixpence a day for maintenance while under restraint, and eightpence when travelling.

The SAME to the SAME.

1702, October 30.—Order to stop the impressment of seamen in the county of Worcester, the ships being well manned.

LORD CLARENDON to [the DUCHESS OF BEAUFORT].

1702, November 5. London.—Is doing his best to forward the business between my Lord Duke and my Lord Berkeley, but no business almost meets with the dispatch it ought. Does not doubt that the Act in this business will pass when it is brought in.

Does not send public news because she has the printed papers.

Congratulates upon the Duke of Ormond's glorious victory over the French and Spanish fleets. The Queen immediately presented Lord Shannon, who had been sent express with the news by the Duke, with 1,000 guineas.

For his victories—"for they have bin very great likewise in Flanders—the Queen hath appointed this day se'night for a day of Thanksgiving, when she goes to church at St. Paul's attended by the two Houses of Parliament, a good old ceremony, but hath scarce bin performed in the memory of man."

A great windfall has fallen to Lord Thomond by the death of Lady Cat. O'Brien the day before yesterday. She has disposed of all she had, except a few legacies, among my grandchildren. Her substance cannot be known until the execution of Sir Joseph Williamson's will, which is not yet performed.

LORD COVENTRY to ———.

1702, December 10. London.—"I have at last with some difficulty obtained a warrant for the meeting of the Delegates on Saturday the 18 instant which about two days since I procured to be signed in the House by the three Peeres, and Mr. Dale has undertaken to get it signed by the rest of the persons concerned. . . . The dangerous Bill I mentioned in my last is past our House though

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not without great amendments, the penalties being very much lessened, and the Peerage I think being exempted from being liable to them. I shall say the less of it here because I have ordered one of the clerks belonging to the House to draw out two copies, the first of the Bill as sent up from the Commons before it was mended, the other as it shall pass both Houses with amendments. The Bill is sent to the Commons for their concurrence, though how they will relish the amendments is very uncertain. Tomorrow we expect the Bill back with their Worships answer. The House of Lords has been summoned every day since this Bill came before them, and all members obliged to attend. Last night after four days debate the Bill passed, after which some other debates arising, the Duke of Leeds told Lord Halifax publicly in the House that his family was raised by rebellion but his own suffered by it. Upon which at the rising of the House a challenge was given, but being overheard, the House have put a stop to further mischief by confining Lord Halifax to his own house under custody of the Black Rod, and by obliging both him and Lord Carmarthen upon honour and under penalty of the utmost displeasure of the House not to admit or receive any message but what the House is to be acquainted with. The Duke of Leeds is withdrawn, and not at present to be found. Monday last the House sat till after 9 at night, at which time the Duke of Devonshire inviting me I was obliged to sup with him, which kept me out till near 12. The next night I was forced to meet the Council at a tavern near the Herald Office where I treated and was environed with no less than eight civilians and common lawyers, reckoning Mr. Dale, and myself made up the ninth person." Is very weary with all this work and dissipation.

LORD COVENTRY to ———.

1702, December 17. London.—“As to my own private affairs I see no reason yet to suspect the success. There is another meeting this morning at Doctors Commons of some of the Delegates, but none of the Lords being there, and my cough very bad I have excused myself by Mr. Beckwith who was sent to the lodging in post haste for me, though I was but newly returned from the House, where I found the Lords in conference with the Commons on the amendments of the Occasional Conformity Bill. The Lords have this afternoon gone through the most considerable and are resolved to insist on their amendments. The rest are to come on tomorrow and all Lords are summoned to attend. I fear this will cause the meeting of the Delegates to be late, and so the determination consequently will not be ended till 1 or 2 next morn. I confess myself already weary with the thoughts of it, though I shall with more satisfaction undergo the toil since I have the promises of a great many Lords that they will be present at the hearing, and I shall endeavour still to engage more.

“Ned Goodyear has killed Beau Fielding as tis reported, and made his escape. The quarrel began at the Playhouse in Drury Lane. The same night a Captain here in town did the like friendly office for young Fullwood, so that there will be two Warwickshire beaus the fewer. The Captain is in Newgate.”

T. WELBY to the EARL OF COVENTRY.

1703, August 12. The Camp before Huy.—Has not been able to give an account of this siege because he had been sent with a detached squadron to invest the town. On Thursday the 5th of this

month we invested this Castle and fought with about 2000 detached men of the enemy. On Tuesday last at 8 o'clock at night our bombs began to play upon a fort called St. Joseph. On Wednesday about 3 o'clock in the morning our bombs and cannons played so briskly upon it that they were forced to hang out the white flag in order to capitulate. The general agreed to their marching out of the fort into the castle, which I saw them do about 5 this morning. Our batteries continued firing so vigorously upon the two other forts that they were obliged to capitulate upon the same terms and accordingly marched out this morning about 9 into the castle. We have nothing now to take but the castle. We are firing upon it from seven or eight batteries and it cannot hold out I believe above a day or two.

W. WALSH to LORD ———.

1703-4, March 21. The Mews.—Supposes he has heard of the appointment of Mr. King to be Clarence King of Arms, but that the Lord Marshall refused him and intended to put in Mr. Vanbrook. Mr. King persuaded some other heralds to join with him in a petition against the Lord Marshall's power. It was heard in Council last Thursday and the question unanimously decided in favour of the Lord Marshall.

LORD COVENTRY to ———.

1705, October 30.—“Last night I had the honour to kisse the Queen's hand, and was introduced thereto by my Lord Treasurer from recommendation of Lord Somers.”

LORD CLARENDON to LADY ANNE COVENTRY.

1714, September 11, N.S. The Hague.—Will communicate the Duchess's request to the King as soon as he comes to this place.

LORD CLARENDON to LADY ———.

1714, November 11. Arlington Street.—Desiring her to invite the Duchess to his grand child's christening. Cannot wait upon her himself as he has been so unwell these twelve days, that he avoids travelling in a coach as much as possible.

LORD JOHN SOMERSET to LADY ANNE COVENTRY.

1717, July 2.—When the Earl of Oxford was discharged last night about 10 at night; “there was a mighty appearance, and a loud shout on his acquittal. It was in suspense for several hours whether the Commons would recede or proceed in the . . . the Lords had determined.

“About night it was carried by the Commons to adhere to their resolution and that they would not appear in Westminster Hall to give evidence against Lord Oxford; but to show their resentment Sir W. Strickland and Lord W. Paulett moved to have an Act of Parliament to lay penalties on the Lord of Oxford for his traitorous practices, and the whole was adjourned till tomorrow, I look upon it to die, being willing to part with Lord of Oxford and leave a scar upon him. The Duke of Marlborough when he saw the House of Lords intent upon discharging Lord Oxford wept like a child. His Duchess and some others were forced to take him out of the House. We may see the force of resentment, and the infirmity of age. They have abundance of merry things

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of my Lord Oxford whilst he was kept several hours in Westminster Hall." There was a paper set up in the form of a Play-house paper—The Lord Oxford's Tryall comes on &c., or a Farce between the Lords and Commons."

The DUKE OF BEAUFORT to his AUNT —

1746, April 26.—Had not been able to write on account of the rejoicings at the good news from Scotland. Had escaped the fury of the mob by doing as the neighbours did, but where lights were omitted all windows were broken, and in some houses it is said furniture was damaged.

Besides these letters there are also in the Muniment Room the following MS. volumes:—

"The Felicities of Man." A volume of some 400 pages by Sir Richard Berkeley.

"The Commentaries of the Lord Blaze of Monluc, Marshall of France"; with a Preface, addressed to "My son Captain John Berkeley," by R. B.

Three large and thick volumes.

A Treatise of the High Court of Star chamber.

A thick volume of about 500 pages.

Lord President Carbery's Book of Commissions, &c., in the Principality of Wales and the Marches thereof, A.D. 1662–1671.

Two volumes.

"Philip Comines his Neapolitan War, translated out of French into Latin by John Skyden, and out of Latin into English by Charles Norwood."

An Account of the Progress of His Grace Henry, the First Duke of Beaufort through Wales in 1684. And Notitia Cambro-Britannica. By T. Dineley.

[This very interesting and valuable MS. was printed for private circulation in 1864, and is now being reproduced in facsimile.]

A small volume of 85 closely written pages, entitled "A short Account of my Voyage into France, Anno 1673," by the Marquis of Worcester.

Seven small volumes of a diary of a tour in France and Italy A.D. 1769–1774, by the Duchess Dowager of Beaufort.

Two large volumes of copies of Docquets of Lands, Money, Woods, and other Revenues of the Crown, passed the Privy Seal between November 5th, 1688, and December 25th, 1701.

A JOURNAL of the HOUSE OF COMMONS from December 18, 1680, to January 8, 1681, kept by a Member of it, apparently one of the family, or a friend, of the MARQUIS OF WORCESTER, and for his use.

DIARY OF PARLIAMENT.

[1680], December 18.—Mr. Hyde brings a letter sent to Dugdale from one Roberts by the King's direction as a further evidence against William Pickering. The letter ordered to be sent to the Attorney General.

“The King’s Speech read.

Mr. Hampden : The reservacion in the speech is the great difficulty. Wee have given his Majestie reasons in severall votes to remove this difficulty, and moves that wee repeat those reasons to his Majesty ; proposes the Judges should have their salaries *quam diu se bene gesserint*. Lieutenants, and Deputy Lieutenants to be such as are true to the Protestant religion ; and so Justices of Peace, and to have well-affected men in the Navy. That we shall be ready to assist his Majesty in order to his alliances if we see them such as will preserve the Protestant religion.

Lord Russell : There never was a better Parliament, but fears the success by reason of ill people about his Majesty.

Concurs with the gentleman that spoke before, especially in the first part of it of an Address to cut off the succession from the Duke.

Sir William Jones believes the reservacion to proceed from such as would have a Popish successor, not for the King’s sake but their own. No man that was for the Bill but sees a greater necessity for an Address to remove that reservacion, without which nothing can be given to make us safe, and if that were granted, unless we are put in a posture to defend it, it will signify nothing. To regulate the Judges and Justices of Peace, whereof many were turned out and supplied with meaner men. And so Lords and Deputy Lieutenants, one mentioned by a worthy member. Then the Navy is very necessary to be insisted on. More things he could recite but would not clogg the Address—which some would have—that all may be denyed. He has talked all this while on one side. Is for giving a supply, but not such as may make the Court live without Parliaments, nor such as may be diverted to other uses. That foreigners should see we would encourage the alliances, so we can see it such as would be for the security of the Protestant religion, we would promise our assistance.

Mr. Vernon seconds Sir William Jones, Sir Trevor Williams moves for a committee to draw up this into an Address.

Mr. Harbord : Without the Bill, and a power to assert that Bill, all will signify nothing. There are other Lord Lientenants as fitt to be removed as he that was mentioned yesterday and to-day. Proposes reformation in the Justices and Judges, the Navy, &c. For the matter of the supply he would be tender. But what money is given should be employed about Tangier, and the Navy.

Mr. Garraway would not confine our request to what we had named before. Is not satisfied with any standing force in the kingdom contrary to law. Have you ever debated what is necessary. For Tangier we cannot give money for its supply till we see what it is that is necessary, and what is the use of it.

For the allyance we know not what it is, or how Spain can be a help to preserve the Protestant religion. Moves no promise should be made till we are assured of our religion, &c.

The Bill against Ludlow Court carried up to the Lords.

Sir Eliab Harvey can give no money if this be all we shall have for our money ; for yesterday’s work, and that of the day before, are quite layed aside. No mention of the Bill of Religion, nor that of Association. He has been nick’t often, and would not be nick’t now. We have had fair words but never any deeds.

Sir Nicholas Cary would give no more money than the gentlemen that spoke before, till our Bills are all passed, and our lives and liberties secured. To avoyd a Commonwealth on one hand, and Popery on the other, moves for a Committee to draw up the Address.

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Sir William Temple : Our allyance with Holland will signify nothing without the allyance with Spain, nor if Flanders be lost. Moves that in the address his Majestie may be moved to make such allyance as shall preserve the Protestant religion abroad, and the true interest of this Crown. Cites the story of the Jew of Amsterdam who would never give anything in his life, no not his hand when he fell into a ditch.

Sir Francis Winnington : There is something in the speech that comforts his heart, and repeats the King's speech, but knows not how to carry himself as a good subject, or a good patriott. Nothing to be done without the Bill of Exclusion, and will not give a penny till it be passed, and the Bill of Association is but an execution upon a judgement, without that we cannot be safe in the other. The displacing of Justices of Peace was no small matter. Is for money for Tangier and the Fleet when we are upon a good Protestant bottom, and we have our Lieutenants and Deputy Lieutenants reformed. Names the Marquis of Worcester as one fitt to be removed, having too great a trust. Proposes that upon the debate it be referred to a Committee to set forth our humble and necessary desires to his Majesty upon the debate of the House. If our counsell be rejected the world cannot leave it at our dore.

Mr. Levison Gore will have no money given till our Bills be passed and secured, and the disposition ascertained.

Colonel Birch : We cannot be safe under a Popish successor, nor can any promise of the Duke's secure us, by the example of Queen Mary her promise. This will be a very good or a very bad day. Is not for confining to particulars, or clogging with many. But is for an Address to show the King the necessity of our being first secured in our religion and property, and that then in a parliamentary way we would give money.

Mr. Biscowen : There is as much danger in withholding money when there is occasion, as giving it when there is none. Our dangers at home and abroad are from the Popish successor. Everybody knows why the Justices of Peace were turned out and by whom, and so in the Navy. Granting the great Bill and the Association to have the Navy and Militia by that Bill put into our hands, we shall give his Majesty satisfaction.

Sir Robert Clayton is for both the Bills, for the regulations mentioned before, and for the frequent meetings of Parliaments.

Sir Robert Markham desires that a motion be made to his Majesty for the disposing the Lady Anne in marriage to a Protestant Prince.

Lord Cavendish moves for a numerous Committee and certain days appointed.

A Committee ordered to draw up an Address upon the debate of the House. Seven to be a quorum. Adjourned, &c.

Monday, 20th of December.

Leave given the Committee to draw up the answer to his Majesty's speech during the sitting of the House.

Ordered to engross the Bill against bringing in Scotch cattle.

Leave given to bring in a Bill against Scotch pedlars.

A Bill read for preventing bringing any foreign guns, ordered a second reading.

The Bill for the better regulating the trial of the Peers brought down by Sir Job Charlton and Judge Weston, wherein the Lords do not agree with the clauses marked A and B.

A Committee appointed to examine Sir Gilbert Gerrard's and Colonel Whitley's accompts.

Mr. Alnot discharged, paying his fees.

Mr. Arnold moves to have Mr Thomas Herbert's petition read. Yet gives a character of him that before he should sit in this House he would cut the other side of his throat. That he was Muster Master, Gaoler, Keeper of Bridewell, Treasurer of the week's tax, Captain of 200 foot, an Abhorrer, &c.

Mr. Powl speaks for him.

Mr. Arnold replies and tells what he had said concerning the plot, and other things. That he and his family are the instruments of the great Lord for the countenancing of Popery, &c. What sort of Protestants that Lord and they are shall shortly appear.

Mr. Preby reports the Bristol election.

The House disagree with the Committee that Henley is not duly elected. Sir Robert Cann not duly elected.

Sir John Lloyd of Bristol to be sent for in custody, and so Jackson and Clutterbrook.

Alderman Oliffe not to be sent for, carried by a vote after a debate.

Mr. Seymour's articles read, and ordered to be carryed to the Lords by Sir Gilbert Gerrard.

Mr. Hambden reads the Address, that his Majesty is advised to a destructive reservation concerning the Duke. That the King's life, the Protestant Religion, &c. are in eminent danger by a Popish successor, and moves his Majesty to decline that reservation. That no Judges but men of ability and integrity, and not to have their places for life. That Lords Lieutenants and Deputy Lieutenants, and Justices of Peace, should be men of integrity too, and of interest in their countries. Then to assist his Majesty in his alliance and for Tangier, and the Fleet.

Tuesday, 21st of December.

A new Address for Benjamin Harris.

Colt moves against a friar employed as a searcher or surveyor at Crockan-Pill—his name Carew. Left to a Committee to examine.

Marlo election voyd.

Mr. Hyde, that the King will be attended by 3 this afternoon.

Mr. Deering offers a petition of Mr. Leighton for being twice committed by the Council for the same fact, read and he owns the petition at the Barr. It is referred to the Committee of Grievances, and ordered to sit on Thursday.

The Bill for uniting Protestants read. If they subscribe the 39 Articles, except the 36, 37, 38, and 20th. If they have bin ordained by a Presbityry they shall be capable of preferment, &c., not taking the oath against the Covenant no barr to them. No man to be obliged to take the oath of canonick obedience. No man shall wear a surplice, nor use the sign of the Cross in Baptism. To give the Communion in any posture. No man obliged to take the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, or subscribe the Declaration.

Mr. Biscowen, Colonel Titus, Colonel Birch, for the Bill.

Sir Thomas Mores is for what is established. When you let this loose you destroy the great bulwark against the Church of Rome.

Mr. Barret: The artifice of Rome to divide us that they may make their conquest easy. Moves for a conference with all the Dissenters to know which way this unity may be made.

Mr. Hampden moves and argues for the Bill.

¶ Sir Richard Lloyd, that this Bill seems to look one way, but does look another, and that he hopes that nobody will easily, at one blow, part with so ancient and so excellent a Liturgy, and speaks to the particulars, and is against the committing of the Bill.

Sir Nicholas Cary for uniting, and parting with ceremonies, but never will part with the Liturgy of the Church, nor a reverend habit.

Sir H. Capell would not speak against the Act of Uniformity, but that looks one way and rows another. It was promoted by the Popish Lords.

The Lord Clifford for the Declaration for Toleration. Though the Bishops may have bin asleep, the Commons have not. Would not alter the Liturgy in substance but in discipline.

Serjeant Maynard saw a gown turned into a cloak, that into a cassock, then into a jump, thence into a ragg. Would not have people at liberty to come in what habit they pleased, nor to use what prayers they please, and we had better lose the Bill than our Liturgy.

Mr. Finch for committing the Bill.

Mr. Powl is rather for unity than uniformity; would reduce to what it was in Queen Elizabeth. Tells how new Articles were introduced since. The Act of Uniformity strained higher since the King's restoration than before, and wishes many expressions altered or explained in the Liturgy. If you take away the oath of canonical obedience, and lay nothing in lieu thereof, all order and government will fall to pieces. Is for committing the Bill.

Sir R. Temple: In Queen Elizabeth's time no strictness of ceremonies enjoined, would have an union of the Protestants. There was a wicket put to keep all Dissenters out of the Church.

Sir Francis Winnington would have the Bill committed. Would have pluralities thought on, but would not clogg the Bill. Tells a story of the Excommunication.

Leave given to bring in a Bill to inspect pluralities, upon Sir Nicholas Cary's motion.

A writt read by Mr. Treby to the Sheriffe of London to execute the late Lord Viscount Stafford upon the 29th of December. It comes short of what is expected because not from the House of Lords, and the Sheriffes desire to be informed what to do.

Sir William Jones moves to adjourn this matter till Thursday morning, first business. Ordered.

Sir Nicholas Cary seconds Mr. Vernon's motion concerning non-residents, referred to the same Committee.

A warrant ordered to be issued out for some witnesses against the Lords.

Thursday, 23rd of December.

Mr. Sheriton's petition refused till his examination be reported.

Resolved that the House is content that the Sheriffes of London do execute the late Lord Viscount Stafford by severing his head from his body onely.

Bernard Dennis has leave to print his narrative.

A Bill for the better regulating the collection of Hearth money read.

Thanks to be given Dr. Barnett for his sermon and book, and he to print his sermon.

A Bill to be brought in to punish atheism, debauchery, Sabbath breaking, and swearing.

Sir Miles Cook and Sir John Franklin from the Lords tell us that they have agreed to the Additionall Bill for burying in woollen.

Judge Weston and Sir Job Charlton that the Lords do intend to adjourn till Munday sevenight.

The Speaker gives a list of 13 Papists in Chester, but says none worth putting into the Bill of Banishment.

The Bill for banishing Papists read. To be banished out of the King's dominions, and if they return to be prosecuted as felons. Ordered to be read tomorrow.

Sir Richard Corbett reports the miscarriage of Westminster Hall, particularly Sir William Scroggs and others discountenancing and discharging the Grand Jury before the end of the term, with several other misdemeanours which were voted by the Committee to be arbitrary and illegal, partial and favouring of Papists, and a breach of the liberty of the subject. The House voted that the discharging of the Grand Jury before the end of the term while they had Bills or Presentments upon their hands, was arbitrary, illegal, destructive to publick justice, a manifest violation of their oath, and a means to subvert the fundamentall laws of this kingdom, and to introduce Popery.

Care's book—the weekly packet of advice from Rome—suppress by the Court, and hee imprisoned and commanded not to write any more. The Rule of Court thereupon voted illegal, arbitrary, thereby usurping to themselves legislative power for the discouragement of the Protestants and incouragement of Popery. Extraordinary fines upon mean and irresponsible people and imprisoned for non-payment. Instanced Hurrington and Ben. Harris and several others. Resolved that the Court of King's Bench in imposition of fines of late years, have acted partially and illegally.

On Smith's case voted.

The refusing bayle in cases where persons are bayleable by law is illegal and destructive to the liberties of the people.

Weston's expression in the charge at Kingston voted. That that expression was a scandal to the Reformation, and tending to the subversion of the ancient constitutions of Parliament, and of the government of this kingdome, and tending to raise discord between his Majestie and his subjects.

J. Scroggs warrants to Stephens to search for and seize news bookes voted arbitrary and illegal.

J. Scroggs discourse with Sir Robert Atkyns, and lessening Bedlow's evidence, reported and refered to the House.

Mr. Arnold went with Bedlow to the Judges at Monmouth. J Scroggs told Bedlow he was forsworn in Wakeman's tryall, and Langhorne's, and that he was not to be believed.

Sir Robert Clayton reports from an argument between Scroggs and Atkyns about the right of petitioning.

Mr. Randall moves that Scroggs may be impeached as a traytor for countenancing and bringing off a traytor.

Resolved that Sir William Scroggs be impeached upon the report and resolves of the House, and Sir Thomas Jones.

Mr. Colt moved for impeaching Dolben. Sir Thomas Mores, Sir Robert Clayton, Sir Christopher Musgrave, Sir Patrick Ward, Sir Richard Corbett, Sir William Poulteny, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, spoke for Judge Dolben.

Sir Miles Cook and Sir John Franklyn bring the answer to Mr. Seymour's impeachment.

Baron Weston to be impeached as before, and referred to the Committee that draws up the impeachment against Chief Justice North.

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Mr. Biscowen moves that Joseph Brown should be restored to his place.

Mr. Treby seconds it, and says he is undone for endeavouring to bring this House together.

The House declared 'tis fit he should be restored to all the places he lost by the information.

Friday, the 24th December.

Mr. Colt moves to bring in a Bill to repeal the clause in the Act for regulating Corporations which imposes the renouncing the Covenant.

Sir Trevor Williams seconds it.

Sir Thomas Pleyer moves to repeal the clause that enjoins the swearing not to take up arms against the King or any commissioned by him.

Sir Thomas Lee moves to repeal the whole Act. Seconded by Mr. Biscowen.

The Act read and the repeal prest by Mr. Reynell, Mr. Harbord, Sir William Waller.

Ordered that a Bill be brought in to repeal the Act for regulating Corporations.

Sir Richard Corbett reports the election for Bury. Mr. Jermin, Sir Thomas Harvey, voted duly elected.

Mr. Treby reports Barnstaple election. Mr. Acland not duly elected, Sir Richard Lee duly elected.

The Mayor of Barnstaple to be sent for in custody.

Mr. Treby reports Marlborough election. Lord Bruce, Mr. Bennet, duly elected.

Mr. Thomson's report read.

Mr. Vernon moves to have him ride from the Tower to Westminster with his face to the horse's tayl. Seconded by Sir John Darrell. Some would have him impeached, others banisht.

Sir Francis Winnington taxes him with (apiesing?) the King, asserting Popery and arbitrary power. Would have him—after some votes passed upon him—impeacht.

Serjeant Maynard for impeaching.

Resolved that he hath publicquely defamed his Majesty, preacht sedition, vilified the Reformation, promoted Popery by asserting Popish principles, decrying the Popish plot, and turning it upon the Protestants, endeavoured to subvert the liberty and property of the subjects and rights of the people, and that he is a reproach and scandall to his profession.

An impeachment ordered against him on the vote.

Sir John Morton offers a petition against Sir John Davys but rejected because moved after 12 o'clock.

The Bill of Toleration read a second time and committed.

Samson Steward to the Lord Tyrone.

That Sir John Davies was an advocate for the Lord Tyrone, and discourst the secrets of the Council. That upon the naming of the Duke of York he fell into a hectoring passion that he thought he would have kicked him down stayres. That the Lord Chancellor bid him not name the Duke of York for his life. When he was examined he must name nobody but whom he askt him, but that he was then hectored against by Sir John Davies.

When all the examinations were read he was perpetually shamed and putt off by Judge Keating and Sir John Davies, when he read the examinations there was but one and that immateriall of all the examina-

tions which had bin deposed. He told the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Chancellor, Judge Keating, and others, where the letters were, and he was content to lye in prison if it were not so.

Mr. Speaker: How long is it since you fell out with Sir John Davies?

November 79; Sir John Hectorer I called him. When he came to the pursuivants the pursuivant sayd that Sir John should say that he hoped to see them hanged. Murphy and the rest to be referred to the Committee for the Popish plott with an addition to the Committee.

The Bill for Banishing Papists, read.

Thursday, December 30th.

Mr. Sheriton having applyed himself to Serjeant Raymond for a *Habeas Corpus*, the Serjeant desires the opinion of this House.

The debate adjourned till tomorrow.

William Townsend's petition against the Consistory Court of the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon, for being imprisoned for a clandestine marriage, referred to the Committee for regulating the abuses of Ecclesiastical Courts.

A Bill reported by Sir George Downing for promoting of woollen manufactures.

Adjourned till this day fortnight.

The Committee of Trade to sit on Saturday sevenight.

The Committee to prepare evidence against the four Popish Lords in the Tower, and report their opinion therein, to be further ordered by the House in order to their further proceeding therein.

Moved that application be made to the King that the information of Serjeant and others relating to the Popish plot may be communicated to this House, with all letters relating to the Popish plot, and ordered.

Sir Francis Winnington moves that the papers in Baron Gregory's custody concerning the Pentioners might be called for, and their crimes might be lookt into, and all that have great places which are as bad as Pentioners. He hears that several people are promised great places to sell their country.

Moves that no man may accept of any place during the sitting of the Parliament without the leave of the House.

Moves to punish the old and prevent the new Pentioners.

Mr. Harbord moves the same.

Sir N. Cary the same.

Colonel Titus clears himself from the aspersion of having bin att the Duchess of Portsmouth's lodging, and concludes with the same.

Coll: Birch ownes to have a place, but had it from the secluded members. Moves to have the papers of the Pentioners brought in, and moves that all that have places may be secluded.

Ordered that the writings, papers, &c. that concern the Pentioners be sent for.

Ordered that no member of this House shall accept of any place or office of profit from the Crown without the leave of this House during his being a member of this House, all offenders herein to be expelled this House.

Friday, 31st December.

The Gunsmiths' Bill thrown out.

Leave given to bring in a Bill for regulating of Casks and Measures.

Leave given to bring in a Bill of Generall Naturalization of Protestants.

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A Bill read for regulating of fines upon Misdemeanors.

Serjeant Maynard calls it, An Act of Indemnity for the villanies in the world. However committed.

Judge Raymond having denyed Mr. Sheriton a *Habeas Corpus*, Sir Thomas Stringer moves for a Declaration of the House that a *Habeas Corpus* is not grantable in this case.

Sir William Jones argues the case and says that one that is committed for Breach of Priviledge is as upon an Execution, therefore not baylable by the Act of 31 Car: second:

Sir Francis Winnington says he is a prisoner for Breach of Priviledge upon an honourable member of this House.

The debate is lett fall as that a vote is not necessary in this case.

Monday, 3rd January.

A Bill for the naturalizing several persons read third time and past.

A Bill against Scotch cattle read and past.

A Bill to repeal an Act for regulating Corporations ordered second reading Thursday next.

A Bill read for the discovery of estates which belong to Popish Priests, or Convents, for superstitious uses, and vesting them in the King; a moiety to the King, the ether moiety to the discoverer, ordered a second reading next Friday.

Philip Jell duely elected for Steyning in Sussex.

A Bill brought from the Lords to distinguish Protestant Dissenters from Papists.

Sir Edward Harley reports the Bill for regulating Elections.

A Message from the Lords to putt us in mind of the Bill for regulating the tryall of Peers.

Mr. Arnold says he serves for a burrough that's governed by an arbitrary Lord who pricks Mayors as the King pricks Sheriffes, and gives them an oath to be for him, and moves for longer time then one day for the notice of an election in burroughs.

A message from the Lords to give notice that Mr. Seymour had petitioned for a short day to be heard, and that there was no replication from the House of Commons.

Mr. Seymour answer read, and a Committee appoynted to prepare the replication and to manage the evidence.

Sir Richard Corbett reports the impeachment against Lord Chief Justice Scroggs.

Ordered that the House be called tomorrow.

Tuesday, 4th January.

Sir William Drake's election to be heard on Wednesday, 12th of January.

Sir William Temple brings in his Majestic's answer to the Address.

Thursday, 6th of January.

The Bill for regulating the collection of Hearth money read second time and committed.

The Bill for repealing the Act for well regulating Corporations read a second time and committed.

Colonel Birch reports and begins with Drake's petition, which was read, with the woman's testimony. Then were read the Order of the Councill which were owned by Sir John Davies. But he denyes his obstructing Drake's addressing himself to the Councill, and that the

woman desired an order to send for witnesses, which is submitted to the wisdom of the House.

Then the testimony of the prisoners of Dundelk as it was at the Committee.

As to the whole matter Sir John Davies denyes most of it, and as to the rest he refers himself to the Bishop of Meath, who was joined with him in all the examinations before mentioned.

Sir Robert Clayton moves to have this debated before the next report of the Plott be proceeded on.

Sir Francis Winnington moves to proceed upon the other report; which is agreed to.

One witness examined. The rest are depositions from Dublin. The deponents not yet come over, John Macnemarra. Bradley gave him an oath of secresie that the Earl of Tyrone had received a commission from the French King to be Colonel of horse, and Bradley was to be his Lieutenant Colonel. The Earl of Tyrone shewed the deponent a list of severall persons in Munster to joyn with him, and that there were few counties in Ireland wherein there were not severall persons engaged. The French King was to land in Connaght and to sieze on Lymerick. The Earl sayd he would destroy an unjust King, and Ormond with his children, who had bin friend to Villiers against him. Qu: M: . . . ely with the Earl did instruct the deponent what to swear against Villiers and Nicolls. That the Duke of York gives consent to all that they shall do by the assistance of the Earl of Anglesey. The Earl of Tyrone shewed a letter from the Earl of Anglesey that he had made so many friends in England and Ireland, and particularly the Duke, that he should not fear what could be done to him. The other depositions read which tended to the same effect, adding that they were resolved to throw off the English yoke since the King had broken promise with them made at Breda to restore them to their religion and estates, and sayd that the King of France had promised them 10,000 men and 20,000 armes. FitzGirald mett Capt. Tho. and Lord Brittas and many more where he heard them agree to raise men in Munster by Brittas Lacy, &c., for that the French King was to send 20,000 men and 20,000 armes with artillery and ammunition proportionable, confirms the former testimonies with a design of a massacre. That the Earl of Tyrone was to be a generall officer, and so was Colonel Fitzpatrick.

Sir William Jones: This out of Ireland confirms Oates his testimony of the whole Plott, and confirms the testimony of the witnesses against the Lord Stafford. A Privy Councillor again accused yet still he sits. They had encouragement from the Duke of York. It is impossible to be secured in our religion in this King's time while there is a prospect of a Popish successor. Moves for an immediate impeachment against the Earl of Tyrone. Moves some consideration of the Earl of Anglesey, since there are two that have positively sworn against him. Two witnesses who have spoken him to have known the Popish Plott.

Sir H. Capell reflects upon the King's Councill, and moves to consider of the Earl of Anglesey for that he was fully consenting.

Serjeant Maynard compares the present design in Ireland with the beginning of the rebellion there in 41. We are infatuated. God hath discovered it, and we hide our eyes from it. Seconds the former motions for returning an answer to the Lords' message.

Mr. Hampden is glad to hear the Lords are satisfied that there is a Plott. He hopes the clergy are satisfied too because the prelates in that House are. That Talbott was in Cheshire in 1638, and in four dayes sent Coleman an answer to a letter of his. Desires the

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addition concerning the Duke of York to our concurrence with the message from the Lords.

Sir Francis Winnington : We are in a deplorable condition, and the name of Popery is turned into a ridicule. Reflects upon the Lord Clifford. Notwithstanding all the Ministers of State and the brow-beating of witnesses God will send deliverance. If the French King take Flanders or Ireland the King's compliance will be too late.

Moves for the addition.

Sir Thomas Lee moves to agree with the Lords in their declaration, and to add that nothing but an excluding the Duke can preserve us.

It is agreed with the addition of the former vote of the Duke, and that it is the encouragement to the Plott in Ireland as well as in England.

Colonel Birch moves it may be delivered to the Lords in a conference, and desires that the managers may have power to give reasons.

Sir John Trevor opposes it till the Lords have considered whether they will agree to our addition or not.

Sir Thomas Lee and Mr. Hampden say it is parliamentary to give reasons for what we have done which must entered upon the Lords' books, and cites a precedent for it delivered by the Lord Chief Justice Vaughan.

Sir John Trevor sayes it has bin the practice these 15 yeares to stay till they agree to it, before any reason given at a conference.

Sir Thomas Mores of the same opinion with Lee and Hampden. So is Mr. Biscowen.

Carried in the affirmative.

Sir William Jones moves for an impeachment against the Earl of Tyrone as a commoner in England.

Debated *pro* and *con* and carried in the affirmative, and an impeachment to be carryed.

Mr. Hampden and Sir Thomas Lee move that the Earl of Tyrone may be imprisoned by the Lords and removed out of the Gato house.

Sir Thomas Player moves for a consideration of the great English Lord that had so many 100 masses sayd for him.

Mr. Harbord moves for an impeachment against him.

Sir William Jones to defer it till Saturday next. Seconded by Sir John Trevor and Sir Francis Winnington too.

This debate upon the whole report—till Saturday next.

Sir Thomas Player moves for an address to the King to hang condemned priests in Newgate and other places.

Friday, 7th January.

The impeachment against Sir William Scroggs read.

A Bill read to prevent vexatious suits upon actions of trespass. Ordered a second reading.

A Bill read that no common brewer be a Justice of Peace. Ordered a second reading.

A Bill against Simony. But that the Simony of one person shall not prejudice the right of another. Ordered a second reading.

A Bill for discovery and seizing the estates given to superstitious uses, read a second time and committed upon the debate. All members to have voyces.

Sir Thomas Mores against one John Fancourt, that he should say, he had a knife in his pockett he hoped should cutt the throat of some

persons. That the King could not be quiet till part of London were burnt, and that the Plott would prove a Prebyterian plott.

Referred to a Committee to examine.

Mr. Sheriton's *Habeas Corpus* declared by the Speaker.

Mr. Biscowen moves that the Serjeant should give notice that he is committed by the House of Commons.

Sir Thomas Clarges sayes that he is committed by the House, as an execution which is excluded in the Act, and moves he may be brought to Baron Weston, with the cause of his commitment.

Seconded by Sir Trevor Williams.

Sir Francis Winnington moves this debate be adjourned till tomorrow, the first thing.

The King's message read.

Mr. Booth does not doubt his Majestie's goodness, if hee depended on his own judgment. Knows not why we should retract our thoughts from that Bill till another be proposed. That severall Lords are there rather by interest than meritt, and knows not why his Majesty should be any more confirmed by the House then I should bee for a servant's doing what I bid him. That it is for the sake of one who hath aspired to the Crown, relieved those that fired London, which he hopes London will never forgett. Arbitrary power and Popery have bin so carryed on as if the King himself had bin a party to it, if it were possible to be so. Oates and Bedlow now not so much thought as evidence as to think Lord Stafford duly executed. Proposes that the evill councillors be removed. That no money be given till our religion and liberties be secured. That no money be levied by anticipation of loan. That the Bill be passed without which no safety.

Lord Russell: It is a good Parliament but wee are unhappy in the King's being carryed away by evill councill—who are known—and would have them branded and the Bill revived.

Mr. Montague: We have sent as many good and modest addresses as any Parliament ever did, but never had any kind answer. The Plott is not at the Tower but at Whitehall. Is of opinion that Tangier is in danger, and so is Flanders. But he cares not who hath them if the Pope have England.

Sir Robert Markham hath heard that the Duke was willing the Bill should pass, if so desires the members of the Privy Councill would lett us know it. Then our debate would be short.

Sir H. Capell recites what the former members had said. All men that he hath conversed with, agree that we can be safe in nothing without the Excluding Bill.

The Lords have proceeded to Mr. Seymour's business, which is of less moment then the great Bill. All our mischief proceeds from monsters who would sett up a Popish King over Protestant subjects. And if they see the stream go that way would ride post along with it. This government must be at a stand or come to blood. Exclaimes against the luxury of the Court and men raised from small beginnings. If the Bill do not passe, the body will get a new head, or the head will get a new body from France and Popery. Proposes that we acquaint his Majestie that without the Bill nothing can be done, and if we cannot have that, to adjourn. Is not ready with an expedient, nor is there any encouragement when 'tis said nothing but the Bill will signify anything. His opinion is well enough known, and will never be ashamed to own it. 'Tis an odd way of proceeding when the House of Lords have rejected it and the King shews his dislike, yet the Commons must have it, which would alter the constitution of the government. Moves

for expedients. Not to meddle with Tangier, either as a lame legg or arm, as it was termed before.

Mr. Gore : If the Lords were left to themselves, and the King were not too kind to his brother, the Bill might pass. That forreign people have freer access at Court then English men. All vices as well as opinions cherisht at Court as well as diffused from the Court. Moves for the Bill.

Sir Robert Markham moves that expedients may be proposed, and that the Prince of Orange may be thought of for the succession.

Mr. Hampden : Of opinion that no other means can be found out. The best expedients would ask time to consider them. Recites all the summs given by Parliaments. Can we think to have our laws better executed under a Popish Prince, when we have them so ill under a Protestant Prince. We not only have had a Plott, but we have a Plott.

Lord Cavendish : We cannot be safe without the Bill, nor with that without we have more. It is a misfortune the King sticks at that which must inevitably be our ruine. Would not adjourn in case the Bill be denied. We have considered the ill consequences of the Duke's government after the King's death. But ought we not to consider of his government during the King's life. That the Duke being a Papist is incapable of governing, and in case of the refusall of the Bill that we might be freed from our allegiance, and if ail the people be of one mind we shall not need an indemnity.

Mr. Mostyn moves for an association.

Sir William Jones : There can be no rivalls in crowns. If the Act does not pass to exclude the Duke, an Act of Association would be treason when the Duke comes to be King. Banishment cannot be practicabie. The Bill of Exclusion is the only foundation of all the good lawes that can be made for our safety. All els will be ineffectuall. A vote which was moved by Lord Cavendish would bring us under Mr. Hyde's objeccion. That the King may live as long as the Duke is no answer to our importunity, for the hope of the succession promotes Popery every day. Wonders any that pretend to loyalty can prefer a single man's profit before the King's life, and the good and safety of the kindome. Would declare that till this be done all will be ineffectuall for us to rely upon, and desires such a declaration.

Sir Francis Winnington would not have it thought a new thing in Parliaments. In reading his Majestie's speech to this House is of opinion that the King is borne away by a people that design our ruine. How came the King to know the House of Lords rejected the Bill. His coming to the House of Lords the advice of the Lord Clifford. Alleged by Archbishop Cranmer that an Act was not fairly gotten because of the King's being present to importune the passing of it. Entered in the Rolls in Henry IV. time that it was unparliamentary that the King should appear in the House of Lords, where some had offices, some little estates, and some little consciences. The King says it is his opinion not his resolution from which he may recede. If this Parliament go away before that thing be done, the King's life cannot be safe. Recites King James his speech at his coming to the Crown, who little thought any of his posterity would have betrayed his religion. Recites the last King's commands to his children to be true to the Protestant religion, which is so interwoven with the interest of the nation that one cannot be safe without the other. If he could give any security that any rationall man can give without the Bill he would wave it. But as 'tis little expedients of banishments cannot serve the turn. Answers Mr. Hyde because he hath given so many assertions of his

opinion of the Bill with giving so little reason for it. All things were well in Queen Elizabeth's time because she had good ministers and there was then an Act of Exclusion. When the King sees 400 or 500 gentlemen who serve for their countreys adhere to the Bill, and are so zealous for his life and the Protestant religion, he may alter his opinion prorogue the Parliament and give us our Bill. A part of the Coronation oath to make good and comfortable laws for his people. It would comfort his heart were he here to see so many noblemen's sons begin this debate; and he concludes as with the rest.

Mr. Foley: The King proposed expedients the last Parliament but offers none now. If the King were not byassed he is confident the King would be convinced. Proposes it may be moved that we may debate this matter to the Lords.

Mr. Finch: The question is whether this be the onely expedient. Whether the expelling ill men out of office might have bin one means, and whether because we cannot do all we will do nothing. Will not our countreys look sadly upon us. Why will gentlemen expect expedients when they say none will serve. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth we were under such circumstances as now. She did by the cutting off of Queen Mary of Scotland her head secure the Protestant religion from Popish designs. Moves—in answer to Sir Francis Winnington concerning the good counsellours of Queen Elizabeth—that counsellours be settled by Act of Parliament for the Popish successors. That a third of the Papists estates be given to their Protestant next of kin. Whether we are not in a better probability of getting the Act of Exclusion when this is done then now. Moves not to spend time in the former but to proceed upon these.

Colonel Birch can find no means of saving this poor King. The hand of God is upon us. We are drawing on to Popery. We have the Bible neglected and sacraments. Between 1630 and 1640 you might have had hearing, singing of Psalms, and repetition in the streets. That's all lost. If such a councill were establisht as this House would name he would be soon satisfied. But unless the King come over to us we can do nothing. The Bill will not serve his turn without changing the interest. Queen Mary promised fairly to the Suffolk men, but when Gardiner and Bonner came, they changed all. Is not affrayd of the Papists, but debauched Protestants who are in all offices and commands. He was with the King at Worcester, where the King told him his mind which then was sound and good, therefore he believes the change not his own. Tells a story of Gundamor and his advice to King James of bringing his subjects to necessity. Tho' this Bill alone would do little good, he would venture some money upon it. Moves for an Address to his Majesty to pass that Bill.

Mr. Vernon is sorry any expedient should be proposed. Is against the conference with the Lords as unparliamentary. Nor naming of a Council by Act of Parliament, but proposes a question for the Bill. The King is against the Bill because the Lords are, and the Lords are against because the King is so.

Sir William Poultney: The nameing of Counsellours by Act of Parliament would bring us into an aristocracy. Banishment is but pruning the tree, and not cutting it down. Would never give over insisting upon the Bill, for a Popish head upon a Protestant body is a monster.

Sir Edward Deering gave his vote for the Bill of exclusion. The King fortifies his opinion upon the Lords. Moves for an address for a conference with the Lords.

Sir George Hungerford is for something further for our security, and would have the preservation of Flanders part of the vote. Desires the

King may be told part of our Saviour's Sermon in the Mount; that if thy hand, foot, or eye, offend thee, it might be cutt off rather then the whole body perish.

Mr. Secretary Jenkyns gives the example of the Duke of Hanover, a Popish head over a Protestant people, would proceed to expedients to preserve the Protestant religion, and to trust to Providence rather then do an unjust act.

Colonel Titus questions what is an unlawfull act when establisht by King, Lords, and Commons. Does not wonder at the King's opinion in this matter when he considers by what councill the King hath bin governed for many yeares. You shall have the Protestant religion, you shall have what you will to protect you, but you must have a Popish King who shall command your armies and navies, make your Bishops and Judges. Suppose there were a lyon in the lobby, one cryes shutt the dore and keep him out. No, says another open the dore and let us chain him when he comes in. A wise King makes a wise Councill, but a Popish King makes a Popish Councill. Moves for the Question. There is no security or safety for the Protestant religion, the King's life, and the well-constituted government of this kingdome without a Bill to exclude the Duke of York &c., and to rely upon any other meanes or remedies is not onely insufficient but dangerous.

Sir Francis W. moves and Sir John Hotham seconds, that his Majestie having exprest in his message he will grant all things but this, it may be voted that untill the Bill be past, to give any money would be dangerous to his person, and a breach of the trust reposed in them.

Sir William Jones expects from the King's speech that he should grant all if he grant this.

Colonel Birch doubts this addition will make us misse our ends in all.

Mr. Booth: 'Tis the want of money that has saved our throats from cutting. I have bin told that money is like gunpowder which will blow up all our lawes.

Sir Christopher Musgrave: Against the additionall vote, and does not believe it to be upon the debates at all, and nothing to our advantage.

Sir John Hotham sayes, it was part of the debate and comes in regularly.

Sir Robert Howard, those that scruple the excluding the Duke would not scruple at the excluding this King, and moves for the additionall clause. So does Sir William Hickman.

Mr. Biscowen argues the lawfullness of the exclusion. For if a man cannot be a Justice of Peace who is a Papist, he that influences those ought not to govern.

The additionall vote passed.

Sir Henry Capell moves for the removall of evill councillours, particularly against the Lord Hallifax, because that upon common fame he hath advised the King to this message. Moves for an address to remove him.

Lord Castleton is against doing it upon common fame.

Lord Russell moves Mr. Hyde may be removed.

Sir John Hotham would not go off the first till some resolution in the matter. Is satisfied with the probability and seconds the motion.

Sir William Hickman moves to hear the words read.

Colonel Birch sayes, this answer was a cuming answer, yet we are now going to pass a vote to punish those that advised to it.

Voted. That all persons that advised the King to this message against the excluding the Duke are promoters of Popery and enemies to the

King and kingdome. Lord Hallifax named guilty of this, and 'tis moved that he may be voted so.

Sir William Hickman, Mr. Finch, Sir Christopher Musgrave, Sir Thomas Mores opposed it because there is no proof of it.

Mr. Harbord argues the probability.

Colonel Titus sayes that some fish have bin taken with worms, some with flyes, and this Earl hath had an Earldome, and he will not believe the Lord had bin made an Earl had he bin what Sir Thomas Mores spoke him, viz. a true Protestant.

Sir Thomas Thynne sayes the Earl was 120 miles off when the last Parliament was dissolved, and sees no proof of this, therefore cannot consent to it.

My Lord Cavendish is not for common fame. Is the Lord Hallifax the onely man. Moves that ill councillours may be removed, but to do it in a more parliamentary way, and cannot agree that George Earl of Hallifax hath given the King councill in his last message, and thereby is &c.

Past into a vote against the Lord Hallifax that &c.

Sir Francis Drake and Sir William Cooper move against Mr. Hide.

Mr. Hyde hath had intimacion of this, and if he did value the pleasure of this House, he must change his measures, as to the Bill of Exclusion.

Mr. Hide: Tho' no Englishman values it more, hee can but follow the dictates of his conscience, and breed up his boyes so. Declares his carriage in the Treasury, his religion, the education of his children, whom he had rather see slaves under Algier then under a Popish governour.

Sir William Jones: If there were different reasons, he hopes the House will differ in their judgment. Yet considering his relation he is not fitt to command the Treasury, or to give counsell to the King. However moves a difference may be made between the two persons.

Mr. Harbord complements him very much, yet moves to remove him from his employments and councill.

Mr. Finch sayes that he has sayd so much in justification of himself that he is satisfied.

Mr. Godolphin speaks for his behaviour in his employments, and knows no crime but his alliance.

But Mr. Harbord sayes his good management of the Treasury is not the poynt.

Sir George Hungerford moves to postpone this debate.

Sir Robert Henley seconds it.

Mr. Hopkins thirds it.

Sir Robert Clayton moves to postpone it.

Mr. Vernon moves to have him removed.

Mr. Booth desires he may be postponed, but moves against his brother.

Sir H. Ford sayes his onely crime is that he hath the Duke to his brother in law.

Mr. Montague: If we cannot do anything upon common fame, we may upon common prudence. Moves that he would quitt his employment, or to proceed to this vote.

Mr. Palmer for postponing the debate.

Sir G. Downing speaks well for him.

Mr. Harbord falls into a rage.

Mr. Reynell is against his being employed in the Treasury by reason of his alliance to the Duke, and would have him removed from the King's person.

Sir John Guise moves to have it postponed.

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Mr. Arnold moves against his brother where there is more than common fame. He was at a committee wherein he did confess some part of what were enough to pass a vote against him, and moves to have this vote putt to.

Sir Gilbert Gerrard moves for the question.

Sir Thomas Clarges answers some objections as having but the power of one in five. Moves to postpone the debate.

Mr. Gore: If you do not proceed in this you do the Lord Hallifax injustice. Moves for an address.

Mr. Johnson: The Treasury being poor it is an improper time to spend time in removeing a Treasurer.

Sir William Cooper, who is against the Bill is against your religion and your liberty.

Sir William Russell thinks his relation to the Duke no argument, when he is but one of five.

Mr. Evelyn: Is not the Duke of York the publick enemy of the kingdome, and would not have him under a temptation.

Mr. Colt, who brought him in but the Duke. He hoped Mr. Hyde would have prevented the address by desiring to withdraw.

Lord Cavendish: What becomes of liberty of speech if he may be questioned for what he sayes here.

An address voted to remove Mr. Hide from the Treasury, the King's presence and Councill for ever.

Sir Rowland Gwynne moves that the Marquess of Worcester may be next taken into consideracion. 'Tis known what intimacy between him and the Duke of York. Fawns upon the Duke. Goes to him every morning before he goes to the King. If his parts were equall to his power his oppressions would be as great as the worst of them. He commands from St. David's to within 60 miles of this town. Lady Powys is his sister, who dispenses commands in North Wales. He hath made a new militia in Bristoll and gives them oaths of fidelity to himself. Countenances Popery in Monmouthshire. Price who had bin accused of the Plott now not furr from him, and still acts his business. He keeps a Protestant chaplain, and keeps his chaplains wife too. He has 2,500*l.* per annum for Ludlow and does not spend 200*l.* The soldiers of Chepstow employed to rob the country of their wood. The Captain was a Papist, and accused of the Plott. Moves for an Address to remove him from the King's Councill, presence, &c.

Sir Trevor Williams adds that mass was constantly sayd in his garrison, and when he was told of it he would say you have nothing to do with my garrison.

Mr. Arnold: Chepstow is his cathedrall garrison where mass has bin sayd. The soldiers prest the country into Wentwood. Six files of musquetiers were sent to Monmouth to aw the town when Sir Trevor Williams was chosen. Gives a new oath to his new militia at Bristoll, and burgesses of Monmouth to be true to him. The money given in the country for the use of the militia his steward received. Mass sayd in his own hearing. Severall Papists officers in his militia, amongst the rest Mr. Le Hunt. Tells Mr. Harcourt's endeavours to raze a record. Moves to dismantle Chepstow, and address against him to the King.

Mr. Mostyn tells how the Lady Powys disposed of military employments, acquainted his Lordship with it and could have no redress.

Sir Godfrey Copley sayes we have heard a great deal of what is true. Believes them true. This is not common fame.

An address voted to remove him from all places of honour, power, and profit, and from the King's presence for ever.

Sir John Guise moves to continue sitting, and he will help us to a Privy Councillor or two more.

Mr. Arnold moves that the Marquess of Worcester might be voted the same with the Lord Hallifax, and seconded, and resolved.

Sir Rowland Gwynne aggravates the motions against the Earl of Clarendon. The House votes the same with the Lord Hallifax upon the Earl of Clarendon.

The same moved by Sir G. Hungerford and seconded by Sir Gilbert Gerrard for the Earl of Feversham, as to his places and employments for ever.

An address voted. And that he is a promoter of Popery, and the French interest, and a dangerous enemy to the King and kingdome.

Mr. Seymour spoken severly upon by Mr. Harbord. Moves for the same censure for Mr. Seymour.

Sir William Portman moves to have his censure retarded till his tryall be over.

Sir Francis Winnington seconds Mr. Harbord, but the debate lett fall, and Sir John Guise moves against the Duchess of Portsmouth.

Sir Francis Winnington takes him down upon the order of the House.

Mr. Seymour's debate ordered on Monday morning, and then,

Sir William Jones takes notice that Sir William Scrogg is not so much as committed or suspended, for when 'twas proposed it was carryed in the negative. Proposes that no anticipation be of the King's revenue by borrowing. Tonnage and Poundage misimployed. To prevent the anticipation of the Excise revenue by talleys which are bought and sold. The Hearth money anticipated for some yeares. Would have the bankers relieved. Moves for the question, that whoever lends any money upon these heads shall be looked upon as enemies to their countreys, and the tallies may be made voyd. By this means putts off the Duchess of Portsmouth.

Sir Francis Winnington seconds it with a long speech.

Mr. Hampden insists upon the first part of Sir William Jones his speech, and wonders the Lord Chief Justice is not suspended when his crime is the male-administration of his office. Complains of the misimployment of great summs of money, and the inconvenience of the anticipacion of money.

Sir Robert Howard declares that in 73 and 75 the way of anticipacion would ruine the Treasury. Shews the manner of striking the talleys. 'Tis become a perfect trade. Had the money bin putt into the Treasury, the money had never bin misimployed.

Resolved that no person shall hereafter lend or procure any money by anticipation, and such as do shall be looked upon as obstructours of the sitting of Parliament.

The Addresses referred to the Committee that draws up the answer to the King's message concerning Tangier.

Saturday, 8th January.

Upon Mr. Sheriton's *Habeas Corpus* no Order made because notice taken of a commitment of the House of Commons in the writt.

An Address moved that his Majestie would grant a proclamation against severall persons for breaches of privileges, and cannot be brought in by the Serjeant at Armes, and granted.

A committee appoynted to inquire into the condition of the Popish priests that are convicted, and to report to the House" — [ends abruptly].

J. A. BENNETT.

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THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE LATE JOHN HENRY
GURNEY, ESQ. OF KESWICK HALL, NORFOLK.

In the library of Mr. J. H. Gurney at Keswick Hall, near Norwich, there is a valuable collection of MSS. belonging to the trustees of the late Mr. Hudson Gurney. Many of these were formerly in the possession of Dr. Cox Macro, who died in 1767. When Macro's collection was sold, in 1820 (at which time it belonged to Mr. John Patteson, of Norwich), out of the 139 volumes of which it consisted forty-one passed into the hands of the late Mr. Dawson Turner, of Great Yarmouth, and the remainder into the hands of Mr. Hudson Gurney. Of the volumes described below, fourteen partly consist of miscellaneous papers once in the possession of, or written by, Sir Henry Spelman, while others also belonged to him. The miscellaneous volumes were evidently put together and bound up by Dr. Macro (various papers of his own time being found interspersed, and the guards on which many were mounted for binding being found to contain scraps of writing of the last century), and in their contents he included some of the gatherings of the great Norfolk antiquary, which had come into his hands. In the catalogue printed at the time of the sale in 1820 the volumes are described as if they came in their entirety from the Spelman library.

Amongst the many and varied articles to be found in the following list, one of the three most noticeable is a very good twelfth century MS. of English laws, which is specially remarkable as containing an earlier copy than any hitherto known of the treaty between King Stephen and Henry in 1153. This is given below at length. The second of the three is a minute-book of the meetings, or "classes," of a company of Puritan ministers in Essex in 1582-9, which is probably an unique record of the kind, especially as it is complete from the first meeting of the Society to the last, and includes copies of all the papers referred to in its course. Of the suspicion with which meetings of this kind were viewed by the ecclesiastical authorities, and of the spirit of resistance to episcopal government and to ceremonial conformity which they fostered, there are illustrations in Strype's *Life of Whitgift* under the year 1588 (book III., chap. xxi.); and here we have the record of discussions on some of the very points with which the Puritan struggles were concerned, and the meetings of these very classes at Dedham and in its neighbourhood in 1582 are mentioned, with the names of many of the members, at p. 84 of [Bishop Bancroft's] *Dangerous Positions and Proceedings*, printed ten years afterwards. And the third specially note-worthy article is the Diary from June 1614 to February 163 $\frac{8}{9}$ of Sir Richard Hutton, judge of the Common Pleas. For the legal biography of the time this MS. is one that well deserves publication. Of all the then judges and leading lawyers short characters are given, in connection with their promotion or death; and the creations of Serjeants are noticed with great fulness of detail.

I. LEGES ANGLIÆ.

The oldest MS. in the collection is (as mentioned above) one of the laws of England, written about the third quarter of the twelfth century.

It is on forty-one small quarto leaves of vellum, but is imperfect, beginning (on a leaf numbered 46 by a hand of the 17th cent.) with part of the laws of Ina. Then follow,

1. "Leges Æpelstani Regis."
2. "Hoc consultum est quod episcopi et prepositi qui Lundoniensi curie pertinent edixerunt, et jurejurando confirmaverunt in suo fripgildo comites et villani."
3. "Institutiones Ethelredi Regis."
4. "Hec sunt verba pacis et prolocutiones quas Æthelredus Rex et omnes sapientes ejus cum exercitu firmaverunt, qui cum Analavo et Justino et Gudermundo Stegiani filio venit."
5. "Hoc est consilium quod Anglie sapientes et plebis Walie consolarii (*sic*) inter Dunsatas habuerunt."
6. "Hoc instituerunt Epelredus rex et sapientes ejus apud Habam."
7. "Institutiones Eadgari Regis."
8. "Hec pacis agenda que Alfredus Rex et Godrun rex et omnes Anglie sapientes et omnis populus East Anglie constituerunt et jurejurando confirmaverunt."
9. "Hoc est consilium quem (*sic*) Ælfredus rex et Gorun rex elegerunt et condixerunt, quando Angli et Dani ad pacem et ad concordiam plene convenerunt, et sapientes, et qui postea successerunt sepius hoc et assidue renovantes in bonum semper adduxerunt."
10. Leges Eadwardi: "Eadwardus rex admonuit omnes sapientes suos quando fuerunt Exonie ut investigarent simul et quererent quomodo pax eorum melior esse possit quam antea fuit, quia visum est ei quod hoc impletum sit aliter quam deceret et quam antea precepisset."
11. Leges Eadmundi.
12. "De juramentis."
13. "Institutio Willelmi regis," or *Carta pro aliquo maleficio*. (Thorpe's *Ancient Laws*, pp. 210, 211.)
14. "De veteri consuetudinum promotione." (*Ibid.* p. 511.)
15. "Rectitudines singularum personarum taini."
16. "Institutiones Henrici Regis," being the *Epistola* prefixed to his Laws, and the confirmation of the laws of Edward the Confessor.

Upon these immediately follow, without any break, some passages respecting the reign of Henry I., thus:—"Idem rex noster ita scripsit apostolico Paschali de investituris ecclesiarum, et datione baculorum, unde jam pridem a diebus Willelmi fratris ejus agebatur cum beatissimo Cantuariorum archiepiscopo Anselmo, pro quo tot incommoda sustinere, tot pro nomine Jhesu contumelias pati, totiens meruit exulare, ubi dum sanctæ Sion recordatur, in salicibus Babilonis nostræ suspendit ad tempus organa sua donec preponatur Jerusalem in principio letitiæ nostræ, et beatus sit qui se continebit, et allidet pravitates suas ad petram Xrm, asspiret ante dies et clinentur umbræ quæ sanctæ mentis desiderium tenebrosa noctis involutione propediunt. Patri venerabili

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Paschali," [etc., being the letter from Henry to Pope Paschal II., exactly as given in John Brompton's Chronicle, and thence in the *Fædera*.] "Eodem termino et per eosdem legatos, per Rodbertum scilicet Licetfeldensem episcopum, et per Herbertum Norwicensem episcopum de intronizatione Girardi venerabilis Eboracensis archiepiscopi electi scribit hoc modo.* Reverendo et diligendo patri universali¹ papæ Paschali Henricus Dei gratia rex Anglorum salutem. Et² amor quem plurimum erga vos habeo, et benignitas quæ multa vestros actus exornat, fiduciam mihi dabant, ut retento mecum Girardo Eboracensium³ archiepiscopo, pallium ei a vestra sanctitate requirerem, sed quia ipse totus eo desiderio tenebatur ut vestris conspectibus presentari⁴ et a vobis per seipsum id petere posset, ad vos eum misi, dulcissimam mihi paternitatem vestram obsecrans, ut dato eo⁵ quod petit pallio, cum honore et leticia eum ad me remittatis, orantem⁶ pro nobis filiis vestris. Apostolatium vestrum Deus multos annos⁷ conservet.

Et hæc quidem litteræ quanta regem decuit veneratione susceptæ sunt, et lectæ, et perfectæ placuerunt, et quantus inde fructus sanctæ Dei æcclesiæ proveniret sequentia declarabunt. Estimari vero non potest quantis gaudiis et quanta celebritate predicti nuntii cum regis dignitate, cum sua ipsorum probitate recepti pariter et remissi sunt; spirituales⁸ tamen Girardus archiepiscopus et tantam in oculis omnium Romanorum gratiam meruit, ut nulla blasphemantium vel contradicentium studia super eum deinceps Romæ processerint, licet de eo fama publicaverit, quod exulante Cantuariorum archiepiscopo Anselmo in ejus dioces quosdam intronizatos consecrare voluisset. Sed cum ipsi nullatenus acquiescerent, Willelmus Girardus (*read* Giffardus) Wintoniensium [e]lectus episcopus, et sacrandorum unus, Romam petiit, et beatissimum archiepiscopum suum Anselmum reduxit, ubi divinam et apostolicam benedictionem meruit, et eternam sibi gloriam per secula cumulavit. Rogerus vero Salebiriensis electus episcopus, vir multa benedictionem (*sic*) precipuitate sollempnis, sanctum ipsius archiepiscopus (*read* archiepiscopi) redditum justis desideriis expectavit, in tanta rerum perturbatione sollicitus, ut unicuique debita diligenter ac fideliter intimaret.

Post reditum antepredictorum nuntiorum habitum est Lundoniæ famosum illum concilium de archidiaconis, et canonicis, et presbiteris, in uxoribus abjurandis. Ne monachi vel presbiteri sint prepositi laicorum. De superfluis crinibus et vestibus. Ut occulta vota puer vel puellæ sint irrita. De sodomitis publice excommunicandis. Depositi sunt duo ibi abbates propter simoniæ circumventionem. Exordinati duo monachi propter homicidium in æcclesia. Post hoc consilium (*sic*) probatione (*read* pro datione) baculorum beatus Anselmus de Anglia profectus est.

Hec sunt statuta de archidiaconis, presbiteris, et canonicis in quocunque gradu constitutis, quæ Wintoniæ statuerunt Anselmus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, et cum eo Girardus archiepiscopus Eboracensis, et omnes alii Angliæ episcopi, in præsentia gloriosi regis Henrici, assensu omnium baronum suorum. Sta[tu]tum est," [etc., as in Brompton, &c., with a variation in the number of witnesses required for purgation from accusation; "—purgabit se adjunctis secum ordinis sui idoneis testibus, Sex si presbiter, Quinque si diaconus, iij si subdiaconus fuerit."]

* This letter is also given by Brompton, with the various readings mentioned in the following notes :—

¹ *venerabili et universali.* ² *Et* omitted. ³ *Eboracensi.* ⁴ *se præsentaret.* ⁵ *ei.* ⁶ *orantes.* ⁷ *multis annis.* ⁸ "spualé." *specialitatem*, Brompton.

Then follows, without break, the charter of Henry I. respecting county courts:—¹

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"Henricus Dei gratia rex Anglorum omnibus fidelibus suis Francis et Anglis salutem. Sciatis quia concedo et precipio ut amodo commitatus mei et hundreta in illis locis et eisdem terminis sedeant sicut sederunt in tempore regis Eadwardi et non aliter. [Et nolo quod vicecomes propter aliquod necessarium quod sibi pertineat faciat ea sedere aliter.]¹ Ego enim quando voluero faciam ea satis submoneat, faciat ea sedere aliter, necessitate secundum voluntatem meam. Et si amodo exurgat placitum de divisione terrarum vel de occupatione, si est inter dominicos barones meos, tractetur placitum in curia domini eorum. [Et si est inter vavasores alicujus baronis mei honoris, tractetur placitum in curia domini eorum.]¹ Et si est inter vavasores duorum dominorum, tractetur in commitatu, et hoc duello fiat nisi in eis remanserit. Et volo et precipio ut omnes de comitatu eant ad comitatus et hundretas sicut fecerunt in tempore regis Eadwardi, et non remaneant propter aliquam pacem meam vel quietudinem quin sequa[n]tur placita mea et judicia mea sicut tunc temporis fecissent."

Then, on the two last leaves in the volume, ff. 85, 86, follows, in another and smaller hand, but one of the same date, a copy of the agreement between King Stephen and Henry II. in 1153. This is subjoined at length, because the copy in the Red Book of the Exchequer from which the treaty is printed in the *Fædera*, is described as being more than a century later; and this older text supplies several corrections. Many of the names of persons and places, and especially the title of Dux as applied to Henry, are written in capitals.

"Stephanus, Rex Anglie, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Justiciis,² Vicecomitibus, Baronibus, et omnibus fidelibus suis Anglie, Salutem. Sciatis quod ego rex Stephanus Henricum ducem Normannie post me successorem regni Anglie et heredem meum jure hereditario constitui, et sic ei et heredibus suis regnum Anglie donavi et confirmavi. Dux vero propter hunc honorem et donacionem et confirmationem sibi a me factam, homagium mihi et sacramento securitatem fecit, scilicet quod fidelis mihi erit, et vitam et honorem meum pro posse suo custodiet, per conventiones inter nos prolocutas,³ que in hac carta continentur. Ego etiam securitatem sacramento duci feci, quod vitam et honorem ei⁴ pro posse meo custodiam, et sicut filium et heredem meum in omnibus in quibus potero eum manutenebo et custodiam contra omnes quos potero. Willelmus autem filius meus ligium homagium et securitatem Duci Normannie fecit, et dux ei concessit ad tenendum de se omnes tenuras quas ego tenui antequam regnum Anglie adeptus essem, sive in Anglia, sive in Normannia, sive in aliis locis, et quicquid cum filia comitis Warrenne⁵ accepit, sive in Anglia, sive in Normannia, et quicquid⁶ ad honores illos pertinet, et de omnibus terris, et villis, et burgis, et redditibus quos dux in dominio suo inde⁷ nunc habet, et nominatim de illis que pertinent ad honorem comitis Warenn⁸, Willelmum filium meum et homines ipsius⁹ qui de honore illo

¹ The text in the *Fædera* (edit. 1816, i. 12), from the Red Book of the Exchequer, is shorter, the clauses within brackets being omitted. And it exhibits the following variations from the text above, which would seem in some cases to be doubtful:—"faciam ea satis summonere propter mea dominica necessaria ad voluntatem meam";—"tractetur placitum incuria mea";—"nec remorent propter aliquam causam pacem meam vel quietudinem, qui non sequuntur placita mea," &c.
² *Justitiariis*, *Fædera*. ³ *prolocutas*, ib. ⁴ *ejus*, ib. ⁵ *filia de Waren*, ib. ⁶ *quicquid*, om. ib. ⁷ *inde*, om. ib. ⁸ *de Waren*, ib. ⁹ *illius*, ib.

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sunt plenarie saisiet, et nominatim de castello de Belencumbre et Mortui-maris. Ita scilicet quod Reginaldus de Warenn', castrum Belencumbre et castrum¹ Mortui-maris custodiet, si voluerit et dabit inde Duci obsides. Si vero noluerit, alii de ligiis hominibus comitis Warenn'² quos Dux voluerit similiter per salvos obsides et salvam custodiam eadem castra custodient. Alia vero castra que pertinent ad comitatum Moretonie,³ Dux ei reddet ad voluntatem meam cum poterit, per salvam custodiam, et per salvos obsides. Ita quod omnes obsides reddantur filio meo quieti⁴ quando Dux regnum Anglie habebit. Incrementum etiam quod ego Willelmo filio meo dedi ipse Dux ei concessit, castra scilicet et villas de Norwico⁵ cum septingentis libratibus terre, ita quod redditus de Norwico infra illas septingentas libratas computetur,⁶ et totum comitatum de Norðfole⁷ preter illa⁸ que pertinent ad ecclesias, et episcopos, et abbates, et comites, et nominatim preter tercium denarium, unde Hugo Bigotus est comes. Salva et reservata in omnibus regali iusticia. Item ad roborandam gratiam meam et dilectionem, dedit ei dux et concessit quicquid Richerus de Aquila habebat de honore Peveneselli, et preter hec castra et villas⁹ Peveneselli, et servitium Faramusi,¹⁰ preter castra et villas¹¹ de Doure, et quod ad honorem Doure pertinet. Ecclesiam de Faures-ham¹² cum pertinentiis suis Dux confirmavit, et alia aliis ecclesiis a me data vel reddita, consilio sancte ecclesie et meo confirmabit. Comites et Barones Ducis qui homines mei nunquam fuerant, pro honore quem suo domino feci, homagium et sacramentum mihi fecerunt, salvo conventionibus inter me et ducem factis. Ceteri vero qui antea mihi homagium fecerant, fidelitatem mihi fecerunt sicut domino, et si dux a premissis recederet omnino a servitio ejus ipsi cessarent, quousque errata corrigeret. Filius meus etiam secundum consilium sancte ecclesie se inde contineret, si dux a predictis recederet. Comites etiam et Barones mei ligium homagium Duci fecerunt, salva mea fidelitate quamdiu vixero et regnum tenuero, simili lege quod si ego a predictis recederem omnino a servitio meo cessarent, quousque errata corrigerem. Cives etiam civitatum et homines castrorum que in dominio meo habeo¹³ ex precepto meo homagium et securitatem Duci fecerunt, salva fidelitate mea quamdiu vixero et regnum tenuero. Illi autem qui castra Warengford¹⁴ custodiunt homagium mihi fecerunt, et dederunt mihi obsides de fidelitate mihi¹⁵ servanda. Ego vero de castris et murationibus¹⁶ meis talem securitatem Duci consilio sancte ecclesie feci, ne dux me decedente per hoc¹⁷ dampnum aut impedimentum regni incurrat. Etiam turris Lundoniensis Ricardo de Luceio, et Mota Windlesores¹⁸ consilio sancte ecclesie ad custodiendum tradite sunt. Ricardus autem de Luceio¹⁹ juravit, et in manu²⁰ archiepiscopi et custodiam filium suum obsidem dedit quod post meum decessum predicta²¹ castra Duci redderet. Similiter consilio sancte ecclesie Roggero (sic) de Busseio motam Oxenford, et Jordano (sic) de Busseio firmitatem Lincolie²² custodiunt, et ligii homines duci sunt, et juraverunt, et obsides inde dederunt in manu²⁰ archiepiscopi, quod si ego decederem, Duci munitiones sine impedimento redderent. Episcopus Wintonie in manu²⁰ archiepiscopi Cantuar. coram episcopis affidavit, quod si ego decederem castra²³ Wintonie et munitionem²⁴ Hamtone Duci redderet. Quod si

¹ castrum, om. ib. ² de Waren', bi. ³ ad comitem de Waren' Moretonie, ib. ⁴ quiete, ib. ⁵ scilicet castrum de Norwic', ib. ⁶ computentur, ib. ⁷ Norwic', ib. ⁸ illas, ib. ⁹ preter hoc castrum et villam, ib. ¹⁰ faramosi, ib. ¹¹ castra et villas, ib. ¹² Feuresham, ib. ¹³ habeo, ib. ¹⁴ Walingeford, ib. ¹⁵ mihi, om. ib. ¹⁶ munitionibus, ib. ¹⁷ hæc, ib. ¹⁸ de Windesor, ib. ¹⁹ Lucy, ib. ²⁰ manum, ib. ²¹ predicta, om. ib. ²² Rogerus de Luceio motam de Oxenford, et Jordano de Busseio firmitatem Lincolnie, ib. ²³ castrum, ib. ²⁴ munitiones, ib.

aliquis eorum quibus custodia munitionum commissa fuerit moreretur, aut [a] custodia sibi deputata recederet, consilio sancte æcclesie alius custos ibi statueretur prius quam¹ ille recederet. Si vero aliquis de his qui meas munitiones custodiunt, contumax vel rebellis extiterit² de castris scilicet que ad coronam pertinent, communi consilio ego et dux nos inde continebimus donec ad voluntatem utriusque cogatur satisfacere. Archiepiscopi et episcopi de regno Anglie atque abbates ex precepto meo fidelitatem sacramento Duci fecerunt. Illi quoque qui in regno Anglie deinceps fient episcopi, vel abbates, idem facient. Archiepiscopi vero³ et episcopi ab utraque parte in manu ceperunt, quod si quis nostrum a predictis conventionibus recederet, tam diu eum ecclesiastica iusticia coercebunt, quousque errata corrigat, et ad predictam pactionem observandam redeat. Mater etiam Ducis et ejus uxor et fratres ipsius Ducis et omnes sui quos ad hoc applicare poterit, hec assecurabunt. In negotiis autem regni ego consilio Ducis operabor. Ego vero in toto regno Anglie tam in parte Ducis quam in mea, regalem justitiam exercebo. Testibus his: Tedbaldo⁴ archiepiscopo, Henrico Wintoniensi, Rodberto Exon. Rodberto Bath. Gocelino Salesb. Rodberto Lincol. Hilar. Cicest. Willelmo Norwic. Ricardo Lund. Nigello Elyens. Gileberto Herford. Johanne Wigorn.⁵ Waltero Cest. Waltero Rofens. Gaufrido de sancto Asaph. Episcopi[s]. Rodberto prior[e] Bermund. Otun⁶ milite templi. Willelmo com. Cicestr. Rodberto com. Leecest. Willelmo com. Gloecest. Rainaldo com. Cornval. Baldwino de Douning.⁷ Rogero Hereford. Hugone Bigoto.⁸ Patrico Salesberensi. Willelmo de Albemarl. Albrico com. Rogero Clarensi.⁹ Ricardo de Pambroc com. Ricardo de Luceio. Willelmo Martel. Ricardo de Humez. Reinaldo de Warenn'. Manaser Biset. Johanne de Port.¹⁰ Ricardo de Camavilla. Henri de Esexe. Aput Westmonasterium."

This MS. was partially examined by Mr. Benjamin Thorpe for his edition of the *Ancient Laws of England*. He, by a singular mistake, describes it as being in octavo and "apparently about the end of the thirteenth century."

II. STATUTA ANGLIÆ.

A good MS., in quarto, written in the time of Edward III. Former owners have been William Russell, Thomas Leynthall, and Thomas Morrys.

III. STATUTA ANGLIÆ.

Statutes made in the time of Edward III. and Richard II. The volume belonged at the beginning of the 16th cent. to one "George Brame," and in April 1658 a subsequent owner "pd. to Mr. Washington for this book 10s. *vid.*"

IV. RECEIPT FOR GUNPOWDER.

In a volume of astronomical tracts, in quarto, which formerly belonged to the library of the Abbey of St. Edmund's Bury "ex dono fratris Thome de Strouteby," there is found at f. 42b. the curious receipt

¹ postquam, ib. ² fuerit, ib. ³ vero, om. ib. ⁴ Theobaldo, ib. ⁵ Joh. Wig., om. ib. ⁶ Otone, ib. ⁷ Baldwino comite Devonie, ib. ⁸ Hug. Bigoto, om. ib. ⁹ Rog. comite de Clara, ib. ¹⁰ Johanne de Norwic, ib.

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for gunpowder, "ad faciendum le Crake," which was printed by Sir F. Palgrave in the preface to his "*Merchant and Friar*." On the same page are old English proverbial sayings, found in similar, although not identical, forms elsewhere, of evil things in a nation which "bette were lyfles," beginning "Loud Kyng wilfull, bisschop slaw, prist wylde, wysman twyfold;" and a description of the "Forma gladii Walwyn militis." An interesting letter from Sir Henry Ellis about these and other items accompanies the volume.

V. CHARTULARY OF BLACKBOROUGH.

The Chartulary of the Priory of Blackborough, Norfolk, is a folio volume in perfect condition, in its original binding. A list of the contents is to be found in the *Monasticon*.

VI. YEAR BOOK.

' Year Book of cases from 33 Edward I. to 13 Edward III.; folio. At the end of this valuable MS. is inserted "A treatise of the high courts of justice," by William Lambe; *temp.* Eliz.

VII. THE LIBEL OF ENGLISH POLICY.

Here entitled "The *Byble* of English polecie." This is at the end of a thick folio volume, on paper, of "Les tribulacions de l'Eglise," which has the following inscription at the beginning, "Iste liber constat Will^{mo} Gaston, quy dedit Will^{mo} Sonnyng, an. M.CCCC.LXXI," carried on thus, "qui genuit Johannem, qui genuit Johannem, quem Johannem (*sic*!) de ordine Sancti Franc. dedit istius (*sic*) librum Thomæ Wall, alias Windesor herald, a^o 1528." Wall paints his own coat of arms in the margin. In the same volume are, i. "The retenue of the good Kyng Edward the thrydde" at the siege of Calais; ii. The poem of the *Chorl and the Bird*. And another copy of the *Libel*, written in the 17th century, is inserted at the end.

VIII. HERD'S HISTORIA ANGLICANA.

"Historia Anglicana, heroico carmine conscripta," by John Herd, M.D., with a dedication (dated from Lincoln) to William Cecil (Lord Burleigh); folio. This appears to be the author's original MS., as it contains various alterations. The work was printed from another MS. for the Roxburghe Club in 1868.

IX. MONTGOMERY'S INSTRUCTIONS FOR SOLDIERS.

"A shorte treatice concerning thinges nedefull for this present state, collected by John Mountgomere, Londoner, in Anno Dñi 1562"; with a dedication to Francis, Earl of Bedford; a small quarto volume of instructions for soldiers, with "a godlie consideracion for the relefe of suche souldiers as come maymed, hurt and succourles frome the warres." This was printed from another copy, pp. 209-41, vol. xlvii. of the *Archæologia*. Quarto. Lond., 1882.

X. ESSEX'S APOLOGY.

"An apologie of the Earle of Essex," addressed to Anthony Bacon; with his poems written before his death, which are here entitled "*Essex Pilgrimage to Heaven*." Folio.

XI. SPENSER'S VIEW OF IRELAND.

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Edmund Spenser's "View of the present state of Ireland," dated at the end 1597. Quarto.

XII. HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

A history, in folio, of the Reformation in England, written by one of the Roman Catholic priests who were banished from England in 1585, and ending with the execution of Thomas Ashfield ["Aufield or Alfield" in Dodd's *Church History*], a priest, and Thomas Webley ["Welley" in Dodd], a layman, in that year. Begins, "At such time as Maximillian the Emperour governed the Empire." In 1660 the volume belonged to Sir Henry Audely.

XIII. PARLIAMENT NOTES, 1624.

"Some breife notes of the affayres—of each severall day—handled in the Parliament house," from 21 Feb., 21 James I., 1624, to 27 May, with notes of speeches. 245 quarto pages.

XIV. PARLIAMENT NOTES, 1628.

Notes of proceedings in Parliament in 1628. Quarto.

XV. PARLIAMENT NOTES, 1640.

"Diurnal occurrences" and speeches in Parliament from 3 Nov. to 30 Dec. 1640. Quarto.

XVI. PARLIAMENT NOTES, 1641.

"Diurnal occurrences," &c., from 13 April to 12 July 1641. Quarto. In the same hand as the preceding volume.

XVII. LIST OF JUSTICES ITINERANT.

Note-book containing a list of the Justices Itinerant in each year from 23 Henry II. to 39 Henry VI., by Sir W. Dugdale.

XVIII. COMMONPLACE-BOOK OF JOHN WALKER.

[No. 15.] A Latin common-place book, in small octavo, of John Walker, of Bury St. Edmund's. It begins with pieces frequently found in similar books of the commencement of the 17th century; the address of Dr. Laurence Humfrey to Queen Elizabeth at Woodstock, and his letter to her; the Queen's speech to the Polish ambassador, and her speech at Cambridge; Mr. Love's speech at Cambridge on entering office as Proctor; Bishop Jewel's speech on leaving Oxford in Queen Mary's time. The rest of the volume is chiefly occupied with copies of letters, most of which are to or from Walker, partly while he was a student at Leyden and at Dort.*

p. 42. N. Y. 1 April. Lugd. Bat. — "Franciscus Junius amico euidem."

p. 44. 1570.—St. John's College Cambridge to Cecil.

* It appears from the *Album Studiosorum* published by the University of Leyden in 1875 that Walker was matriculated there on 2 July 1632.

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p. 47.—George Northey “amico cuidam doctissimo pastorique fidelissimo.”

pp. 50, 51, 54. — The same from Colechester, “studioso cuidam,” “theologo cuidam,” and “theologo cuidam gravissimo.”

pp. 58, 59.—Two letters from Henry Lewis to friends; the second dated 13 July, 1579.

p. 61.—J. F. “amico cuidam W.”

p. 63. 1632, Sept. 10. Lugd. Bat.—J[ohn] W[alker] to Mr. Watson, minister at Woolpit.

p. 65. 1632, Jan. 21. Lugd. Bat.—The same to Robert Paget.

p. 67. 1633, Apr. 12. Lugd. Bat.—The same to Henry Bridon, “Buriensi,” minister.

p. 69. 1632, Oct. 6. Chevington.—Robert Paman to J[ohn] W[alker].

p. 71. 1633, July 12. Lugd. Bat.—Walker’s reply.

p. 73. 1633, July 25.—J[ohn] H[oughton]* to Walker, “apud D. Beckman, Scholæ Do[r]drac. moderatorem manenti.”

p. 77. 1633, Feb. 11.—John Walker to William Perkins,† “medicina studioso;” “Buriæ, e domo amitæ nostræ magist[r]æ Houg[hton] in platea vulgo Risbigate-Street.”

p. 79.—John Houghton] to Walker; account of his arrival in London; yesterday in Whitehall “inexpectatus dextram mihi lætissima fronte porrexit amicus noster Polonicus Ds. Matthisevius,” who had only arrived in England on the previous Saturday, and is going to Cambridge; changes among professors in Holland; mention of Greaves, Gresham Professor of Mathematics, Paman, and others.

p. 81. 1634, May 6. Bury.—Reply from Walker; he received yesterday a letter from Mathisevius.

p. 82. 1634, May 3. Cambridge.—Michael Mathisevius to Walker.

p. 83. May 6.—Walker’s reply.

pp. 84–90, 94–96, 101–115. 1631–5.—Nine letters from John Houghton to his cousin Walker, with nine in reply.

p. 91. 1638, March 7. Lugd. Bat.—William Perkins to Walker.

p. 93. 1634, Sept. 8.—Walker to F. J.

p. 94.—John Houghton to Walker; some anatomical demonstrations were begun to-day at the College of Physicians by Dr. Meverill; mention of old fellow students at Leyden, “Hintonus, Gravius, Ruthenus, Thorius;” Reade was lately created M.D. at Caen: Dr. Robinson has returned from Holland and lives at Norwich.

pp. 98, 99. 1634, Feb. 26. London.—Matthew Thoris‡ to Walker, and Walker’s reply.

p. 104. 1635, May 11.—Walker to Houghton; mentions some rare books bought by him at the sale of the library of “D. Boulton, Garbet-somensis ministri.”

p. 108.—Houghton to Walker; the library of Dr. Lindsey, late Bishop of Hereford, is about to be brought to London; the Bishop

* He was matriculated at Leyden on the same day with Walker.

† Entered at Leyden, 24 Apr. 1636.

‡ “Londinensis,” entered at Leyden, 26 Apr. 1633.

himself valued the printed books at 800*l.* and the MSS. at 500*l.*; most of the latter he bequeathed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest to Clare Hall.

p. 112. 1635, July 20.—The same to the same; he is now a member of Exeter College in Oxford, "*victum meum publica ibidem in aula cum aliis capiendo*;" goes to the Bodleian; greatly praises the Rector of Exeter College, Prideaux, "*Oxonii gloria, Ecclesiæ lumen maximum, veritatis Anglicanæ propugnator summus*," who at the last *comitia* most learnedly refuted the errors of Socinus and others about the satisfaction of Christ; Thoris is a member of Pembroke College.

p. 116. 1635, Oct. 17. Cambridge.—Michael Mathisevius to Walker; on St. Matthew's day he went to visit the Bishop of Lincoln, and remained with him until this week, when the Bishop went to London.

p. 118. Oct. 20.—Walker's reply.

p. 120. 1645, Nov. 27. Bury.—The same to Houghton, now M.D.

p. 121. Not dated. Clare Hall.—T. Normanton to Walker, requesting him to receive Mr. Prittiman's son as a pupil, because he cannot remain at Cambridge without great danger on account of the plague.

p. 122. 1636, Jan. 1.—Michael Mathissevius, "*Vilnensis*," to the same; has arrived at Leyden; Perkins is now at Utrecht.

p. 124. 1655, June 19. Jesus College, Cambridge.—Ti. Adamson to the same.

XIX. DIARY OF JUDGE HUTTON; Vol. I.

[No. 19; 60], 8vo. pp. 230.—Note-book and Journal of Sir Richard Hutton, appointed a Judge in the Common Pleas in 1617.

1. Commission from James I. to some of the Judges (including Hutton) to review Sir E. Coke's Reports.

2. 1632.—Reports from the judges on the jurisdiction of the Stannaries in Cornwall, p. 7.

3. Description of Cornwall, pp. 46–59.

4. Notes on Devonshire, pp. 60–62.

5. Questions disputed at Cambridge before James I. on his visit in 1614, p. 70.

6. Notes on fasting, pp. 72–75.

7. [1614–1623.]—Journal, from 25 June, 12 James I., to Hilary Term, 19 James I., pp. 77–230.

This journal (as is the case also with the following volume) gives full accounts of the appointments of judges and calls of serjeants with the speeches thereon; the deaths and characters of judges and other official personages, with speeches of the King and others in Parliament, and brief notices of a few public events. The following are a few of the noteworthy entries:—

1614, June 30.—Call of serjeants and speech of L. C. J. Coke.

1614, September 11.—Death of Sir Edward Phillips, Master of the Rolls.

1616.—Death of judge Nichols.

1617.—Death of baron Altham.

1617, March 15.—Death of Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, with unfavourable character, chiefly for his opposition to Common Law. "*Le seale*

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fuit prise de luy un petit temps devant son mort par comandement le Roy, et fuit comuniment dit que il mita cest message al Roy que il fuit an old man, and did not use to putt of his cloathes before he went to bedd. Fuit dit que il prist discontentment que son fils Sir John Egerton non fuit fait President del Wales, mes le seigneur Gerard. Et il fuit un home de grand et profound judgment, un eloquent speaker, et uncore in son daren temps il deveigne plus chollerick, et oppose le (*sic*) juridiceion del Common Ley, et inlarge le juridiceion del Chancery, et il in plusers choses labor a derogate del Comon Ley et del Judges. Et il fait un volunt, et ne done aucun legacies al ses servants nel al aucun auter de ses amies; et il fuit sepult apud Dodleston in Cheshire, lon son primer fem fuit sepult devant, et la fuit un sermon et nul grand preparacion ne provision pur aucun dynner. Et fuit insculpe sur son tombe: Orimur, morimur, qui non precedunt sequuntur."

The King's progress to Scotland, with a full account of his reception at York.

1618.—Speech of Mr. Higgins, Reader at Gray's Inn in Lent.

1619, November 14.—Death of serjeant Sir Charles Cliborne.
Death of justice Crooke.

1621.—Cases of Lord St. Alban's, Sir Francis Michell, and (more fully) of Sir Henry Yelverton.

Death of judge Warburton.

XX. DIARY OF JUDGE HUTTON; Vol. 2.

[No. 18; 61,] in 4^o. ff. 90.—Second volume of the Journal of Sir Rich. Hutton, extending from Hilary Term 20 Jas. I. (1623) to Hilary Term 14 Charles I. (4 Feb. 1633), and ending only three weeks before the writer's death; written in the same mixture of law-French and English as the preceding volume. The entries relate chiefly to legal matters; the appointments of judges and speeches thereupon, &c.; the calls of serjeants, &c.; and amongst them the following may specially be noted.

1623, Oct. 18.—Long account of the creation of Serjeants, with "un bon and grave speech" of Judge Hobart. The speeches on subsequent like occasions are also reported.

1623 $\frac{1}{4}$, Feb. 6.—Account of the death of judge Houghton.

1623 $\frac{1}{2}$, Feb. 3.—Sudden death of judge Winch.

1625, Apr. 6.—Death of Sir Laurence Tanfield. Death of justice Chamberlen, "unfortunate in son mariage al Lady Barkly, pour il il pay 5,000*l*." Account of the death of Sir John Hobart.

1626.—Mich. Consultation of the judges on the subsidy loans.

Speech of serjeant Richardson on being made C.J.K.B. At his saying that he had upon his knees begged the King not to promote him, Hutton writes in the margin, "Vix credenda canis."

1626, Dec. 6.—Death of serjeant Davis.

1628.—Death of judge Doddridge.

1629.—Death of serjeant Gevin. Account of the death of judge Yelverton.

1630, May 29, June 26.—Birth and baptism of Prince Charles.

Deaths of serjeant Atho and Sir Thomas Lake, and on 18 Nov. of Sir John Walter.

1631.—Death of Sir Nicholas Hyde, L. C. J.

1632, Aug. 2.—Death of judge Harvey.

1633.—Birth and baptism of James, Duke of York. “L’archevesque d’Canterbury luy baptise, et il ad un exceedingly rich cope, et la fueront l’archevesque d’York, et l’evesque d’London, l’evesque d’Ely, et l’evesque d’Oxon, in faire and rich copes luy assistant.” All the singers of the Chapel Royal were there, and the best from Westminster “and excellent anthems and musick.”

1634, Jan. 19.—Death of serjeant Crew.

Deaths of Attorney-General Noye and Sir John Cooke.

— Sept. 13.—Discharge of L.C.J. Sir Robert Heath.

Death of serjeant Towes.

1635.—Death of the Earl of Portland, Lord Treasurer. “Et, come il fuit affirme, il fuit reconcile al Esglise d’Rome, et fuit un Roman Catholique, et ad extreme unction, et que Sir Toby Mathews fuit ove luy in son sicknes, et labor que il moriera del Romish religion.”

1635.—Deaths of viscount Savage, serjeant Ashley, Mr. Mason, Recorder of London, and Sir Walter Pye.

1636.—Death of Sir Julius Caesar.

Burial of the Earl of Carlisle.

Death of serjeant Hitcham.

1637.—Deaths of serjeant Hedley, serjeant Thynn, and Sir H. Calthorp, Attorney of the Court of Wards. Account of the successor of the latter, Mr. Rowland Wandesford.

1638.—Visit of the Queen of France; the Judges go in State to her on 5th November.

1639, Jan. 6.—Death of Sir John Denham, Baron of the Exchequer.

The writer gives the characters of all the persons whose deaths he commemorates. The whole journal is one that deserves printing, say by the Camden Society.

XXI. “MISCELLANEA.”

[No. 104. 1.] ff. 1-13.—A few miscellaneous rough notes on coins, wills (a table of forms used in their beginnings, from 1370 to 1488), obits, &c.; and notes on a few manors in Norfolk.

ff. 14-21.—Extracts from Sir Symonds D’Ewes’ *Autobiography*, to the year 1632.

f. 22.—Notes out of a diary in 1627-35 of the first years of the writer’s married life; beginning with a mem. from “fol. 106,” that on August 6, 1627, his wife “escaped drowning with mee”; notes of family and personal fasts, removals from and to Albury, Stow, Islington, Lavenham, &c.

ff. 34-44.—Depositions and other papers relating to a quarrel between Sir Richard Gipps, Knt., of Great Welnetham Hall, Suffolk, and John Hervey of Ickworth, in 1702.

ff. 49-50.—On the evils resulting from drinking impure water.

ff. 51-82. 1699-1707.—Miscellaneous notes by several hands (partly by Sir R. Gipps) of antiquities found in Suffolk (Welnetham, Hundon, &c.), Beds (Sandy), Devon, &c., with notes out of a MS. of the Antiquities of Exeter “penes Mr. Lord of Devon.”

ff. 83-86. 27 Eliz., 1640.—“A collection of severall orders out of the register of Graies Inn in relation to casting into commons, &c.”

ff. 87-88. 1707, June 10.—“Of the French prophets or Camisars.”

ff. 89-147, 150.—Miscellaneous antiquarian notes and political papers including various speeches in Parliament, 1677-9; account of the proclamation of Charles II. and his entry into London, with an account of what passed between him and father Huddleston on his death-bed; copy of the will of Thomas Baker, of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1737; Sir Clement Heigham's epitaph in Barrow Church, Suffolk.

f. 148. N.D.—Account of a search made at The Ccmbe, Herefordshire, a house believed to be the Jesuit college of St. Xavier, and of the library and papers found there.

ff. 152-3. 1553.—“The comunycation had betwene the Lady Jane [Grey] and Fecknam ij dayes before she was beheaded, written word for word fourth of her owne hand.” *A contemporary paper.*

ff. 153-4. 1553, July 10.—Contemporary copy of Lady Jane Grey's proclamation.

ff. 154-9. 1576, July 21, Galway.—Original instructions to Thomas Lee Straunge, Esq., Thomas Dillon, Esq., and Capt. William Collyar, from the Lord Deputy of Ireland and the Council, for their conduct as Commissioners for the province of Connaught; and commission to the same for the suppression of the rebellion of Ulick and John Burck, the sons of Richard, Earl of Clanricard; signed by Sir H. Sydney, the Deputy, Sir W. Drury, Sir Edward Fitton (Fyton), Lucas Dillon, and Francis Agard.

f. 160. 1588.—“A songe made by her Majestie, and songe before her at her cominge from Whitehall to Powles through Fleete st[rete] in Anno Domini 1588,” “songe in December after the scatteringe of the Spanishe Navy.”

Begins, “Loke and bowe downe thyne eare O Lorde.”

Three six-line stanzas.

ff. 161-163. 1584, March 7.—Report of a consultation at the Lord Treasurer's house, whether the Queen's Majesty should enter with forces into Holland and Zealand to give aid to those provinces against the King of Spain or no.

ff. 164-165. 1601, Aug. 27. The Hague.—“Memorials on the behalf of his Excellency and the Generall States, to be observed by the Governour, collonells, and men of warre in Ostend.”

[ff. 165 *b, c, d, e*.—“Supplices Britonum libelli”; a dialogue in Latin verse between B, a moderate man, L, a low, and I, a high or Tory, on the treaty of Utrecht, with reference to an address from the city of Oxford to Queen Anne.]

f. 106. 1601, Aug. 26. The Hague.—“Instructions for the hon. Peter de Sedleynest . . . lord of Couttenicts, sargent major generall of the army of Staites going to Ostend”; addressed to Roger Le-straunge, at Hunston near Lynn.

ff. 168-169. *Temp.* Henry VIII.—Reasons why a bill introduced into Parliament for regulating the buying of wool should not pass.

f. 170. [1624].—Articles proposed by the King of France relative to the marriage of Henrietta Maria to Prince Charles.

[ff. 170 *b, c*, 1714, Nov. 1.—Address from the Swedish congregation in London to George I. *Lat.*]

f. 171. 1639[-40], March 3.—Latin speech of Sir S. D'Ewes, in reply to an address from the boys of the School at Bury St. Edmund's when passing through the town as Sheriff of Suffolk.

ff. 172-3. [1628.]—Latin speech of Mr. [Richard] Love, proctor at Cambridge, to the Earl of Holland, (the Chancellor) and the French Ambassador.

f. 174. b. [1293,] July 16, 21 Edw. I.—Translation of an agreement between William, Bishop of Ely and his men of Stretham, on the one part, and the several owners and their men of Waterbeach, on the other, respecting the common of pasture and the property of the soil in land between the two places.

[Either the date or the name of the Bishop is incorrect. Bishop William de Middleton died 1 September 1288, and was succeeded by Ralph de Walpole.]

f. 175. 1699, May 15.—Speech by Cox Macro before the Bishop of Norwich at Bury St. Edmund's School. *Latin*. f. 176. Another speech at the same School, without date or name.

ff. 177-8.—“Pedigree,” or line of descent, of Norton of Norwood Chastaigniers in Kent, to 1630.

ff. 179-182.—Pedigree of the family of Barnardiston, of Keddington and Witham, with copies of evidences, to the time of Charles I.

ff. 183-186.—Heraldic notes, including the arms of Sir Richard Younge, of London, Knt.

f. 186b. 1700.—Copy of a sentence of expulsion of Susan Orlebar *alias* Handley from a non-conformist congregation under Joseph Hussey at Colchester.

f. 187 —Petition to the Mayor and Corporation of Norwich signed by thirty-three inhabitants of Repps cum Bastwick, praying them to appoint Mr. John Seaman their minister, in the place of Mr. Burton, deceased.

ff. 188-9.—Pedigree of the family of Carew of Bickleigh, Devon.

f. 189. 1721, March 26. — Account of an audience given to the Turkish ambassador at Paris.

Between ff. 190-214 are inserted, without foliation, a number or trifling poetical pieces in English and Latin, including the following :—

i. 1759, Dec.—Printed lines “to the honourable General Townshend on his arrival from Quebec, by Mr. Lockman,” given to Dr. Macro by the author.

ii. 1760, Jan.—Verses for the Bell-man.

iii. “Baptizatio rustica,” in Latin verse.

iv. Odes to Independency, and to a Water-nymph, by W. Mason, of St. John's College, Cambridge, *not autograph*.

v. “In illustrissimum infantem nuper natum”; (on the birth of George III.?).

vi. “Rome's pardon; a tale.”

vii. “Ode to the morning, by Miss Pennington of Huntington.”

viii. “The royalists letany.”

Begins, “From sawing the crowne twixt fanaticks and fryers.”

ix. Lines against the Earl of Clarendon.

1. Begins, “Mysterious riddle of the State!
To make king great by subjects hate.”

2. “The unexpected run,
of
Count clear-undone.”

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Begins, "And art escap'd? With all thy gouty crimes,
Thou haughty Dagon of the bribing times?"

x. "The honest vicar of Tud[den]h[a]m"; on his being refused preferment by R[obert Butts, Bishop of] E[ly] for his vote at an Ipswich election.

xi. Satirical lines on M. Byng's letter to Mr. Cleveland, the Secretary to the Admiralty, with an account of the engagement off Port Mahon in May, 1756.

xii. A Lapland ode.

xiii. "The tipling Divines, a new song, with notes; by the author of The tipling Philosopher, and set to the same tune"; eighteen stanzas.

Begins—"Great Origen of the Greek Church,
A Father most hearty and true."

Stanza 18 begins—"Old Sherlock once lov'd Jemmy best,
A Tory was the pious man."

xiv. Bitterly satirical epitaph on Queen Caroline by Lord Chesterfield.

Begins—"Here lyes unpitied both by Church and State,
The subject of their flattery and hate."

Followed by an answer.

xv. Latin lines by Dean R. Moss in praise of Thomas Sherlock's book on the use of prophecy, in 1726, and an English paraphrase by the same of Moses' song in Exod. xv.

xvi. "A fragment, in Spencer's stile"; by Edward Barnard, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

xvii. "An ode on the victory at Gladsmuir, Sept. 21, 1745"; twelve stanzas.

Begins—"As over Gladsmuir's blood-stain'd field"
Scotia, imperial Goddess, flew."

At the end is this note: "This ode was wrote by a person in the rebel army after the battle at Preston-pans, and many copies of it dispers'd at Derby while they were there. The genius of the author—whoever he was—seems to have merited a better subject."

xviii. Four satirical lines on an English peer, by "Count Gillenborg the Swedish envoy, *manu propria*."

xix. "In Melvinum poetam insignem *γενεθλιακόν*."

Interspersed amongst these verses are various epitaphs:—

i. On Rev. Mr. Evans, of Windham, Norfolk. 1751. *Latin*.

ii. On Dr. Joseph Beaumont, by Mr. Woodford. 1699. *Latin*.

iii. On Samuel Horn, M.A., by Dr. Beaumont. 1634. *Latin*.

iv. On Samuel Battely, a child. *Latin*.

v. On Heneage and John Finch. 1681-2. *Latin*.

vi. Laudatory epitaph on Mr. Jacob Butler, barrister, of Cambridge-shire, called "The Old Briton," given by him, with three lines in his own handwriting, to Dr. Macro, 16 September, 1756.

vii. Sir Cloudesley Shovel's epitaph in Westminster Abbey.

viii. Frances, wife of Sir William Dawes, bart. 1705. *Latin*.

ix. Dr. Thomas Young, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1655. *Latin*.

x. Edward Leedes, Master of Bury St. Edmund's School, written by himself, with directions about his burial. *Latin*.

f. 195.—Laudatory chronological table of the events of the life of Sir William Dethick, Garter, to the year 1610, when he was 68 years old. *Latin*.

Before f. 212. 1758, August 22.—Letter from John Lockman to Edward Godfrey, esq., inclosing a song written by him on the taking of Cape Breton and the landing at Cherbourg, sung in Vauxhall Gardens.

f. 212. 1708.—Riddle in verse about under-ground trees in the north, answered by Andrew Archer.

f. 215. 1706.—Sketch of a hippopotamus, by T. Warner.

f. 216.—Sketch of a marble monument on the outside wall of St. Laurence's Church in Padua, with the inscription, commencing "Circulus Antenor."

ff. 219-220.—Engraving of a section of a "wonderlycke schip gemaakt tot Rotterdam, 1653" showing six paddle-wheels, with a MS. description in French. See Thurloe's *State Papers*, Vol. I., p. 521.

ff. 221-2.—Printed forms of the matriculation-oath and divinity declaration at Cambridge, belonging to one who was matriculated 6 July, 1710, took the degree of LL.B., 10 Oct. 1709, and was created D.D. 19 Nov. 1717.

f. 224. 1650, May 25.—Order by the Parliamentary commissioners for the substitution of Mr. Francis Rowley as minister of Cawley (Cadeleigh, Devon ?) in the room of Mr. Heyward, ejected for delinquency.

f. 227.—List of twenty-one "libri chymici MSS." in the upper library of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

f. 228. 1430.—Bill of fare at the Coronation-dinner of Henry VI.

ff. 229-30.—Account of Sir Edward Coke.

ff. 231-2.—Prophecy "found in an ancient house, in a parchment booke of Mr. Threshwel, Recorder of the city of Lincoln: copied out of the sayd booke, Sept. 22, 1608, by Leonard Willson, late of the towne of Wardboys," Hunts, and given by him to Thomas Deerisley in 1642.

Begins—"Ther shall come a Kinge forth of the north to reigne in Brittain, and he shall cry, peace, peace."

ff. 233-5.—The will of Cardinal Bellarmine, 1621, *Latin*; with an account, in English, of his death.

ff. 243-4. 1573, May 16.—Declaration of the Assembly of the Polish Estates at Warsaw, of the election of Henry, Duke of Bourbon, as King of Poland. *Latin*.

ff. 245-9.—Extracts from an Anglo-Saxon MS. in the Cotton library (now Nero A. ii.) with notes.

1. "Ratio decursus [*i.e.* ordinis liturgiæ), qui fuerunt ejus authores."

2. "Oratio Regis Athelstani, jam pugnaturi cum hostili exercitu."

3. "Ode de victoria ejus."

4. "Excerpta quædam de fide Saxonum primæva."

f. 249.—"Ad Scripturarum lectionem Exhortatio"; in Anglo-Sax., from Bennett Coll. MS. 373. The following note is subjoined; "This

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is the preface to the translation of some parts of Genesis into Saxon by Alfric the Monk to Eathelweard Ealderman, which is sett forth—*ut puto*—by Mr. Lile—*quære*—but this preface he never saw, as himself told me at Bennett Colledge, August, 1628.”

ff. 253-4. 1667, Nov. 20.—Articles of impeachment of the Earl of Clarendon by the House of Commons; with the dissent of twenty-five Peers from the vote of the House of Lords against his committal upon a general accusation. Twenty-eight names are attached to the protest as printed in the Lords’ Journals, xii. 142.

ff. 255-6.—“Auncient privileges, franchises and liberties heretofore granted to Hugh of Albany somtimes Earl of Arundale, and lord of the manor of Castlerisinge.”

ff. 257-9. *Temp.* Eliz.—Articles exhibited against Robert Harte, John Thurkette, John Church, and others, of Hennington, Suffolk; and petition to Sir John Popham, L. C. J. from Thomas and Ralph Cauntrell accusing Harte, *inter alia*, of sorcery.

ff. 260-1. *Temp.* Eliz.—Two long prayers to the Blessed Virgin Mary, imploring her help and protection through the whole of life.

Not foliated.—Lines “on Mr. H.—’s going to Hampton Court” from Elstree “to present his assize sermon to the P—ss”; addressed to Rev. Mr. Baxter at the Earl of Carnavon’s at Cannons.

Not foliated.—List of medals struck in the reign of Queen Anne, in number twenty-nine, with their prices.

Not foliated.—List of the Cardinals in 1721, distinguishing their nationality.

Not foliated.—French account of the siege of Corfu by the Turks.

Not foliated.—List of all the persons who visited the Prince of Tuscany when he was in London in 1669.

Not foliated.—Duties upon books imported from abroad.

Not foliated.—Latin hymn, with a translation into Hebrew, for Christmas Day, by Nic. Begers, with music for the Latin text.

ff. 268-71.—“Means to restraine the multitude, length and charge in Chancery.”

f. 272. 1662, March 5.—Licence from the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge to Dr. Joseph Beaumont and three others dining at his table, to eat meat in Lent, paying 6s. 8d., according to the statute, to the poor of the parish.

Not foliated. 1705[-6], Feb. 25.—Copy of the warrant of Queen Anne for the prorogation of Convocation on account of the differences there.

Not foliated.—“A modell humblie shewing how this nation may be vast gainers by all summes of money given to his Majestie without lessninge the prerogative,” by William Killegrew; addressed to the King (Charles II.) and Parliament.

Not foliated.—The Earl of Arundel’s letter to Queen Elizabeth in 1589 on his purposing to leave the realm.

f. 281. 1689, Dec. 13.—Petition to the Common Council of Bury St. Edmund’s signed by many of the free burgesses, complaining of the badness of trade and the poverty of the town, and desiring that the admission of foreigners to trade in the place may be stopped.

f. 282. 1704, April 17.—Extract from the will of Benjamin Dod, linen-draper, of Cornhill, London, directing that everyone invited to his

funeral shall have 2s. 6d. to drink the health of his soul, "on her journey for purification in order to her eternal rest"; candles to be burned at his tomb for seven days; no Presbyterian, Moderate Low-churchman, or Occasional Conformist, to be at his funeral or to have anything to do with it.

ff. 283-4.—"Maximes de la guerre à nouvelles, ou, nouvelles maximes de la guerre."

XXII. MISCELLANEA.

[No. 105. 2.] f. 1. [1477] 17 Edw. IV., June 15.—Inquisition at Norwich about a riot at Lutham upon the land of Roger Townshend, and the destroying "unum par metarum vocat. Shetyng buttys," &c. "e rot. membran. Tho. Woodhouse, mil. et bar., 6 Jun. 1627."

f. 2. 1400.—Extract from the account-roll of the sheriff and escheator of Norfolk for the hundred of Freebridge.

f. 3. 1430, March 24.—Conveyance from Sir William Porter, Knt., to trustees of his manors of Tekyssovere and Manton, co. Rutland. "Vera copia; exam. 3 Maii, 1634."

f. 4.—Note of the will of Thomas Styward of Swaffham, proved 12 Nov. 1437.

f. 6.—Knights' fees in the hundred of Frethebrigge, or Freebridge, "ex libro feodorum temp. Edw. II."

ff. 8-11 *wanting*.

ff. 4, 12-18, 71-3, 84-5, 89.—Various extracts from records; charters of Henry I., II.; notes from chartularies, and miscellaneous extracts; fragmentary, and too numerous to be separately specified.

ff. 19-22 *wanting*.

f. 23.—Rough draft of some Latin verses, endorsed with Sir H. Spelman's name, apparently on the war in Holland.

Begins: "O Jani, tua Belgiaco fixa est in littore puppis."

f. 25.—"The prologe to the sixte dayes workes, written in rude Latin verse 300 yeares since, and thus translated into English by Sir H. Spelman, with whom the manuscript remaineth. 5 Sept. 1616." In duplicate.

Begins: "O boundlesse thow, that all things doest dispose
By sacred lawe, which no mutation knowes."

f. 29.—Inscription to be placed over the chair of Camden's Professor of Ancient History at Oxford, and Latin verses to be set over Camden's "picture or image."

f. 31.—Nine Latin anagrams on the name "Henricus Spelman," accompanied with devices for corresponding emblems, and explanatory couplets in English verse; with five other anagrams unaccompanied. The series is extremely ingenious. The first runs thus—

"An apple tree bearinge fruit, his blossomes }
and leaves beinge fallen. } *Mens seni pulchra.*

Youths springe his leaves' and blossoms' beauty chaunts,
But age's autumnne ripe fruit-bearinge vaunts."

The last is this:

"A crosse upon death prostrate, and }
his dart broken lyeinge by } *Lachesin rumpens.*

Christ on the crosse quittinge his vitall breath
For his elect, beecame the death of death."

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ff. 32, 33, 34. [1338,] 12 Edw. III.—Notes out of an Inquisition about the dykes in the Marshland of Norfolk, with the number of acres in the several towns of Marshland.

f. 37.—“The declaracion mad by Jo. Fortescue, Knt., uppon certayne wrightings sent out of Scotland against the King's title to his realme of England.”

ff. 39-52.—Miscellaneous notes: the title of Count in the Empire, with a list of various counts; early Chief Justices in England; chronological notes of events in England, 1108-1153, &c.

ff. 53-4.—Description of Norfolk. Begins, “Norfolk is an island enclynyn to an ovall forme.” The original copy, with alterations.

f. 55.—Notice of Lynn,

ff. 56-60.—Part of the Domesday account of Norfolk.

ff. 61-63. 1632.—“Of the Fleet and Warden”; account of a dispute thereupon between the Commissioners of Enquiry and the jurors.

f. 64. 1600[-1], Feb.—List of all the prisoners in the various prisons in London for the Earl of Essex's rising.

See *Report on MSS. of the Duke of Rutland, in Appendix, Part IV., to the Twelfth Report of the Historical MSS. Commission*, pp. 367-9.

f. 65.—“The names of the [22] antiquaries which did meete together.”

f. 66. 1571.—“Touchinge the commitment of the Duke of Norfolk”; a vindication of the proceedings against him.

Beg., “Good men and evill delichte in contraries.”

ff. 67-70.—Life of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, to the beginning of the reign of Henry VII. *Latin*. A rough draft.

f. 74. 1618, August 15.—Descent of Edward Paston of Thorpe from the families of Legh of Stockwell, Surrey, and Worseley, showing four generations of Legh; with eight coats of arms in trick. “Ex stemate peculiari Edw. Paston, ai., a Somersete, *al*. Glover, heraldo composito eique dato. Transcriptum.”

ff. 75-80.—Accounts in Latin of Thomas, Nicholas and Simon Styward or Steward, with notice of a pedigree of the Stewarts from Banquo. The following note is subjoined: “This above written was copied out of the transcrip̄te of a pedegree in the hands of Doctor Steward now in the Fleet, 21 July 1632, to be added unto the roll of Steward's petegree belonging to Sir Henry Spelman.” Other notes of descent of the family of Styward of Norfolk and Suffolk (ending with Thomas Spelman), copies of deeds, and arms.

f. 81.—Arms in trick of the families of Hobart, Den, and Sea, and of Sir John Spelman.

ff. 82-3.—Notice of a society, or combination, in Norfolk called *The Landbuyers*, for buying up manors and lands, and retailing them in parcels, “even to single acres, tending to the destruction of the gentry [&c.] . . . the making of a parity betwene gentlemen and yeomen and them which before were laboringe men.” The names of the buyers, Cooper and Shapdam. List of nine manors, and houses with lands, bought by them.

ff. 86-7. *Temp.* James I.—Rough draft of suggestions for assisting the Plantation in New England by sending thither, under stat.

43 Eliz. c. 2, idle and vagrant children to be bound apprentices to the President and Council of New England, a stock of money being raised, as provided for by the statute, by the overseers of parishes for the purpose, the charge for furnishing forth each child, the voyage and maintenance for each child until its labour become profitable being estimated at not less than 10*l*. The paper opens with an earnest complaint of the idle and useless lives led by many gentlemen who have neither fortunes nor employments befitting their birth, and a representation of the field opened by the new colony for multitudes now living at home in idleness and want, in consequence of the increasing population "theis later yeeres . . . especially by the happinesse of our universall peace," and who suffer their children "to runne idly upp and downe, in breaking of hedges, gathering of wolle, pelting of shepe, and in harvest tyme gleaning and fitching of corne, and such other leaud or worse courses, seking also their meate from house to house."

f. 88.—Will of King Henry II., "as it is entred in an old MS. in Mr. Fanshaw's office."

ff. 89, 90. [1345], 19 Edw. III.—"Carta pardonationis Joh. filii Tho. de Tylney, militis, pro morte Joh. filii Tho. de Reynham."

f. 92.—Latin speech by Charles Darby, fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, delivered at some school [St. Edmund's Bury?].

f. 93. 1715, June 3.—Confession made as penance in the parish church of Ely, by William Gunning, clerk, and Mary his wife.

f. 94. [1520–21], 12 Hen. VIII.—Extract about liberal entertainments given by John Briggs, brewer, Mayor of Canterbury.

ff. 95–6.—"Explication mechanique des larmes de verre."

ff. 97, 97*.—"Description du tresor de Saint Denis."

f. 100.—Short extracts from a MS. of Capgrave's *Life of St. Katherine* with a copy of notes by Spelman.

f. 102. 1702, August 2.—Story of St. Bernard and the devil about eight saving verses in the Psalms; "Ex Rituali in bibliotheca H. Spelmanni apud Congham in com. Norfolkæ."

f. 103.—Contents of a MS. volume commencing with "Vitas patrum."

ff. 104, 105.—Catalogue of 125 MSS., apparently those in the possession of Spelman. It includes, "Registrum Ramseia, mutil." [now Bodl. MS. Rawlinson, B. 333], "Regist. Jo. Boon abb. St. Edmundi," of the Conquest of Ireland, with James Young's Treatise on Government [now apparently Bodl. MS. Rawl. B. 490], "Peirce the Plowman," Capgrave's Poems.

ff. 106–7. 1634.—Account of the descent of the abbey of Stratford Langton, at Bow, after the dissolution, through the family of Meautys, and the quarrels thereupon between father and son, to John Mills, a merchant of London "who now enjoyeth it, 1634." Signed, "Amadis von Wolfen." Followed by an account of its present inhabitant, Mr. Robert Sommerscall, once a counsellor of Gray's Inn.

f. 108.—Account of the descent of the lands of the priory of Chirbury through the family of Hopton, and of the troubles and marriage-quarrels in the family. Noted, "Rec. of Lodwick Middleton de Churchstoc in com. Montgomery, 9 Oct. 1533. H. Spel."

ff. 109–117.—Similar accounts for the priory of Thetford and the family of Clere; the abbeys of Hales and Evesham and the family of

Hoby; noted, "Rec. of Mr. Townesende, an attorney of Glocestershire, 6 May, 1627"; the monasteries at Lynn and John Eyer; Winchcombe Abbey, and several owners, especially of the Lords Chandos (in the handwriting of Mr. Townsend; of a vision seen at Glastonbury, in 5, 6, or 7 Jas. I., of the reintering by abbots and monks of bones sacrilegiously dug up, "rec. of Mr. Taylor, a divine of Oxford, 23 Sept. 1627"; and of Nostell Abbey, Yorkshire, and the family of Gargrave, signed "Roger Dodsworth."

(The preceding accounts of abbey lands were collected by Spelman with a view to his *History of Sacrilege*.)

f. 118.—Notice of Spearhavoc, abbot of Abingdon.

ff. 119–121.—Copies of Anglo-Saxon and early English boundary registers in Surrey; the "hida boc" of Chertsey, the "Landimere of the vifteene hide londe" at Egham, and the "Londimere" at Chobham.

f. 123.—A few notes by Spelman out of his MS. of the Ramsey Chronicle.

f. 125.—Ground plan of some land and houses of the abbey of Ramsey at "Gildingore," distinguishing "Native Ro. Stone," "Mesuagium liberum Ric. Brad," "terræ liberæ Jo. Moore," "Native Titchwell," "Native abbatis Ramsey," &c.

f. 126.—Extract "Ex lib. fundationis monasterii de West Dereham": charter from Hugh, Dean of York.

ff. 127–9.—"Fundatio, ædificatio et dedicatio et dotatio ecclesiæ et monasterii de Medeshamstede, postea de Burgo et Peterburgh," A.D. 656; from the Saxon Chron. [as contained in Bodl. MS. Laud 636].

ff. 130–1.—"Oratio nobilissimi Regis Edgari reverendis patribus Dunstano et ceteris episcopis." "Exemplar hoc inventum est in veteri libro script. inter cæteras epist. in Cambria."

f. 132.—Wax impressions of four (undescribed) seals, Roman, monastic, and armorial.

f. 133. [1209,] 1 John, April 21. At Fulleham.—Grant from King John to the Abbey of Spalding.

f. 134. [1267], 3 Clem. IV., 2 Kl. Mar. London.—Brief from Card. Ottobonus to the Bishops of Lismore and Waterford, directing them to excommunicate the Mayor and citizens of Dublin for enacting certain statutes, limiting the offerings made at the cathedral church, &c. Spelman adds this note: "Recepi has constitutiones a reverendissimo patre D. Jacobo Ussher, Archiepiscopo Armachano, term. Paschæ, 1631."

ff. 136–240.—Large miscellaneous collections and notes relating to the abbey of St. Edmund's Bury and the town and corporation, partly by Spelman, partly by Cox Macro, to the year 1730. They include:

i. Two copies of a Latin poem by Spelman, "Iconotypicum Buriensis cænobii." ff. 139–144.

ii. Extracts from Registers; e.g., Boon in Spelman's library, Swafham, "ad Tho. Eden, Doctor. in hoc anno 1641," Walt. Pynchebec. ff. 152–5, 173.

iii. Catalogue of the abbots. ff. 158–161.

iv. Notes on the abbey seal. f. 171.

v. The abbey-mint. ff. 172, 179.

- vi. Of the franchise, pleas, courts. ff. 189-206.
- vii. 1690, Apr. 3.—Letter from Robert Davers, M.P., to Alderman Macro, enclosing a copy of a petition to Parliament about the borough election. ff. 207-10.
- viii. Drawing of the gateway-tower. f. 217.
- ix. Of the ancient names of the streets in Bury. ff. 234-6.

The following printed papers are also to be found :—

- i. [1608], June 18.—Letter of James I. authorising collections for the town on account of a fire on 11th April [1608] which destroyed 600 houses. Printed by Thomas Purfoot. f. 213.
- ii. 1707.—Orders for the Charity Schools. f. 214.
- iii. 1680.—“The case concerning the election.” f. 230.
- iv. 1680, Dec. 8.—“The case of St. Edmund’s-bury, heard at the Committee of Elections.” *After* f. 232.
- v. Statement of the case of Carr Hervey and Aubrie Porter, sitting members, against Jermyrn Davers and Gilb. Affleck, petitioners, *ib.*
- vi. 1730.—“The fair candidate; by an English gentleman,” *ib.*
- vii. “Notes concerning Bury St. Edmund, extracted out of the right hon. the Earl of Oxford’s library by Mr. Wanley”; 3 pp., fol. *After* f. 233.
- ix. 1715.—Sessions’ Orders about conveyance of vagrants. *After* f. 239.
- x. 1702.—Sessions’ Orders about carriers’ charges, *ib.*
- xi. 1700.—Act for making the river Larke navigable.
- xii. 1721.—Orders for the well-governing the watermen on the Larke.

ff. 241-244.—Forms used by French and English Kings, and by ecclesiastics, at the commencement of charters.

ff. 247-255, 260-2.—Notes of Religious Houses; the foundation of Canewell, Staffordshire; Furness, Colchester, Waverley; grants from Robert de Witefeld to Oseney, with sketch of seal; catalogue of transcripts made in three volumes from various monastic chronicles and chartularies, &c.

ff. 264-5.—List of monastic registers existing in Gresham College Library, in the library of Sir S. D’Ewes, in the Exchequer, the Court of Augmentation, in the office of the Duchy of Lancaster, in Gray’s Inn, and in the Office of Arms.

XXIII. MISCELLANEA.

[No. 109. 6.] p. 1.—Decrees of the Council of Enham, or Eynsham, under King Ethelred; thirty-one chapters.

Begins—“BE PITENA LIEREDNESSAN. Ðirrynbān þageræðneffa.” The printer’s copy used for pp. 513-524 of vol. I. of Spelman’s *Concilia*. Folio London, 1639.

p. 9.—The conclusion (from “f. 58” of some MS.) of a charter granted by Rob. Malet to the monastery of St. Peter at Eye. Ends, “Ego Robertus Malet obtuli ecclesiæ monachorum meorum et hac charta mea in perpetuum confirmavi.”

ib. “De initio diversarum religionum,” *al.* “De fundatione cenobiorum in Anglia”; to the foundation of the monastery of St. Bennet of Hulme in A.D. 1016. “Ex cronic. de Evesham penes Simonem Dewes, militem.” Begins, “Exordium monasticæ religionis.

p. 13. [1194] *an.* 4, non. maii.—Bull of Pope Celestin [III.], granted to Will. de Celanville, the patron of the priory of Bromholm, releasing the priory from its subjection to the monastery of Acre, which has burdened it with the maintenance of its lame, blind and infirm members.

ib.—"Charta Ætheldredi Regis de Shaftesbury ; Ex Registro Shaftoniae, penes Sir Sim. Dewes, f. 1." Printed in the *Monasticon*.

p. 15.—"Charta foundationis monasterii S. Joh. Bapt., Colcestriae, ex Registro abb. penes Joh. dom. Lucas, lib. I., p. 1." Printed in the *Monasticon*.

p. 16.—"De fundatione S. Mariæ de Castleacre ; ex. Reg de Castle-acra penes Sir Sim. Dewes." Printed *ibid.*

p. 17.—"Fundatio Jorevallis ; ex Registro de Bellalanda" f. 15. Printed *ibid.*

p. 21.—"Transcript articulorum content. in privilegiis monasterio de Rievall in agro Eboracensi specialiter, seu ordini Cistertiensi [in] genere, concessis et ibidem inveniendis." This not printed in the *Monasticon*.

p. 23.—"Principium, continuatio et finis episcopatus Hagustaldensis, vulgo Hexham, ut in cronica Haugust. scriptum est."

p. 25.—"Exordium Cisterciensis cenobii."

p. 26.—"Fundatio abbatiae de Bellalanda." Begins, "Primordium monasterii." Ends, "quæ ob tedium prolixitatis recusavimus." With a list of the abbots to 1335. On p. 29 is the line of family descent from William de Acclun, a benefactor.

p. 30.—Extract about the hermitage at Throkenholt in Cambridge-shire, "ex Chartulario Abbatiae de Thorney penes hodiernum comitem Westmorlandiae. 12 Sept., 1640." f. 166.

ibid.—"Fundatio de Penteney in agro. Norfolk." Printed in the *Monasticon*.

p. 31.—"Fundatio domus fratrum de Blakeney, alias Sniterley, in com. Norf." Printed in the *Monasticon*.

p. 32.—Notes "de fundatione, renovatione, et dedicatione monasterii de Thorney."

ibid.—Commencement of the foundation-deed, by Rich. Smith, M.D., of Christ's Hospital, in the city of Lincoln.

p. 34.—List of the various religious orders.

p. 35.—"Carta R. Edw. Conf. abbatiae de Hulmo in agro Norf., ex Registro in Bibl. Cotton." [Galba, E. ii.] Printed in the *Monasticon*.

pp. 39-46, 187.—Collections relating to the priory of Castle-acre, Norfolk, containing transcripts of various charters, and a list of priors (not printed in the *Monasticon*) from Hugh, 2 Richard I. to Thomas Malling, 6 Henry VIII.

pp. 47.—Extracts "ex libro Binham" ; being a bull of Honorius III. in 1218 "de omnibus libertatibus S. Albani," and a confirmation-charter from Edward III. to Binham in 1352.

p. 51.—Note of the foundation of the abbey of Whalley.

p. 53.—"De initio portionis decedentium in Richemundshire." Begins, "Fuerunt antiquitus viri devotissimi Deo."

pp. 55, 56.—Charters granted to the priory at Carowe, Norwich, by Henry II., &c.

p. 59. 1353, May 4.—License from John, archbishop of York, for the removal by Sir John Meaux of the bones of his great-grandfather Godfrey Meaux, his grandfather John, his father Godfrey, and his sisters Scholastica and Joan from the church of Aldborough ("Aldebruge") Norfolk, to the priory of Haltemprise, because the former is on such sandy soil near the sea that the remains of those buried there will in a short time be washed away.

pp. 61–2.—Notes from the archiepiscopal Registers at York, 1248–1473; including, "Forma tradendi corpus Regis ad sepulturam."

pp. 63–199.—Large collections relative to the abbey of St. Edmund's bury, "Ex Registro Albo, penes Rob. Bacon, baronettum"; "Ex Registro primo Will. Curteys, abbatis"; "Ex libro magno registrarii Will. Curteys"; "Ex libro pergamenio in quarto penes Rob. Bacon apud Redgrave"; "Ex Cronicis Jocelini de Bucklond . . . in libro coreacio in 4to penes Rob. Bacon, 1652"; Ex registro Joh. Lakingheth et Walteri Pynchebec; "Ex magno libro pergamenio cum coriario operculo de Registro Will. Curteys, penes Rob. Bacon, 1650"; "Ex libro monachorum de Bury operculo coreaceo, in 4to." Amongst these extracts occur the following:—"Dimissio Joh. Lydgate, monachi, ab obedientia prioris de Hatfield," p. 116; "Extract. de libro vocato Parvo Domesday, qui est liber de recordo in Receptorio domini Regis London," 8 Rich. II., p. 147; "confirmatio libertatum civitatis Norwici," p. 149; "copia chartæ libertatum villæ Jernemuth," p. 152; "charta libertatis ecclesiæ Eliensis," p. 171; "copia libertatis villæ Colcestrie," 19 Nov. 37 Hen. III., 1252, p. 176; list of registers and their contents, p. 148.

p. 189.—Four charters relating to Walsingham Abbey.

pp. 201–280.—Further portions as it seems, of the copy prepared for Spelman's *Concilia*:—

i. Ecclesiastical Institutes, with Latin translation, 45 chapters; pp. 586–617, of the printed book, and pp. 470–488 of B. Thorpe's *Anglo-Saxon Laws*.

ii. The constitutions of Canute, for peace between the Danes and English with Latin translation unfinished; *torn*.

Begins, "In nomine Dñi. Ðr ʒ seo ʒædne þe ʒitan ʒepæððon."
Ends, "ʒ ʒul pulðop þpým æppe ʒý to þoplbæ. Amen."

iii. The Constitutions of King Edmund at the Council of London; with Latin translation. The readings agree with those of the MS. marked D, but not specified, in Thorpe's *Anglo-Saxon Laws*, pp. 104–5.

iv. The Canons of King Edgar, with Latin translation. *Ibid.* pp. 395–404.

v. Of penances, penitents, and of powerful men; with Latin translation. *Ibid.* pp. 405–415, beginning there, however, with what is the third section here. Our text begins "Ylbe ʒ ʒeoʒube pelan ʒ pæblan."

pp. 285–334.—"The Saxon laws of Ethelbert . . . and of Hlothere, Eadric and Wihtred his successors, Kings of Kent with other Saxon fragments," (from the *Textus Roffensis*). With a Latin translation by Sir H. Spelman. With the "imprimantur" of Sir John Bramston, dated 2 Feb. 1635, which includes also a proposed re-editing by Spelman of W. Lambard's *Ἀρχαῖονομια*.

pp. 335–6. 1663–1667.—A leaf of miscellaneous notes.

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i. 1665.—Reports of the coming return of the Ten Tribes from Barbary and Ethiopia, and their restoration at Jerusalem under one Rabina Nathaniel.

ii. 1663.—Prognostications of Italian astrologers.

iii. Satirical political verses of forty lines entitled "all things done by honour."

Begins, "An honourable sale of Dunkirke was made,
The money well improved in an honourable trade."

Ends, "An honourable report Lord Willowby is drown'd,
And honorably believe our grantees are aground.
An honourable peace if now it could be had
Will cure our distempers that make us so mad."

iv. 1667, July 29.—The King's speech on proroguing Parliament.

v. List of the Committee of Parliament appointed to enquire into the Fire of London.

pp. 337-8.—Poem on the death of William Jones, D.D., by Joseph Beaumont, of St. Peter's College, Cambridge.

Begins, "Farewell bright sparke of that eternall fire,
Which lights the starres; unto thy rest aspire."

p. 339. 1652.—Latin verses, signed S. C., "in tenebricosum illum et horrendum cometam a 9 Decembr. ad 25, 1652, conspicuum," with a table of its degrees of ascension on each day.

p. 341. 1654.—Latin lines by Edward Voyce "in honorem Oliveri Cromwell nuperrime adeptum" a dialogue between "Musa" and "Author."

p. 343.—"Democracy rampant"; satirical lines written after the Restoration.

Begins, "When Rhombus with his faction did ride out,
To be made tribune of the holy rout."

Ends, "Yet they can silent be, though, when they list,
On Charles his Martyrdome they are all whist.
If you ask why they then have silent beene?
They and blind Milton (know) ne're thought it sin.
Another day fills them with greater rue,
The dark and dismall day of Bartholmew.
For 'tis with them thought a more heinous thing,
To silence subjects than to kill the King.
But if th'opinion long be lett alone,
The Tub will be securer than the Throne."

p. 247.—Congratulatory Latin lines by Edward Voyce to Cromwell, on the peace with Holland.

p. 349.—Satirical verses on Cromwell's dissolution of the Long Parliament; headed, "The House out of doores, to the tune of Cooke [Cock] Lawrell."

Begins, "Will you heare a strange thing never heard of before,
A ballard of newes without any lies?"

pp. 351-382.—A series of papers relating to the University of Cambridge.

i. Two Latin poems on William Whitaker, D.D., Reg. Prof. Div.; one of a hundred and twenty lines headed "De religiosa pieque acta vita

doctoris Whitakeri," the other of a hundred and fifty lines, "De morte beata cum vita sancta commutata doctoris Whitakeri."

ii. Printed Notices in 1705-1717, about the discommuning of the Mayor and others, forbidding attendance at Stourbridge fair without leave, and about visits of Queen Anne and George I.

iii. Replies to thirteen articles of enquiry about observance of Statutes and maintenance of discipline; after the Restoration. The first article has reference to the King's Injunction for delivery of sermons by heart.

iv. Synopsis of the contents of the three parts of Hare's MSS. Collections of the University Charters, &c.

v. "Mr. Baron's designe for our Physick Garden."

vi. Dr. Bentley's proposals for the management of the University Press.

vii. "A surveigh of the King's Dyke—as it now lyeth—taken the 23 day of June, 1629, by Edward Pond," on parchment.

pp. 383-4. N.D.—"Petition of att least a hundred persons inhabiting within the three hundreds of Newport Pagnell," Bucks, to the Committee of the Lords and Commons of the Eastern Association, praying for repayment of near 3,000*l.* lent to Major-General Skippon when the garrison of Newport Pagnell was first established. With the signatures.

p. 385. N.D.—Draft of a warrant to the high constables of the three hundreds of Newport to engage men for ten days for demolishing the fortifications of Newport, pursuant to an order of Parliament of 6 August.

XXIV. MISCELLANEA.

[No. 110. 7.]—Relating to the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I.

ff. 1-12. [1640.]—Report by Sir Thomas Roe to the House of Commons of the Declaration made by the Earl of Bristol to a committee of both Houses of the proceedings with reference to the treaties with the Scots at York and Ripon.

ff. 13-22. [1640, Nov. 3.]—"The Lord Keeper's Speech" at the opening of the Long Parliament, with a narrative of the proceedings of the Council assembled at York.

f. 23*b*. [1625, June 18.]—Speech by Charles I. on opening his first Parliament, about supplies for carrying on the war in the Palatinate.

ff. 24, 25. [1640.]—Petition of the Scots to the King after their invasion of England, with his reply referring the consideration to the Parliament. *Imperfect*.

ff. 25-29. [1628, Apr. 3.]—Speech by Sir Dudley Digges on opening a conference between the two Houses on the liberty of the subject and the right to the writ of Habeas Corpus. Printed in 1642.

f. 30. 1623, March 23.—Declaration of James I. in Parliament respecting the war in the Palatinate.

ff. 32-146. 1624.—Collection of papers relating to the proceedings against the Duke of Buckingham, beginning with the Earl of Bristol's

petition to the House of Lords, and including the impeachment, the speeches on the part of the House of Commons, and the Duke's reply.

ff. 147-153. 1624.—Relation of the Duke of Buckingham about the Spanish match, abstract of letters from the Earl of Bristol, &c.

f. 154.—Speech of Prince Charles about supplies for the German war.

f. 155. 1623, March 23.—Speaker's speech at the presentation of the subsidies to James I.

Not foliated.—Letter from father Philips, the Queen's confessor, to Mr. Mountague in France, read in the House of Commons 25 June, 1641, with the articles of his impeachment.

f. 156. 1627, Nov. 7.—Order in Council for the restoration of Jeffery Neve as an alderman of Yarmouth.

ff. 157-170. 1636.—Information exhibited by Sir J. Banks against Dr. John Bastwick, Henry Burton, and William Prynne.

ff. 171-190. 1638, April 28.—Argument of Sir Richard Hutton concerning Ship-money.

ff. 192-209. 1628, April 3.—Mr. Littleton's argument at the first conference with the Lords concerning the liberty of the person, out of Acts of Parliament and authorities of the law expounding the same. Printed in 1642.

ff. 211-229.—Argument of [John Selden] at the same conference out of precedents of record and resolutions of the judges. At the end, "Ex^t. per Jo. Wrighte." Printed with the preceding.

ff. 232-239.—Substance of the objections of the Attorney-General to the preceding argument.

ff. 240-245. 1640, Dec. 2.—Petition of William Prynne to Parliament.

ff. 246-249.—"From Northamptonshire. Grounds of exceptions against the Oath required in the 6th canon establishd in the Synod, 1640."

ff. 249-251, 1640, Sept. 16.—Devonshire exceptions and petition against the same.

ff. 252-3. 1640, Sept.—News from Newcastle, 11 Sept., and from York, 10 and 18 Sept., about the movements of the Scots and condition of the northern counties.

f. 254. 1641-[2], March 1.—Message to the King from a Committee of both Houses about the present dangers of the Kingdom.

f. 255. 1641-[2], March 2.—The King's answer.

Ib. same date.—Order of both Houses for putting the Kingdom in a state of defence.

ff. 256-261. 1642, April 11-18.—Diurnal occurrences, or the heads of proceedings in Parliament.

ff. 262-271. 1642, May 30—June 6.———.

f. 272. 1646, Aug. 1. Newcastle.—Answer by the King to the propositions delivered by the Commissioners of the Parliaments of England and Scotland.

f. 273. 1646, June 18. Newcastle.—Copy of a letter from the King to Dr. Hudson, desiring him to advertise all the loyal governors of his

remaining towns and forts that he wishes them to make their compositions upon the best terms they can.

f. 274. 1596, June 21.—“The advantages that Her Majestie hath gotten by that that passed at Cales.”

f. 275. [1593 ?]—“The causes of my longe imprisonment”; lines by Peter Wentworth, [M.P.]

Begins, “The causes are, in feare of God.

I sought to shoone a cruell rod

From sacred person, royalle ;

From Church and State a flat downfall.”

f. 276.—“The state of the land as it was in the latter end of our late Quenes Government.

The Lordes craved all,

The Quene gave all,

The Parlament passed all,

The Keper sealed all,

The Ladyes of Honor ruled all,

He that was, sett himself against all,

Mounser Bye-roome marde all,

The crafty intelligencer heard all,

The Judex pardoned all.

And except your Majestie mend all, without the mercy of
God the devell will have all.

As is reported, lett fall to the Kinge in the Cocke pitt.

Sir, I pray you lett not this or the other be shewed but to discrete frendes, for that it is not knowne by whome they were made, or howe they will bee taken.”

f. 277.—The sentence in Parliament for the execution of David, brother of Llewellyn the Prince of Wales.

ff. 278-9. 1596, May.—“A copy of the league betwene the Kinge of France and the Quene of England.”

f. 280.—“The Scottishe de Cocke aille aisne.” Endorsed, “The Skottish Cock a delane.” Twenty political lines.

Begins, “Sike warre and wrange whou ever saw

And unkeathes strange as maie belawe.”

Ends, “And wee pure Scottes will ligge alouf,

And crie, you arme (?) for our behouf.”

f. 281.—Triplet, Latin and English, on Mary, Queen of Scots. Begins, “Regibus orta, auxi Reges, Reginaque vixi.”

f. 282.—1607, June 9.—Proposal for the better settlement of the border-districts of England and Scotland.

ff. 283-292. 1350.—Names of the principal captains, as well noble-men as knights, that were with King Edward III. at the siege of Calais in the 25th year of his reign.

ff. 292b-304. 1344-47.—Rates of wages in peace and war, household expences, soldiers, fleet, &c., of Edward III., according to the accounts of Walter Wentwage, Treasurer of the household, from 21st April *an.* 18 to 24th Nov. *an.* 21.

ff. 307-311.—Extract from the “*Croniques de Belges*” about the ordinances of arms made by Brunhault, King of the Belgians; with a list of the coats of arms borne by the old Flemish families.

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ff. 313-321.—A late fifteenth-century list of English knights with the arms borne by them, arranged under their several counties. Imperfect at the beginning; the first names probably belong to Yorkshire, the northern counties being wanting.

ff. 322-3. [1560] an. 2, Sept. 19.—Proclamation of Queen Elizabeth “agaynst breaking or defacing of monumentes of antiquite, beeing set up in churches or other publique places for memory, and not for superstition.”

ff. 325-336. 1599, Nov. 23.—Two copies of Francis Tate’s account of the various dimensions and measures of land in England; followed by another copy of the first three pages.

ff. 338-344.—“An account of such MSS. which Sir Simonds Dewes bought, the yeare when hee purchased them, the persons of whom, and the prices, wrote out of his account bookes in octavo marked AAA.” The dates of purchase extend from 1623 to 1639. The only names given of persons from whom they were bought are those of Dr. Dee, from whom many were obtained, and William Crashaw, B.D., from whom “*Psalterium cum triplici glossa*” was bought in 1626 for 10s.

ff. 345-350. 1603.—Copy of the roll of knights made by James I. in this year.

f. 351. 1603-32.—Names of knights of Norfolk, “with some of othre places,” made from 1603 to 1632.

ff. 352-359. 1617-19.—List of the knights made in these years, with dates and names of places; signed “Ri. St. George, Norrey”; followed by a copy.

A rough list of the contents by Rev. Osmond de Beauvoir lies loose in the volume.

XXV. MISCELLANEA.

[No. 112. 9.] ff. 1-106.—“Causes in Chauncerie, gathered by Sir George Carye, one of the Masters of the Chauncerye, an^o 1601, out of the labours of Mr. William Lambert and his owne.” With an alphabetical index of subjects.

ff. 107-236, and 237-262.—“*Liber Escaetorum omnium comitatum in Anglia a tempore Henrici primi usque ad annum octavum Edwardi secundi.*” At the end are added on ff. 237-62, some notes of escheats in Devon and Cornwall up to 7 Henry VI. “ex libro evidencie collect. per Rad. Brooke, nuper Ebor. heroaldum, remanen. in manibus Thomæ Cole, de Interiori Templo, gen.”

ff. 265-287. (*Temp.* Eliz. ?)—Table (arranged in columns) of grants of leases of crown-lands, under the several counties.

f. 288. 1610.—Statement of the knights’ fees contained in the manor of Hokeringe, the principal manor of the barony of Rye, with an offer submitted to Sir Francis Lovell, knt., the lord, to make an exact collection of those fees out of the records in the Tower, Exchequer, and Chancery.

ff. 289-292.—Notes on Coke’s explanations in the *Institutes* of the words *pannell*, *atia*, and *warectum*, and the termination *inge* in place-names, where the writer mentions his personal conversation with Coke on the subject.

ff. 293-5. 1628[-9].—Papers about a bushel and roll measure used for corn at King’s Lynn. i. Counsel’s opinion, after giving a

summary of the statutes about measures, that the town of Lynn may be indicted for it, or be liable to proceedings in Parliament.
ii. "Reasons considerable for maintayning and upholdinge the continuance of the Bushell and Roll without alteration." 17th Feb. 1628.

Not foliated.—Translation of a confirmation in 1678 by the Prince of Orange of privileges granted to the family of Semeins of Enckhusen in 1577, 1578, and 1589.

f. 296.—"A plat of Sheernesse fort."

Not foliated. 1684.—The confession of Thomas Berney, gent. executed 8 August for the murder of Thomas Bedingfield; his admonition against drinking; and an epitaph on him.

ff. 297–306. *Temp.* Eliz.—Readings on the Statute *De foresta*, entitled, "What thinge doeth make a forrest; howe a forrest is made; what things be incidente to a forrest; who may have a forrest; and what difference is betwene a forrest, chase, warren, and parke."

Not foliated. 1684.—Address to James II. on his accession from the three English regiments in Holland.

Not foliated.—Copy [by Thomas Baker, of St. John's College, Cambridge] of encomiastic verses, English and Latin, written by Bishop Hacket in a copy of Spenser's *Faërie Queen* given by him to the library of the University of Cambridge in 1609.

Not foliated.—Description of some "Arabian medals," or coins, "by Professor Lyke."

Not foliated.—"Anatomia Europæ:" Biblical texts, in Latin, applied to the several Princes, States, and leading personages in the time of Charles II.

ff. 308–375.—Miscellaneous historical collections, written (in a large straggling hand) in the time of Charles I.

i. Knights made by the Earl of Hertford in Scotland in 1544. f. 308^b.

ii. Two letters of advice from Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder, while ambassador in Spain, to his son in England. ff. 309–11.

iii. Profession of faith by Sir Thomas Egerton (son of the Lord Chancellor) when sick in Dublin, where he died 24th August 1609. f. 312.

iv. Writing left behind him by Mr. Doddington, who threw himself from the battlements of St. Sepulchre's steeple on the morning of the day on which a case against him was to be tried in the Star-Chamber. f. 312^b.

v. "The virtuous and godlie ordering of the household of [the] late earle of Bedforde, [Francis, the second earl? *d.* 1585] thus expressed in a written table hanged up in his greate chamber." f. 313.

vi. "The edicte or proclamacon of James Geraldine [earl of Desmond] concerning the justnes of the warre which he tooke in hande for the Catholique faith." f. 315.

vii. Preparations made by Philip II. of Spain for the invasion of England in 1588, "collected out of *Thesoro politico*." f. 316.

viii. "Colledges of English people beyond the seas;" "collected out of the Running Register set forth by Francis Owen, 1626." f. 317^b.

ix. 1623.—"Jesuitts and Romish priests, &c. about London." f. 319.

x. "A declaration of the Kentish men why they rose in armes in the tyme of King Henry the Sixte." f. 319^b.

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- xi. "A discourse in defence of the Comon Lawe of Englande:" *unfinished.* f. 321^b.
- xii. 1623.—"Reasons for Englande to continue the protection of the Low Countries." f. 324^b.
- xiii. 1607.—"Idolatrous accoñs committed att the Crosse in Cheap-side by divers persons both Englishe and strangers." f. 326.
- xiv. 1587.—Instructions to Sir James Croft when sent to treat with Spain. f. 326^b.
- xv. 1599.—Letter to Queen Elizabeth from the Earl of Essex when ordered to his own house. f. 327.
- xvi. Letter from his sister Lady Rich to the Queen on his behalf. f. 328.
- xvii. "A libell scattered abroad in tyme of the earle of Essexes trouble." f. 329.
Begins, "Admire all weakness wrongeth right. *Howard lo. Admirall.*"
- xviii. Arraignment and sentences, &c. of W. Raleigh and his confederates; his letter to the King, verses, and epitaphs. ff. 330-4.
- xix. 1596.—Propositions offered to the Privy Council and their replies upon the prospect of a Spanish invasion. f. 334^b.
- xx. 1596.—"Requests of the Lord Lieutenants and their deputies upon this fame of a Spanish invasion." f. 336^b.
- xxi. "An essaye of a Kinge, or the character of a Kinge." f. 337^b.
- xxii. 1604.—"Advertisements of a loyall subject to his gratus Sovereigne out of observacoñ of the people's speeches." f. 339^b.
- xxiii. 1622.—"The Lord Keeper's letter to the Judges of the circuits for connivance at the Papists." f. 342^b.
- xxiv. 1624.—The number of soldiers to be impressed from each county for Count Mansfeld against 5th Dec. 1624. f. 343.
- xxv. "Elogium Ernesti Principis Mansfeldi a Germano quodam ignoto conscriptum." f. 343^b.
- xxvi. 1624.—"Justices of peace put out of commission upon some Parliament distastes." f. 344.
- xxvii. 1627.—"The Duke of Buckingham's voyage to the isle of Rhee." ff. 345-8.
- xxviii. 1553.—Names of the noblemen, gentlemen, and grooms of King Edward the Sixth's chamber at his decease. f. 349, 355^b.
- xxix. 1584.—List of the earl of Leicester's attendants, with number of horses and servants, when he went to the Low Countries. ff. 349^b-352.
- xxx. 1585, May 19.—Embargo laid upon English ships in Spain. f. 352.
- xxxi. 1596.—List of regiments employed in the expedition to Cadiz.
- xxxii. [1613.]—Advocates, judges, &c. employed concerning the divorce of the Earl of Essex and Lady Francis Howard.
- xxxiii. Ladies of the bedchamber and gentlemen in waiting at Queen Elizabeth's accession and at her death. ff. 356-7.
- xxxiv. 1612.—Contract of marriage between the Lady Elizabeth and Frederick Prince Palatine. f. 357^b.
- xxxv. Wages of the officers and servants of the Lady Elizabeth. f. 360.
- xxxvi. 1613, April 10.—Instructions to the commissioners, for conducting the Lady Elizabeth into the Palatinate, and their commission. ff. 361-5.
- xxxvii. Captains of the two regiments sent into Germany. f. 365^b.

xxxviii. [1625].—Letter found among Jesuits in London addressed to the Rector of the Jesuits at Brussels. f. 366. Printed in 1643, but more correctly, with notes, in Vol. II. of the Camden Society's *Miscellany*, 1853.

xxxix. 1628.—The Jesuits' "*List of the Christian armie.*" f. 370.

xl. 1629[–30], Jan. 2.—"News from Paris, with a fine Popish lye upon the picture of the Virgin Mary, &c." f. 370^b.

xli. 1629.—Oration made to the French ambassador at Cambridge by Mr. Love, the proctor. f. 371^b.

xlii. 1629.—"A prognostication sent from the Pope to th'emperor, and from him to the Duke of Saxony; a trick of the Jesuits and the Spanish faccoñ to seduce the Duke of Saxony from the Protestants." f. 374^b.

f. 314. [1598].—The indignant and spirited reply [of Queen Elizabeth], in Latin, to the address of the ambassador [of the King of Poland]. Begins, "Oh, quam decepta fui ! Expectavi legationem, tu vero querelam mihi adduxisti."

XXVI. MISCELLANEA

[No. 113. 10.] pp. 1–129. 1628[–9].—"A true and perfect relacoñ of the proceedings in Parliament since the begyning 20 January 1628" to its dissolution on 10 March. On a fly-leaf the following additional title is prefixed by another hand : "A relacoñ of the miscarriadg of the House of Commons of Parliament, wherein his Majestie was intended by the consent of the Lords to have enacted many good laws for his subjects." *Formerly belonging to* "Isa. Wright."

ff. 131–152.—"Lettre escrite à une personne de qualité au sujet du désaveu que le Roy Charles 2^d a fait d'avoir esté marié à la mere du Duc de Mommouth" (*sic*). Suggesting that the disavowal had been extorted, in contradiction to the truth, by the Duke of York, whom the letter strongly attacks.

ff. 153–221. — Fragmentary collections by Sir H. Spelman "*De Sepulturis.*" Marked in two places, "Nothing of this is printed," *i.e.*, not in Spelman's Treatise *De Sepultura*, which is against the charging of fees for burials, except the initial words. Begins, "Buriall of the deade is a worke of the law of Nature, of the law of Nations, of the law of Man, and of the law of God." The following are the heads : "Of Sepulture, and firste of the name in generall." f. 160. "The original and manner of funeralls." f. 165^b. "Of urnes and urnal sepulchers." f. 168. "Of burying the corps." f. 170. "Of hill buriall, and burial hills." f. 171. "Of the place of burning or burial." f. 176. "The originall of churchyardes and of burial there." f. 178. "The originall of buryinge in cities and churchyardes in England." f. 184. "How burial in churches began." f. 185. "Canons and lawes against burying in churches." f. 202. "Of tombs in churches." f. 206. "Of inscriptions." f. 216.

ff. 223–234. 1582–1589.—Minute-book of meetings held by Puritan ministers at various places in Essex. Commences with rules drawn up at a conference on 22 Oct. 1582, to which the autograph signatures of the following ministers are attached ; Edmund Chapman, Richard Crick, Thomas Farrar, William Teye, Richard Dowe, Bartimeus Andrewes,

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Robert Lewis, Tho. Stoughton, Tho. Lowe, Ant. Morsse, Tho. Tye, Richard Parker, Henry Sands, Laur. Newman, John Tylney, Will. Negus, Will. Byrde, Ranulph Catelyn, Edmund Salmon, Arthur Gale. The first meeting was held on Dec. 3, 1582, and the last, the 80th, June 2, 1589. The notes of the first two meetings, which will give a specimen of the whole, are as follows. The first meeting on Dec. 3 at Barfold; Dr. Crick speaker (*i.e.*, the one who treated of some passage of Scripture), Dr. Chapman moderator. "The question tutchinge the right use of the Lordes daie then propounded; left to be considered of till the next meetinge after save one. 2 was for the placing of Mr. Dowe, whether at Barfold or Stratford; deferred till the next meeting. 3. Mr. Stocton moved whether fornication make affinity; not thought convenient to be decided. Doctor Chapman was chosen to be the next speaker, Dr. Crick moderator, and the place at Dr. Chapman's house." The second meeting was at Dr. Chapman's house at Dedham on 7 Jan. "It was thoughte best to the brethren for diverse reasons that Mr. Dowe shuld accepte of his callinge at Stratforde. The 2. question propounded was tutching the Sabbath as before. This also was spoken of, that the booke of common praier shuld be considered of, how farre a pastor might read therein. Mr. Dow speaker at his own house, Mr. Lewes moderator." At the third meeting on 4 Feb., Dr. Chapman craved the advice of the brethren touching the publishing of his Catechism, and it was concluded, after perusal, that it was not inconvenient to be published, for the use of the people of Dedham especially. There are frequent notices of citation before the Bishop and Archbishop for refusing subscription and refusing the wearing the surplice; and the writer of the book, Mr. Richard Parker, is himself suspended. After the entry of the last meeting he adds the following note: "Thus longe contynued through Gods mercie this blessed meetinge, and now yt ended by the malice of Satan. Some cause of it was compleints against us preferred to the B. of London, for which cause I was called up to London and examyned of it; but the chieftest cause was the death of some of our brethren and their departure from us to other places. Blessed be God for ever."

ff. 235-261.—Copies of papers, &c. read at the meetings recorded in the preceding minutes:—

- i. Notes by Mr. Teye on the Sabbath. f. 235.
- ii. Observations by Dr. Sands on the Sabbath. f. 237.
- iii. Long paper on the same subject; by Dr. Crick or Dr. Chapman. f. 242.

iv. Copies of many letters and papers, with references to the meetings in which these papers were mentioned. f. 248.

a. Two letters from Dr. Chapman, and one from the meeting, to Thos. Cartwright, "pastor to the church of the Englishe merchauntes at Middleborough," April 19, 1583, Nov. 4, 1584; with a reply from Cartwright, May 5, 1583, "the morrow after the receipt of your lovinge letters."

b. 1588, Feb.-Dec.—Letter from Richard Parker, on his suspension, to William Teye, with two replies from the latter.

c. Letter from William Teye on his own suspension.

d. 1584, Sept. 17.—Letter from Dr. Chapman to Dr. Withers, preacher at Danbury, and Archdeacon of Colchester, respecting the next paper.

e. "Certaine requests to be moved to D. Withers, Archdeacon of Colchester, for the libertie of those churches in his jurisdiction which have faythfull ministers set over them."

- f.* "Judgments of the brethren" about a form of catechizing.
- g.* Articles subscribed by some of the ministers.
- h.* 1584, July 16, Erweston.—Letter from Henry Wilcock, acknowledging money sent him for his relief; apparently the original.
- i.* 1583.—Letter from Chapman to John Feild, with the reply of the latter of 19th of 11th month (February?).
- k.* Letter to ministers in London proposing a general conference to draw up a supplication to Parliament.
- l.* Supplication of the ministers of Essex to the Privy Council.
- m.* Supplication of the inhabitants of Maldon and others to the Privy Council.
- n.* "The judgment of a lerned man that it is not lawfull to cease preaching at the inhibition of a bishop, and an answer to yt."
- o.* 1584, August 17.—Letter from Chapman to Mr. Stubbs about Dr. Oxenbridge's coming to Dedham.
- p.* 1585[–6], March.—"A note of the conference which was betwene some godlie mynysters and Dr. Oxenbridge, the Papist, being come to Dedham to that end by the appointment of the Counsell." More than five closely written pages.
- q.* 1587, June 7–Dec. 5.—Letter from Richard Rogers, Ezekiel Culverwell, and other ministers, to the Essex ministers, about joint conference, with the reply.
- r.* "Formes of subscription which was yelded by the mynisters in diverse shires and places." *i.* By the ministers of London; 5 Dec. 1583. *ii.* "Doubtes moved by the mynisters of Norwich and of places thereabout, wherein they desire to be resolved." *iii.* Form of subscription offered by Mr. John More to the Bishop of Norwich. *iv.* Form by the ministers in Leicestershire.

This very interesting record, specially valuable in reference to the history of Nonconformity in Essex, ends on f. 261 with the following note of the writer's:—"The letters which I have here written from one godlie mynister to another, these subscriptions, and the rest of the writings following, I inserted them together in this booke because they were conferred of in our meetings, as I have noted over their heads the meetings wherin these things were moved, and the page wher yow shall fynd them. This booke I fynyshed in Kettringham, being the worke of one moneth space, beside myne ordenary exerçises, ended I say the 10th of July, 1604. Richard Parker. Laus Deo."

ff. 262–280.—The other "writings following," which are mentioned in the preceding paragraph, with references upon some of them to the meetings.

a. "Certaine pointes wherein R. Some, D.D., is desirous to be resolved before he yeld a generall subscription to my L. of Cant. articles."

b. "A note of those thinges the mynisters in Suffolk offred." f. 264.

c. Mr. Paget's answer about the three articles. f. 265.

d. "A profession freely made" by persons whose names are subscribed, that they will join together for maintenance of all Christian order in their own persons and families and in the whole body of the town. f. 266.

e. [1585] August 9.—"Orders agreed upon by Mr. Dr. Chapman, Mr. Parker, and the auncients of the congregation of Dedham, to be diligently observed and kepte of all persons whatsoever dwellinge within the said towne." f. 268.

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f. 1604.—Petition of twenty-two preachers in London and the suburbs to James I. f. 269.

g. "The use of the ceremonies unlawfull." f. 270.

h. "Good orders to be observed in a reformed godlie church, proved and collected out of God's worde and authorised by the lawes." f. 271.

i. Notice by R. Parker of his appearing before the commissioners for refusing to use the common prayer, wear the surplice, &c., and of his, by favour, escaping though he "yelded not unto them." f. 272b.

k. "A lerned man's judgment" what course good ministers, or private persons in congregations, may take for dealing with public and unrepentant offenders, for lack of ecclesiastical discipline. f. 273.

l. [1588], March 30, Bergholt.—Letter from Dr. Crick requesting the appointment of some one to preach at his entrance upon Barfold. f. 277.

m. "Propositiones ministrorum Scotiae serenissimo Regi oblatae." f. 279.

f. 280. 1633, Nov. 3.—Order of the King in Council, confirming the placing by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's of the table in St. Gregory's church altar-wise.

ff. 282-410.—"*Goldingham's Gleanes, or, a booke of the Seven Seconds*, that is, Intelligences, or the Seven Spirits of the Planets, moving and ordering the course and successe of things in this world after God, or as God hath appoynted them. Which booke is of moste hyd and swet knowledge and learning, made by John Tritemius, Abbot of Spanhymen, and dedicated to themperour Maximilyan anno 1528. Translated into English by Fraunces Goldingham, minister. Which booke is as an epitome or an abridgement of chronicles . . . from the beginning of the worlde unto this present age." With hieroglyphical drawings. The translator professes to make additions, including a translation of a treatise on the religious orders, and lives of the Popes out of *Fructus temporum*, but the MS. ends where Trithemius' book ceases.

ff. 411-443.—Mathematical rules for measurements of height and length, with neatly drawn diagrams and figures. They commence with circles and triangles, and proceed to the taking the altitude of the sun, height of towers, &c. The MS. (which is stained by damp) appears to have been written in 1557, as on f. 422b we have the following passage: "At Norwiche, 1557, the 10 of Marche, I fynd the meridiene altitude of the sonne by my astrolabe 37 degres and 50 minutes."

XXVII. MISCELLANEA.

[No. 114. 11.] ff. 1-187.—"Ex magnis rotulis Pipe [temp. Hen. II.] collectiones per Rogerum Dodsworth, Eboracensem." The first page is dated 16 March, 1640. The Rolls from which the extracts are made are those of 1.—33 Henry II. That which is here cited as of the first year is the Roll edited by Mr. Hunter in 1833 and assigned by him to 31 Henry I.; the extracts here given commence on p. 2 of his edition. The Rolls of the fourth, sixth and thirty-second years are described as wanting, but incorrectly, all these being extant. The extracts from the Roll of the thirty-third end imperfectly, in the article "De scutagio Baronum qui non abierunt cum Rege in exercitu Galloweie," at the bottom of fol. 187, at the catch-word "Christ."

ff. 189-268.—Catalogue of all the nobles of England, from the Saxon earls existing at the time of the Conquest to Sir Gervase Clifton created Lord Clifton in 1609; with their coats of arms very neatly drawn, and the arms of the sovereigns. Prefixed are notes of the conquerors of Britain and their arms, commencing with Brute; and of the changes made at various times in the royal arms.

ff. 269-289.—A treatise on perspective, by Abraham de Moivre. Cent. XVIII.

ff. 290-295.—“*Granta*; humbly inscribed to the University of Cambridge, by R. Foster, M.A.,” a poem. Begins, “Let other pens Britannia’s limits scorn.” At the end is written the following quatrain by another hand, with reference, it is to be feared, to the author.

“Are Poets Makers? Curse the Fates, if he

Who gives to others immortalitye,

And doth as high and bright as Angels think,

Doth pine and starve, want clothes, house, meat, and drink.

Honiclove, July 20, 1720.”

XXVIII. MISCELLANEA.

[No. 115. 12.] ff. 1-194.—“*Glossarium originale Johannis de Laet*.”

This glossary of mediæval words does not appear to be mentioned in any list of Laet’s works, nor is it referred to amongst the books noticed in the preface to Spelman’s Glossary. The title is given in an endorsement by a second hand. The glossary begins with the word “Aamund” and ends with “Zurb.”

Not foliated.—A new ballad to an old tune; verses “upon Mr. Bine at Cople” (Constantinople?), addressed by “G. Etheridge to K. L. at Cople.”

Begins, “I prethee gentle maid be kinder to thy swaine.”

Not foliated. 1664[-5] —Commission for executing the laws in Church affairs in Scotland; sealed 24 Feb.

ff. 195-210.—Transcripts of charters and other extracts “ex libro ecclesiæ cathedralis Wigornensis.”

ff. 211-222.—Transcripts of charters granted by William I., Henry I. and Edward I. to the Church at Norwich, “ex libro Decani et Capit. Norwic. mihi mut[u]o concessio.”

ff. 225-263.—Transcripts of the charters of founders, kings, bishops, and archbishops granted to the abbey of Walden; “ex lib. fundationis monasterie B. Ma. et S. Ja. de Waldena, transcript. ult. Martii, 1619.”

ff. 264-266.—“Cartæ et confirmationes domus S. Sepulchri canonicorum [de] Thetford; ex libro fundat. canonic. de Thetford.” “Exam. 12 Aug. 1635.”

ff. 268-270.—French narrative of the foundation of Crabhouse monastery in Norfolk, “ex lib. fundationis ejusdem:” [now Addit. MS. 4733. Brit. Mus.]

Begins, “Jadis esteyt une pucele.” Not printed in the *Monasticon*.

ff. 273-276.—“In quodam libro in quo continebantur leges antiquorum regum Angliæ subscriptorum [*scil.* Regum Saxon.] mihi præstito per magistrum Tate, inter alia hec excerpti xx. Decemb. 1604:” notes of words and terms.

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f. 281.—Extract from Bertrand Argentre's *Histoire de Bretagne* of the grant by Philip II. of France to John, Duke of Brittany, of the dignity of a peer; 1217.

ff. 282-4.—Transcripts of a few miscellaneous charters relating to the family of Stutevill, the abbey of Wendling, and the priory of Lewes.

f. 285.—Descent of Browne, Viscount Montacute, from Inglethorp and de la Poole. 1618.

f. 291.—Two short extracts from Jocelin of Brakelond's Chronicle, "mihi mutuato per magistrum Strangman, et penes magistrum Augustinum Steward reman.," with notes of a few words "in quodam alio antiquo registro MS.^{to}" of St. Edmund's Bury, also lent by Mr. Steward.

ff. 293-4.—Notes out of the Fine Rolls, *temp.* Henry III.

ff. 297-321.—Transcripts out of the collections of William Botoner, *alias* William of Worcester:—

i. Names of the Knights who came over with William I., "de quodam antiquo libro historiarum in Gallicis scriptis, invent. apud [blank] per fratrem Galfredum Linge, ordinis Minorum." The names, without the reference to the source, are printed in Hearne's extracts from William of Worcester, p. 522, vol. II., of *Liber Niger Scaccarii*.

ii. "Nomina dominorum et militum de comitatu Norfol. et Suffol. qui obierunt sine exitu masculo, temp. Edw. III., Ric. II., et Hen. IV., per relationem Thomæ Erpingham, chevalier;" with supplementary lists, including esquires.

iii. Genealogies of the earls of Warren, "scripta de labore Will. Paston, in Gallico, extra rotulam suam," and also "de rotula crenicorum Will. Paston, qui scrutavit apud prioratum de Lewes istam genealogiam."

iv. Various other historical and genealogical notes, including note of the building of the aisles of Yarmouth Church.

ff. 325-334.—"Copia libri de Sharneburne;" a history of the descent of the family of Sharneburne in Norfolk, from the times of the Saxons to the reign of Edward I.; *unfinished*.

Begins, "Longo tempore post adventum Saxonum paganorum."

Ends, "Et prædictus Petrus post mortem Cecile Uxoris sue et domini Andree fratris sui factus fuit —."

A history of the family, in Latin, to 1602, is printed in the *Reliquie Spelmannianæ*, 1698.

f. 336.—Note from the Plea Rolls of 19 Edward I. of Richard de Belhouse's seal being stolen by a cutpurse, and his notifying it, that nothing hereafter sealed with it might be regarded as genuine; subscribed, "Accepi a Simond Deue, mil., 23 Oct. 1633. H. Sp."

ff. 342-358.—Ralph Brooke's "Answer to the Mayore, Knightes, and Aldermen of London for precedency in London above auncientere knyghtes then themselves, not aldermen, and to Mistir Garter's [W. Segar's] opinion therof, with his wrong intituling the Lord Mayors —after their maralties—to be Knyghtes, barons, and Knyghts Lyue-tenantes."

On the cover of the volume is a mem. signed H. G. that "a myere enterlude entitled *Respublica*," 1553, was taken from the end of the volume to be bound separately, for the inspection of Mr. Payne Collier, June 15, 1836. See the end of this Report.

XXIX. MISCELLANEA.

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[No. 116. 13.] ff. 1-65.—Extracts from early French monastic Chartularies :—

i. Charter of endowment by Charlemagne for the nuns of St. Mary at Soissons.

ii. "Notitia census debiti villarum S. Remigii quantum solvitur ab ipsis quibusve terminis."

iii. "Liber S. Remigii Rem[ensis]; vol. LIX." The register of the possessions of the abbey.

Before f. 67.—"Ragguaglio di Parnaso delli due matrimoni di Francia de Spagna."

ff. 68-75.—Transcripts by Sir William Dugdale in August and September 1640 of original Cheshire deeds :—

i. The foundation charter in 1093 by Hugh, Earl of Chester, of St. Werburgh's Abbey, Chester, with drawing of fragment of the seal, in the possession of the Dean and Chapter.

ii. Confirmation by Earl Richard in 1119; in the same custody.

iii. Two charters from Earl Ranulph, to the same abbey, with drawings of seals; in the same custody.

iv. "Fundacio abbacie de Cumbermere; inter recorda apud Cestr. penes Camerarium dom. Comitis Cestr. remanentia."

v. "Carta communis Cestreshire, inter recorda apud Cestriam, Pat. 3 E. 4th, m. 9."

vi. Grant from Earl Ranulph to Eustace Fitz-John of the honour of Constable.

vii. Chronicle of the constables of Chester, "ex rotulo quodam in pergamenta de tempore R. Hen. VI.—ut videtur—penes Petrum Daniell de Tabley, armig."

ff. 76-83.—Charter of King Edgar in A.D. 966 to Hyde Abbey at Winchester from the Book of Hyde.

Edwards' *Liber monasterii de Hyda*, 1866, pp. 192-202.

ff. 85-101.—"Commemoratio de rebus Sancte Trajectensis ecclesie quæ olim a regibus et ab aliis Domini nostri Jesu Christi fidelibus eidem ecclesie traditæ sunt."

f. 102. 1662, Sept. 24.—"The relation or examination of Isabell Billington of Great Driffild in Yorkshire, of a spirit that appears to her."

ff. 103-127.—"An observation had upon the two statutes of Chauntreys," 37 Henry VIII. c. 4. and 1 Edward VI. c. 14.

ff. 128-136. 1573.—Roll of the crown-tenants in the hundred of Freebridge, Norfolk. 15 Eliz.

1673.—The Bull of Pope Clement X., "*In Cæna Domini*."

ff. 139-150.—i. The history and prophecies of Merlin; *temp.* Eliz. Begins, "When Engist had departed all the land in this wise." Ends, "and there the right heires of England shall end."

ii. Of the conversion of England by St. Augustine.

iii. The commencement of the Brute Chronicle. "In the noble land of Surrey."

ff. 151-4.—Commencement of a Treatise on Domesday Book, by one who had read it three times over. The part here given treats of its antiquity, occasion, names, authority and use. Then follow the words, "cætera desiderantur."

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f. 157.—Notice by Sir H. Spelman of a MS. in his possession containing: i. *Epistolæ Gilberti abbatis Hoylandiæ*. ii. *Frater R. Melros de obitu Jocelini episcopi Glasguensis*. iii. *Tullius de senectute*. iv. *Timæus Platonis*. v. *Boetius de consolatione*.

ff. 160–167.—A series of short moral poems by Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper, entitled “*The recreacyons of his age*.” The author’s name is only inserted in a hand of the last century, and probably is inferred from the poems being written by the same hand as the following articles bearing Bacon’s name, at pp. 168, 170, which is a hand contemporary with the author. No mention of these verses, which are extremely bald and prosaic, is found in any biographical account of Sir N. Bacon. The list of them, which is worth giving from their being unnoticed elsewhere, is as follows:—

1. Three seven-line stanzas, without heading.
Begins, “The error in decerninge groweth most of this.”
2. “Qualities belonging to certen persons”; four lines.
Begins, “Liberalitie in nobles, in lawyers eloquence.”
3. “A prayer of a penitente”; five six-line stanzas.
4. “Of the kindes and fruits of good and ill”; ten lines.
5. “Against lust”; six lines, and again in sixteen lines.
6. “Of fortune and wisdom”; eight lines.
7. “Perilles followinge fortune by Envy and Malice”; eighteen lines.
8. “Of talke and felloweshippe”; fourteen lines.
9. “Against idleness”; thirty-four lines.
10. “In commendacoñ of the meane estate”; a hundred and one lines.
11. “Against a mynde not contented”; eight lines.
12. “Against ambicoñ”; sixteen lines.
13. “Against covetousnes”; sixteen lines.
14. “Against inconstancye”; sixteen lines.
15. “The conclusion”; twenty-four lines.
Begins, “To end, I judge pleasure but scante
Where eache other ease dothe wishe and want.”
16. “Of hope, feare, and perswacoñ”; twenty lines.
17. “The strength of educacoñ”; four lines.
18. “Against occasion of evell”; four lines.
19. [A prayer]; six stanzas of six lines each.
Begins, “My Lord, my God, my soveraigne dere.”
20. “An English Ime” [*sc.* hymn]. i. A Morning prayer; four seven-line stanzas.
Begins, “Lorde, for my rest and sleepe this night.”
ii. An evening prayer; three seven-line stanzas.
Begins, “Lorde, for thy grace geve me this daye.”
21. “Of Jacke and Gill”; six lines.
Begins, “Of Jacke and Gill the maryage ys as fine.”
22. “Of a maide and a paynter”; six six-line stanzas.
Begins, “A mery mayde
To a paynter saide.”

ff. 168–9.—“A prayer made by Sir Nicholas Bacon, Knight, Lo. Keeper of the greate Seale of England.”

f. 169b. Queen Elizabeth’s letter to her “most faythefulle and carefull servaunt” Sir Amias Paulett, before the execution of Queen Mary of Scotland, desiring him to let the “wicked murderer” know how her “vile deserts” compel his wise orders in his dangerous charge.

ff. 170-5.—Arguments of Sir N. Bacon, Lord Keeper in Parliament, proving that noblemen's persons are attachable for contempt committed in the Court of Chancery.

ff. 176-179. 1587[-8], March 18.—Speech of [Sir Walter Mildmay] in the Star Chamber, at the sentencing of Mr. Davison for the carrying out of the warrant for the execution of Queen Mary.

Begins, "How honourably, justly, and temperately"

Ends, "referred to her Majesties princely consideration."

See *State Trials*, 1734, vol. vii., p. 23.

ff. 180-280. 1627.—"The arguments *pro et contra* att the Kinges Bench barre upon the writt of *Habeas corpus* brought by Sir Thomas Darnell and others that refused to pay the loans, with the judges' opinions thereupon."

ff. 282-7. 1601.—Commencement of a transcript of Hayward Townsend's *Journal of the Parliament* of 27th Oct.—3rd Dec. 1601, from the book in the possession of Christopher Dodington of Lincoln's Inn in 1655.

The portion here copied ends with the words "Doctor Jones" in a debate on the bill about pluralities, 14th Nov. The *Journal* was printed in 1680.

ff. 288-319.—A reading, in French, on the *Carta de Foresta* as confirmed by Edward I.

ff. 320-323. 1679, May 21.—Part of the debate in the House of Commons on this day, when the Exclusion Bill was carried, with Mr. Treby's report upon the letters of Cardinal Howard, &c.

ff. 324-7. 1679.—Declaration of Charles II. on dissolving the Parliament.

ff. 328-330. 1559.—An Act 1 Elizabeth giving power to the Queen to take certain of the temporal possessions of sees upon their avoidance.

ff. 332-352.—"Observations concerninge the Nobilitie of England antient and moderne."

XXX. MISCELLANEA.

[No. 117. 14.] ff. 1-71.—A collection of foundation and other charters of religious houses and cathedrals, and extracts relating to various noble families, made in the 16th cent. The Charters relate to the following places: Revesby; St. Werburgh's, Chester; Neath and Savigny; Brinton; Newham; Battle; Selby; Chaynesham (Keynsham); Evesham; Bermondsey; St. Bennet at Hulme; Llanthony; Salisbury; Glastonbury; Buckland; Bredon; Darley; Battlefield; West Dereham; Worcester; St. Augustine's, Canterbury; Lewes; St. Edmundsbury; Thorney; Feversham; Shrewsbury; Burton-on-Trent; Polesworth; Castleacre; Wymondham; Reading; Croxton; Ashridge; Holme; St. Stephen's; Wells; Walden; Whitby; Roche; Bath; Westacre; Edington; Ely; Norwich; Leicester; Welford; Sulby; Flixton; Exeter; Torre; Hospital of Gaunt; St. Mary's, Rochester; St. Leonard's, York; Bunbury; Knaresborough; Otreay and Rouen; Hales; Dernhall, *al. Vale-Royal*; chantries in Campes; Lacock; College at Raveningham; St. Andrew's, Northampton; Barnstaple; Notley; St. Osyth's; Plympton; Preceptory of Hospitallers at Yeveley [Derbyshire]; Athelney; Buildwas; Beaulieu; Faringdon; Hospital at Bridgewater.

Extracts from the Chronicle of Tintern Abbey. f. 55. Of Llanthony. ff. 58, 62. Of Wigmore. f. 58b. Genealogy of the founders of Wig-

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more. f. 59b. "Chronice genealogiæ dominorum de Chirke et Penkethlyn ab adventu Normannorum." f. 65, which includes a Chronicle-roll of the Kings of England from 1066 to 1422. Reges Scottorum. f. 72. Genealogia familiæ de Percy. f. 73. Genealogia familiæ de Tyson. f. 75. Before f. 10 is inserted a paper by Rev. Samuel Pegge, entitled "A commentary on Tisun's deed," being remarks on an original charter to Selby Abbey from its founder Tisun in the Conqueror's time which is not printed in Dugdale. It is noted at the end that Pegge was a frequent contributor to the *Gentleman's Magazine* under the anagram of *Paul Gamsege*.

Not foliated.—"The case of the hospitalls of Harbledowne and Northgate, neere Canterbury, concerning their small pension of 80s. a peece from the Archbishop of Canterbury." Apparently *temp.* Charles I.

ff. 76-83.—Miscellaneous historical notes, written in a very clear small hand resembling Dugdale's, but later, with some names written in red ink.

i. "Nomina abbatum S. Benedicti de Hulmo, et anni obitus diversorum eorundem non mentionat. in Dugdale, *Monast. Angl.*, ex registro vetusto abbatiae in bibl. Cotton."

ii. Various notes, chiefly out of Sir S. D'Ewes' collections. The will of Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, 1258: "Ex libro de gestis Hewardi incliti militis, qui liber in fine Registri de Burgo transcribitur"; descent of the family of Bokenham, drawn up by D'Ewes from "ancient autographs" borrowed from Sir John Hare, Knt., of Stowhall; notice of a large collection of Roman coins made by Mr. Harrison, of Brisingham, Norfolk, and sold by his son to D'Ewes; note of a transcript of the Norfolk and Suffolk Domesday made by Mr. John Bradshaw for the Earl of Arundel; story that the crown of Bohemia was offered in Queen Elizabeth's time to Humphrey Tindal, dean, and afterwards bishop, of Ely, of whom the writer remarks that, though he bore the arms of Bohemia, "how Bohemian blood came into his veins I know not." In the margin is a pedigree, in the handwriting of Peter Le Neve, showing the connexion of the Tindal family, by their descent from Will. Tindal, of Felbrigge, who married Ala, daughter of Sir Simon Felbrigge, K.G., and Margaret, daughter of the nephew of the then King of Bohemia, who had come into England with her cousin Anne, the wife of Richard II. Norfolk notes, "Ex libro miscellan. MS. domini Gul Poley de Boxsted, A.D. 1699, penes dominum Joh. Poley de eadem."

ff. 84-98.—"Historia foundationis ecclesiæ cath. civitatis Norwici, ac etiam libertates ejusdem civitatis, cum perambulatione civitatis ejusdem, et cum perambulatione vici de Pockthorpe juxta civitatem prædictam." At the end are added, i. The certificate of the Commissioners "appointed for the veiw and platting of Mushoulde heathe, A.D. 1589"; ii. Historia capellæ de Jernemutha [Yarmouth].

ff. 101-108.—Part of an alphabetical list of words used in Domesday, with their examples, beginning with "Ineuuardus," and ending with "utlagh."

ff. 109-137.—Collections in the handwriting of Sir W. Dugdale.

i. Extracts relating to the services due to the Abbess of [Sion] from the tenants at Hampton, "Ex antiquo rotulo in custodia Thomæ domini Wyndsor, Decembr. A.^o 1639." ii. Notes out of the Close Rolls, from 6 John to 17 Edward II., with 5 Henry V. and 12 Henry VI. iii. From the Pipe Rolls, 13 John-11 Henry III. iv. Note of a plea of the

Abbot of Reading, 2 Edward III., and notes from several monastic registers. v. Anglo-Saxon charter of Edward Confessor, granting sac and soc and other privileges to St. Augustine's, at Canterbury, with Latin translation (Latin version only in Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* iv. 239). vi. Grant by Ketelbern de Langedon of Langdon, Warwickshire, to the nuns of Eastwell, *alias* Henwood (printed in the *Monasticon*). vii. Glossary of words used in the Laws of Edward Confessor, and other A. S. Laws, "ex quodam MS. Joh. Rous, Warwicensis." viii. List of royal confirmation-charters and charters of *Inspeximus* granted to monastic houses, from 11 Henry III. to 1 (?) Henry VI. (*Inspeximus* at length of a grant to St. Martin's-le-Grand from William I. in 1068), and the foundation of Fotheringhay in 1 Edward IV.

ff. 138-179.—"England's Epinomis, or a collection out of authentique historians of those lawes whereby the kingdome of England hath been from tyme to tyme governed," by John Selden. Marked as having been lent to "Mr. Cooke" in 1640.

ff. 184-214.—Discourse by Sir Robert Cotton, "That the Sovereign's person is required in the great councells or assemblies of the States as well at the consultations as at the conclusions." Printed in his *Posthuma*, 1672.

ff. 215-285.—"The names of the noblemen and gentlemen in eache shire of Englaund which were in the feild in the tyme of King Henry the third and King Edward the firste," with their arms very neatly drawn, and an alphabetical index.

ff. 287-356.—Catalogue of the nobility of England, with their arms, from Edgar Atheling to Cecil, Lord Burleigh.

XXXI WALSINGHAM AND CECIL PAPERS. *Contemporary Copies.*

[No. 118. 15.] ff. 1-84. 1581, July-Sept.—Negotiations of Sir F. Walsingham in France, including his correspondence with Lord Burghley.

Printed in Sir Dudley Digges's *Compleat Ambassador*, folio, Lond. 1655. Probably it would be found upon collation that the MS. contains some additional matter. One separate paper is inserted among the letters of September 1581, which, at least, is not found in Digges' volume. It is marked, "This was written 12 [*or* 22?] Septembris," and is a copy of a paper of advice to some lord who had lost the Queen's favour (probably the Earl of Leicester, with whom the Queen was about that time much offended) as to the course of humble submission necessary to be followed in order to regain that favour; after which submission, "Your most humble suite to her Ma. is that she will vouchsafe you that approach to her hart and bosome *et ad serinium pectoris*, playnely, for as much as concerneth yourselfe, to open and expounde her minde towards you." At the foot of the paper is added this explanatory note for the person to whom it is communicated:—"Because you shall understand this the better, you must understand there have bine lately manie fallings forth between the Q. and his lo., and thereupon your uncle set his lo. downe this course, which tooke greate effect, as I will tell you when I see you next. Keepe this secret, as ever I shall doe your sentence."

ff. 85-313. 1570-72.—Negotiations and correspondence of Walsingham during his previous embassy to France, viz., from August 1570 to 1 April 1572.

Also printed in Digges's *Compleat Ambassador*.

XXXII. MISCELLANEA.

[No. 119. 16.] f. 11. [1566.]—Speech of [Sir] Robert Bell, [afterwards] Baron of the Exchequer, in Parliament, on the right of succession to the Crown, maintaining the title after Queen Elizabeth, failing issue, of the Lady Katharine [Grey], in descent from Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, the [third] daughter of Henry VII. “E. bibl. Spelmania, Aug. 1702.” This speech does not appear to be anywhere mentioned, but must have been delivered in 1566, in which year Bell was one, as Camden relates, of those who freely urged the question in the House of Commons of the Queen’s marriage.

f. 21. *Temp.* James I.—Draft of orders for the better management of Sheriffs’ and Escheators’ accounts in the Exchequer.

ff. 28–32.—Transcripts from records in the Tower, taken in 1606, respecting the descent of Lord Vesey of Kildare, and the manor of Walton, Yorkshire; Edward II.—Henry VI.

f. 34. [1540] 32 Henry VIII., Nov. 20.—Copy of an indenture between Sir Thomas Tempest and Robert Tempest, respecting the manor of Holmeset, Durham.

ff. 36–64, 68–9.—Collections from records (inquisitions p.m., extents court-rolls), concerning the manor of Gissing Hastings with Degworth, Norfolk, and the advowson, with full translation of an extent taken 2 Edward III.; to the time of James I.

ff. 63–67.—Similar notes from records, including the evidences of Sir Robert Kemp, bart., respecting the manor of Antingham, Norfolk, and the common there, to the time of Charles I.

ff. 70–80.—Report of a few law-cases in the time of James I. and of cases in the King’s Bench, 5 Charles I.

f. 81.—Arms in Attleborough Church, Norfolk, in Mr. Berners’ house at Finchingham, Essex, and in Wethersfield Church, Essex.

ff. 82–4.—Confirmation charter by Edward III. of the foundation of the priory of Maxstoke, Warwickshire, and foundation-charters (in the handwriting of Dugdale) of the priories of Coventry, Kenilworth, and Miravall, in the same county.

f. 85. 1404, Sept. 17.—Copy by Dugdale of the will of Lowys Clifforth (who describes himself as “fals and traytour to my Lord God and to all þe blessyd companye of hevене, and unworþi to be clepyd a cristen man”); *English and Latin*. He desires that his “wrecchid careyne” may be buried in the farthest corner of the churchyard of the parish in which his “wrecchid soule” departs, with neither cloth of gold or silk, but only a black cloth, with a taper at his head and feet, and no stone, “ne oper þinge wherby eny man may witte where my stynkyng careyne liggeþ.”

ff. 86–93.—Lists of royal grants and of knights’ fees in the county of Norfolk in the reigns of Edward I., II. and III., of which the first page is headed, “Opus unius diei infra Turrim London, in officio M. Heneage ibidem,” 20th May, 40 Elizabeth.

ff. 96–115.—Extracts “ex libro MS. S^{ti}. Albani de vitis Offæ Regis . . . et abbatum,” transcribed at Heydon by John Longford, servant of Sir H. Spelman, in the autumn of 1632.

ff. 117–155.—Miscellaneous notes by Sir H. Spelman, fragmentary and of little consequence, but including notes on seals and on the various parts of charters.

ff. 156-9.—“Carmen elegiacum in laudes generosissimi earumque virtutum quæ præclarissimæ atque præstantissimæ habentur encomio dignissimi equitis, d. Henrici Spelman, ut poetæ cultissimi ita poetarum Mæcenatis optimi, a Thoma ab Alvensleben, Germano, anno 1617.”

f. 161.—Of the foundation of the Church of Canterbury; an extract (from the Register of St. Augustine’s?).

Begins, “Sanctus Ethelbertus, rex Angliæ, qui suscepit Christianitatem.”

f. 162.—Copy of a grant from Robert Fitz-Harding to the canons of St. Augustine’s, Bristol.

ff. 163-6.—Copy of the foundation-charter from Wulfrunna to the monastery of Hampton, [Wolverhampton] in the year 996 (wrongly dated 916 in the original itself), with grant of lands, of which the boundaries are given in Anglo-Saxon. Printed in the *Monasticon* from the original in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Windsor, but probably not very correctly.

ff. 167-172.—Sermon on Tit. III. 4 *Apparuit benignitas* &c., on Christmas Day, apparently by a Roman Catholic.

ff. 173-180.—Table of all the boroughs returning members to Parliament in the reigns of Edward I., Richard II., Henry IV., V., VI., Edward IV.

ff. 181-189.—“Admiralli Angliæ a temp. Edwardi II., 1307 ad an. 1610.”

ff. 190-195.—“A consideration of the state of Rome in Italye, drawn from the well understandinge of this worde The Antichriste.”

ff. 197-206, 207-212, 228-31, and 213-227.—Three tracts on the legal Terms in the year; the original drafts, with many alterations.

Cf. Spelman’s treatise in the *Reliquiæ Spelm.*, and two tracts by Francis Thynne and Joseph Holland in Hearne’s *Curious Discourses*, 1720.

ff. 232-245.—“Reasons against a generall sending of corne to the marketts in the champion part of Norfolke.”

ff. 246-264.—“Taxes and subsidies of old, and their originall.”

ff. 266-7.—Judgment in a case between Thomas Norris and Bartholomew Johnson touching the “fould-corses” in the manor of Amner, Norfolk; 16th May, 2 Charles I.

ff. 268-287.—Rough draft of a treatise on the fold-courses of Norfolk.

A rough list of the contents of the volume lies in it, which is apparently in the handwriting of Rev. Osmond de Beauvoir, being written on the back of a letter addressed to him.

XXXIII. MISCELLANEA.

[No. 120. 17.] ff. 1-47. 1688[-9], Jan.-Feb.—Debates in the Convention and at the conference between the two Houses.

ff. 48-241.—Cavendish’s *Life of Wolsey*; not quite perfect at the end.

ff. 242-296.—The treatise by Edward Fox, bishop of Hereford, printed in 1548 under the title, *De vera differentia regie potestatis et ecclesiasticæ*; in a formal scribe’s hand; with a few marginal notes, to which

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the following note refers: "Hoc MS. emendatum est a Petro Junio." One leaf is wanting between ff. 253-4. At the end is the following note, in a hand of the 18th century, "The printed book has a preface and a short conclusion which are not in this MS., but this MS.—which probably was the first design, sent by the author to some judicious friend to revise —has several things which are markt with a line down the side, and sometimes with a *Cave*, which are left out in the print, tho' sometimes the print has inserted something else instead of them." Two passages are marked with *Cave*; one being the quotation from St. Augustine's *Retractationes* of his interpretation of the words *Tu es Petrus &c.*, and the other being these words, "prescripto divo Thoma Cantuariensi tum temporis archiepiscopo." The suggested alterations are in a hand resembling Cranmer's.

ff. 299-300.—"The government of the Kirk of Scotland."

f. 301.—Suggestions for comprehension of Non-conformists after the Restoration and for indulgence.

ff. 302-8.—"Orationes dicende super Regem et Reginam Angliæ in die Coronacionis."

Not foliated.—Verses on Pitt's translation of Virgil and on Dr. Bowden's translations, by — Potter, of Emanuel College, Cambridge.

f. 311. 1626.—Officers slain and taken prisoners at the Isle of Rhé.

f. 312.—Satirical lines on Mrs. Saturnie and a lawyer, Mr. Cooke.

f. 313.—Political ballad of the time of James I., in seventeen stanzas, each of which ends with the words "pay for all."

Begins, "The Scotchmen are but beggers yet,
Although their begginge was not small,
But now a Parliament doth sitte
A subsidy shall pay for all."

f. 314.—"A grave poeme as it was presented by certayne devynes by waye of interlude before his Majestye in Cambridge, called *Liber novus de adventu Regis ad Cantabrigiam*, faythfullye [turned] into English, with some liberall advantage made, rather to be songe then reade, to the tune of *Bonnie Nell*." "By an Oxford Scholler."

Begins, "It is not yet a fourthnight since
Lutetia entertayned our Prince."

ff. 315-325.—Of the prerogative of the Kings of England in making ecclesiastical laws.

ff. 324-333.—"Of Excommunication; how far the Kings of England have concerned themselves therewith."

ff. 335-343.—Of exemptions from episcopal jurisdiction granted by Kings of England to monasteries.

ff. 345-358.—"The discovery of the poysoninge of Sir T. Overbury."

ff. 360-377.—A book containing copies of the papers following:—

i. Lord Burleigh's reply at the Council Table to objections to the Queen's joining with the States against Spain.

ii. "A breiffe discours of the Lowe Countreyes."

iii. "The state of a Secretaries place and the perill;" by Robert [Cecil] late Earl of Salisbury.

ff. 380-403. 1631.—The trial of Mervyn Touchet, Earl of Castlehaven.

ff. 404-411, 414-5.—Letters and verses written by Sir W. Raleigh before his execution, with his speech on the scaffold.

f. 412.—Verses “upon Sir W. Rauligh, against Sir Lewis Stukye’s book.”

Begin, “In all that was or is we see.”

f. 413.—Lines on Sir W. Raleigh.

Begin, “Great harte, who taughte the so to dye.”

ff. 414-15.—Miscellaneous verses.

i. “Newes from Hell.”

Begin, “In Hell of late there grewe a greate disorder.”

ii. On the Duke of Buckingham.

Begins, “Nowe let us all rejoyce, singe poems all,

For Buckingham is nowe made Admirall.”

At the foot of these two is written, “Poems made by the King’s Majesty.”

iii. Against Tobacco.

Begins, “Here’s a tobacco shopp, and in the sellor.”

f. 416. 1624, Sept.—Grant of lands in Ireland to the Duke of Buckingham.

ff. 417-9.—Privy Seal grants in Oct. 1618 and Feb. 1623.

ff. 421-2.—Facsimile of the commencing words of the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke in Lombardic characters in some very early MS.

A fragment (six leaves) of a copy of a tract urging James I. not to abandon the war against Spain, probably Scott’s *Vox Populi*, lies loose in the volume.

XXXIV. MISCELLANEA.

[No. 121. 18.] pp. 1-124.—Numerous pedigrees, with arms, &c.; including Bardolf, Calthrop, Gurney, and especially Spelman; epitaphs in various churches on members of the Spelman family; copies of Spelman wills, 1432-1544.

pp. 125-7.—Articles of inquiry under a royal commission in 1564 respecting the shipping trade, ports, and creeks, in Norfolk.

pp. 128-133.—Paper in vindication of the claim to regard King Alfred as the Founder of Oxford, by Sir John Spelman; “copyed from the original of Sir John’s by me Chas. Spelman, June 10, Ann^o 1672 at Oxford.”

pp. 144-165.—Collections relating to Yarmouth, to the year 1590, with abstracts of the town charters.

p. 166.—Pedigree of King James I.

pp. 167-172.—“Cantuariensis sedis privilegia et prerogativa.” “This is printed in [Usher’s] *Antiquitates Britannicæ*.”

pp. 173-4.—“The first draft of the Petition to His Majestie concerning religion agreed upon by the Commons House of Parliament. . . . June 29.”

p. 176. 1628[-9], Jan.—Parliamentary notes.

p. 177 and 259. 1638, July 8.—“The Duke of Lenox his speech to His Majestie concerning the proposition of war for Scotland.”

p. 180. 1624, May.—The King’s speech to the Lords of the Higher House.

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p. 181.—The case of Sir Thomas Lake, Secretary of State, plaintiff, against Luke Hatton, defendant, in the Star Chamber.

p. 182-244. 1639, July 30.—“Of the original of feuds in Englande; written by Sir Henry Spelman, knt., for supportation of a passage touching them in his Glossary.

p. 244.*—Notes of punishments for slandering judges.

p. 245.—Notes of Parliaments or King's Councils, 1223-5.

p. 246.—Explanation of the word *Thane* as meaning “ane servand,” and as being equivalent to the son of an Earl; written by a Scottish writer.

p. 247.—Speech of the Duke of Buckingham in Parliament about the war with Spain, and the cost of fitting out a fleet.

p. 249.—Declaration of Charles I. “concerning the Treaty and his dislike of the army's proceedings, delivered by His Majesty at his departure from the Isle of Wight and commanded to be published for satisfaction to his subjects;” with “His Majesty's prayer for a blessing upon the Treaty.”

p. 250-1. 1642.—“The resolution of the Deputy Lieutenants of the county of Essex who are appointed to be a Committee to take care of the safety of that county and to provide for the fortifying thereof against all foreign and other forces in pursuance of the association now entered into by the inhabitants of the counties of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Hertford, according to the Order of both Houses of Parliament.”

p. 252. *Temp.* Eliz.—“The Earle of Bathe his case betwene him and Marye Cornewallys.”

pp. 253-5. 1577, Oct. 18.—“A short somme of a speache delivered by Her Maj. Principall Secretary [Walsingham] to. Monsieur Meedkirke” touching the receiving of Matthias the Emperor's son for Governor of the Low Countries.

p. 262. 1624.—Address of Parliament to James I. thanking him for abandoning the Spanish match, and approving of the Palatinate war.

p. 262^b. 1623, March 13.—The King's speech at Whitehall.

p. 264.—Credentials from Shah Abbas, of Persia, in behalf of Sir Thomas Sherley; with a decree declaring his dominions open for all Christian people to traffick there.

pp. 265-8, 271-4.—List of ships, with their captains and crews, in the squadrons of the Earl of Essex, the Lord Admiral, Lord Thomas Howard, and Sir Walter Raleigh.

p. 270.—List of twenty-six persons imprisoned for conspiracy with the Queen of Scots.

Begins, “Antony Babbyntone Barnewell Savage	} in Elye Place in ward.”
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Ends, “Abbynton, sen. Abbynton, jun. Tuchener	} not yet taken.”
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p. 273.—“The Queens prayer for the prosperous success of her army.”

pp. 275-8.—Account of Sir Walter Raleigh's execution.

pp. 279-80.—*Temp.* Eliz.—Book of rates for Berwick.

pp. 281-3. [1576] 18 Eliz.—Exchequer Revenue account.

p. 284^a, ^b.—"The voyage of Octher to the North East parts beyond Norway."

pp. 286-7.—"The Sovereign's Answer to the Gloucestershire Address;" a satirical political lampoon in the time of Queen Anne. The answer is supposed to be given by the Duke of Somerset.

p. 289. 1641[-2], March 7, 8.—"Passages upon the reading of the Declaration to the King at Newmarket by the Committee of both Houses."

pp. 291-5. 1644, Oct. 11.—"The argument of John Herne of Lincolnes Inn, Esq., made before the Lords in Parlement in the cause of Dr. Lawde Lord Archbischopp of Canterburye."

p. 295^a. 1692, May 16.—Copy of a public recantation made by Charles, Duke of Richmond of his conversion to the Church of Rome.

p. 295^b.—Antiquity and use of original writs in Chancery.

pp. 297-311. 1600, Feb. 19.—"The argumentes and speeches of the Earles of Essex and Southampton uppon their arraignment at Westm. Hall."

p. 313. 1676, July 24.—"Moodoo Soodun's translation of the Saun-Bead [the epitome or sum of the Four Beads] into Hindostana language, out of the Sinscree, and translated from him into English by John Marshall." Twenty-six leaves. A letter from W. Salmon to Dr. Covell is attached, with which he returns the MS. which had been kept "for my lord Duke's inspection."

p. 314. 1677.—"The speech of L[aurence] H[yde] now Earl of R[ocheste]r to the King of Poland."

p. 315.—"Mr. Haynes's recantation—prologue after his returne from Rome, at his first appearance on the stage;" a satire in verse.

p. 317, &c. *Temp.* Charles II.—Papers printed and MS. concerning a bill for reversions of offices in London.

p. 321. 1587[-8].—"A dissuasion from peace with King Phillippe, written in January 1587 when our embassadours were readie to goe to Ostend about the same;" an address to Queen Elizabeth.

p. 322.—Statement of considerations and arguments which led the writer to abandon the Church of Rome; written in the time of James I. Five leaves. Begins, "I was a recusant because I was taught from my cradle to beleve the Catholique Church by my creede."

XXXV. SIR GEORGE DOWNING'S JOURNAL, 1658.

[No. 124.] fol. pp. 186.—In 1719 in the possession of Ben. Leo. Calvert.

Journal kept by George Downing, afterwards Sir George, of his embassy to Holland, as Resident there for the Protector and Commonwealth, from 2nd Jan. 1657-8, the day of his leaving London, to 7th Oct. in the same year. It contains the account of his negotiations as mediating for peace between the States General and Portugal, and also with reference to the war between Sweden and Denmark, and concludes with the treaty made with Portugal in Oct. Copies of all the Memorials and other papers interchanged with the States are given, some of which relate also to the East India trade and to questions concerning prize vessels. At p. 62 is a petition exhibited to the States General by Adrian and Cornelius Lampsen respecting a debt for money lent by them for purchase of

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ammunition by an agent of Scotland in 1644, which was referred to Downing by a resolution of 5th April. On 10th Sept. Downing sends a Memorial to the States General, desiring that articles 9 and 11 of the Treaty with England, prohibiting reception of rebels and declared enemies of the Commonwealth, may be observed, Charles Stuart, with the Earl of Ormond and others having been lately at the Bosch, Heusden, Suilleston, and other principal places, Sir Edw. Hyde residing at Breda, and Lord Taaf and O'Neale and divers other rebels being now at the Hague. This is printed in Thurloe's *State Papers*, Vol. VII., p. 362.] With reference to this Memorial a former possessor of the volume has inserted part of No. III. of *The Student, or the Oxford Monthly Miscellany* for March 31, 1750, containing a story, from a paper written by J. Lockhart, of Downing's coming in disguise to Charles II. immediately upon the latter's arriving secretly at the Hague, and urging his instant departure, on account of the above treaty provisions.

Among miscellaneous manuscripts, not historical, there are Lydgate's *Destruction of Thebes* (which formerly belonged to "Antonius Morelus, Parrhisiensis medicus"); Gower's *Confessio Amantis*; a volume written in the 15th century, containing three mystery plays, of Wisdom, of Mercy, and of the Castle of Perseverance; and "A merye enterlude entitled *Respublica*, made in the year 1553." In a medical MS. of the latter part of the thirteenth century, containing, amongst other things the "*Practica Nicolai*," "*De passione capitis*," "*De febribus*," &c. which have been erroneously attributed in a late hand to Nich. Hostresham, who is said to have lived in 1443, there is prefixed on a fly-leaf the "*Stans puer ad mensam*" which is entitled "*Versus Sancti Roberti Grossetedi Lincoln.*" This MS. belonged to one "Antony Shupton." Of Hampole's *Stimulus Conscientiæ*, with other things, there is a good MS. of the end of the 14th century. Of treatises on Alchemy, Astrology and Geometry there are several MSS.

"*A brief relation of the travells of Jerom Salter*," in Asia Minor and the islands of the Archipelago from 7th Sept. 1668, the day he left London, to August 1679; with very many copies of Greek inscriptions, a few of which are believed, according to a note inserted in the volume, never to have been printed.

"The origination of government, or the fundamental lawes of England both moral and divine invaded by a tiranical and arbitrary power," by — Warner; [against James II.]; dated at the end, "Dover, Oct. 30, 1688." 2 vols. folio.

Amongst MSS. relating to the local history of Norfolk are the following:—

The original MS. of Fr. Blomefield's *History of Norwich*, in two vols., folio, 1745.

History of Norwich, by John Mackerell, 1737; 2 vols., quarto.

Valor Ecclesiasticus for Norfolk and Suffolk, with the names of patrons and incumbents in 1672, "transcribed out of Mr. Hilary Bayly's [book] by me Edw. Beckham." Folio.

WILLIAM DUNN MACRAY.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF W. W. B. HULTON, ESQ., OF
HULTON PARK, LANCASHIRE.

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This collection consists chiefly of papers which came to the family from William Jessop, of Gray's Inn, who was Clerk to the Council of State and to the House of Commons at the time of the Restoration, and who died in March 1674-5. His only child Anne married William Hulton, *alias* Hilton, who died in 1694. The most important part of the collection consists of a series of letters from the second Earl of Essex to Queen Elizabeth, many of which have been printed in the Hon. W. B. Devereux's *Lives of the Earls of Essex*. How the family became possessed of these has always been considered a mystery; but the examination of Jessop's papers has furnished the probable clue. Jessop is found to have acted as legal agent for the executors of the third Earl, the Parliamentary General, in 1647-8, and these letters most likely therefore came into his hands together with the papers relative to the affairs of that Earl. And the return of these letters to the Essex family, together with the letters noticed below of the Earl of Leicester, may have been procured, possibly after Queen Elizabeth's death, by the aged Countess of Leicester, who was the mother of the ill-fated Earl of Essex as well as Leicester's wife.

The family of Hulton has, in the direct line, been seated at the place from which it takes its name from the time of Henry II. And many early deeds relating to the estates, dating from the time of Edward I., are preserved, some of which have their seals attached. Among these are two from John De La Warre, Lord of Manchester.

The next oldest documents are the two following bulls:—

I. [1397] *an* 8., 14 kal. Jan. [Dec. 19]. Rome.—Bull from Pope Boniface IX. to John de Adyngham, canon of the Priory of Kertmell, authorizing the confessor whom he shall choose to grant him plenary absolution once, when at the point of death, provided he remain in the unity of the Roman Church, and that satisfaction be made by him to anyone to whom satisfaction is due; provided also that if, relying on this remission, he be led to commit any unlawful acts, it shall no longer avail. With the leaden *bullæ*; and endorsed with the form of absolution.

II. 1435, *an* 5., 5 id. Feb. (Feb. 9). Florence.—Similar bull from Pope Eugenius IV. to William Hales (? *name nearly erased*), priest, canon of the priory of Cartmel, with the same limitations, and providing also that he shall for one year from the time of receiving this grant, fast on every Friday, or if already bound to fast on that day, then on some other day of the week; or if he cannot conveniently ("commode") observe this fast at any time, then his confessor shall commute it for some other works of piety. With the *bullæ*.

In Rev. Jos. Mendham's book on the *Venal Indulgencies of the Church of Rome* (1839, p. 134), these bulls are incorrectly described, from the report of a speech delivered in 1835, as having been granted to a member of the family of Hulton *and his successors*.

1456, July.—Composition settled by arbitration by John, Thomas, and William, Abbots of Fountains, Salley, and Kirkstall, in a dispute between John, Abbot of Roche, and Ralph, Abbot of Whalley,

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respecting the tithes of Hildebrithorp, in the parish of Rochdale. Seals lost.

1486, Nov. 5.—Will of John Hulton, Esq. His body to be buried in the parish church of Deyne, to which he leaves twenty marks for the building a chapel on the north side, twelve marks for the providing a priest to celebrate there for two years for his soul and those of his parents, and ten marks to maintain the service of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

A collection of letters of the Earl of Leicester, and of and to the second and third Earls of Essex, but chiefly consisting of letters from the second Earl to Queen Elizabeth.

I.—The EARL OF LEICESTER to QUEEN ELIZABETH.

N.Y. June 1.—Dated from Harden Castle, “a howse of my l. of Derbys nere Chester, in the confines of Wales,” where he has come “this day.” Have passed through such desert countries as seldom, I suppose, are to be found anywhere, by miserable ways; consequently, have only this day met with one of my messengers whom I had sent from Kenilworth, by whom I hear of your health, and of my nephew Sidney’s letters, as also from Mr. Secretary of your gracious acceptation of my late scribbled lines to you; am most glad to hear that you have thought upon a “third way betwene those ij ways.”

II.—The SAME to the SAME.

N.D. [1588, July?].—“In som hast from Tylbury, this Saturday.” No cause for me to trouble you touching your army here, “but all things are as well, as quyett, and as forwardly bent to your servyce as any soldyers or subjects in the world can be. But yet I may not forgett upon my knees to yeld to your moost swete Majeste all humble and dutyful thanks for the great comfort I receive ever from your owen swete self. I am sorry that I can wryte your Majeste no newes, yet most gladd that I may hold up my hands to God for the mercyfull dealing he useth towarde you, for by the newes we hear he fighteth for you, and your enmyes fall before you. Lett all honour prayse and glory be geven him therfore, and loose not, gracious la., any occasion he geveth you agenst his enmyes and yours. This ronnagate hath peruseid your camp here, and even now ys my l. of Ormond and Mr. Stan-nopp* aryved, and they be also going to vew your people, who ar as semely to be sene as any in Crystendom I think. Many [of?] your hors have fayled, and surely som punyshment must follow. I have wrytten to my LL. of som of the offenders, who ar to many at such a time.” Seal, the bear and ragged staff within the Garter.

III.—The EARL OF ESSEX to the SAME.

[1590,] Oct. 7. London.—On her requiring payment of a loan of 3,000*l.*, which he says she had once promised to give him. “In love ther can be nothing more bitter than unkindnes.” “I wold I cold with the losse of all the land I have as well repayre the breach which your unkind aunswer hath made in my hart, as I can with the sale of one poore manner† aunswer the summe which your Majestie takes of me.”

* Afterwards Lord Stanhope of Harrington.

† The manor of Keyston, Hunts.

Printed in Captain W. B. Devereux's *Lives and Letters of the Earls of Essex*, 1853, Vol. I., p. 207. The spelling is modernized in all the letters printed in this work.

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IV.—The SAME to the SAME.

[1591, July].—On the second day after leaving her for his expedition to France, to assist King Henry IV. in Normandy.

Ibid., p. 219.

V.—The SAME to the SAME.

[1591, Sept.].—"In my jorney to the K., I had some trouble, and in returning from him I have bene full of care how to preserve your Majesties people and save mine owne poore credit. I had an enemy 6 tymes my number thatt did continually lye in the way for me, and yett with the help of good guydes I did avoyde meeting with ther greatt troupes, and with keping my men in good order, I made ther currers run before us." That I have not heard from you since I came into France has grieved me more than an overthrow. When your favour is gone from me, my soul shall retire from my body. *Slightly mutilated.*

This letter, and those which follow, are sealed with the earl's seal of arms.

VI.—The SAME to the SAME.

[1591,] September 12. Arques.—A long letter vindicating his conduct in France against her censures contained in a letter from her of 3rd Sept.

Ibid., pp. 235-7. For "neither for love nor for hire," read "neither for love nor for hope"; and put a note of interrogation after "do for me"; for "importuning" read "importunity"; for "kept the footmen" read "left the footmen"; and for "bearing all their victual" read "having all ther vittell." There are also a few minor verbal inaccuracies.

VII.—The SAME to the SAME.

[1591,] September 14. Arques.—I and the ambassador are going this afternoon to speak with Marshal Biron. "I protest unto your Majestie that unkindnes and sorow have broken both my hart and my witts."

Ibid., p. 241.

VIII.—The SAME to the SAME.

N.D.—Complaining strongly of her unkindness, and deprecating recall of the army from France as entailing ruin on the French King and disgrace upon himself.

Ibid., pp. 241-2. Omit "again" after "Your Majesty's face."

IX.—The SAME to the SAME.

N.D.—A short letter.—I have lived too long if slander and suspicion can dare to threaten to take your favour from me. "I do humbly thanke your Majestie that you vouchsafed to write. I do reverence the oracle, and wold never shun any destiny thatt yt assignes me."

X.—The SAME to the SAME.

N.D. Rye.—A short letter, announcing his return to England; "Rye, this Thursday Night."

Ibid., p. 244.

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XI.—The SAME to the SAME.

N.D.—A short letter, complaining of her reception of him. "I see your Majestie is constant to ruine me."

Ibid., ib.

XII.—The SAME to the SAME.

[1591,] October 16. Dover.—On his returning to France.

Ibid., p. 246. For "enjoyed" read "joyed."

XIII.—The SAME to the SAME.

[1591,] October 18. Dieppe.—Professing affection. Will leave matters of business for letters to the Council. "The two windowes of your privy chamber shall be the poles of my sphere, wher, as long as your Majestie will please to have me, I am fixed and unmoveable."

Ibid., pp. 249–50. For "When your Majesty thinks" read "When you think."

XIV.—The SAME to the SAME.

N.D.—"My affection doth teach me to be a diligent advertiser, for I, who can never sufficiently expresse the infinite greattnes of my duty and affection, do catch hold upon all occasions to make a despatch for England, wherein I have advertised my Lord Tresorer of the King's approching and of the Mareshall's proceedings. To your Majestie I can send no newes butt thatt the same mind which hath ever most faythfully loved and religiously honored your Majestie doth now in absence study to expresse half so much as yt doth conceaue; and yf your Majestie do beleue how much I do aboue all men striue to make my affection worthy of you, you shall deale graciously as a Queen and yett butt justly as long as you geue me leaue to loue you, for though I craue this in all humblenes as of grace, yett your Majestie doth owe yt of right."

XV.—The SAME to the SAME.

N.D.—On beginning to besiege Rouen. "Being come hither within five leages of Roane, and ready this night to invest yt, I mett with Sir Roger W[illia]ms, who hath described unto me the desperate estate of this miserable cuntry. The poverty of the King, the mutiny of the Allmaynes, and the litle assurance of the French Catholikes, do threaten the ruine of Fraunce yf your Majestie be not the conseruer. Upon his comming I thought yt a necessary duty to send him unto your Majestie, first to informe your Majestie of the King's state, and then to bring unto me your gracious pleasure for your Majesties people heere. I beseach your Majestie heere him with favor and dispatch him with speede; for within these 12 days I shall haue no meanes to keepe your Majesties troupes together except I be supplied from your Majestie or from the King, and to leaue Roane for want when Roane weare half won weare both dishonorable and dangerous. I thinke I cold make a litle money stretch farr, butt wee want men aswell as money, and yf your Majestie send a supply I thinke I shallbe able to arme as many more as I haue."

XVI.—The SAME to the SAME.

[1591,] November 2.—Announcing that Rouen is besieged, and desiring supplies.

Ibid., pp. 255–6. For "troop" read "troops," and for "the number" "their number."

XVII.—The SAME to the SAME.

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N.D.—Croydon, “this Tusday morning.”—Professing extravagant love.

Ibid., p. 292.

XVIII.—The EARL of ESSEX to his MOTHER, THE COUNTESS OF LEICESTER.

N.Y., September 1. Lees.—Excusing the signing of some letter with which she had found herself grieved, but protesting that he could only have set his hand to it ere he knew what it was. “And yett I am sure ther was never any in thatt place thatt was more scrupelous or thatt did refuse more; for in those cases whether I haue not the bond of duty and affection to tye I am hardly drawne to prejudice any. And therefore I hope your Ladiship will be satisfied for thatt error. I will nott trouble your Ladiship with the newes of out paltry troublesome world, which hath made me a greatt deale both honester and thriftyer then euer I was or shold haue bene els.”

XIX.—The EARL of ESSEX and SIR ROBERT CECIL to the QUEEN.

N.Y.—We were ready, this morning to have attended your Majesty’s ordinary service at the Star Chamber, “but thatt extraordinary and more important cause caried us to the Tower. Ther wee spent the whole forenoone, and because the matter of trafike of your Majesties Merchant Adventurers was to be hard att the Starr Chamber in the afternoone wee returned thither, and attended my LL. Now wee are agayne mining further into these practises and trayterous conspiracyes which held us in the morning. And of all thatt we haue or shall do wee will geve your Majestie accompt tomorrow morning. In the meane tyme wee do most humbly beseach your Majestie to be more carefull of your royall person, and lesse secure then your owne sweete nature and princely magnanimity do make you.”

It is probable that this letter refers to the conspiracy of Lopez in 1594.

XX.—The EARL of ESSEX (when setting out on the second Spanish expedition) to the QUEEN.

[1597,] June 23. Sandwich.—Thanking her, in extravagant terms, for a letter. Heavens and earth shall wittnes for me I will strue to be worthy of so high a grace and so blessed a happines.”

Ibid., p. 413.

XXI.—The SAME to the SAME.

[1597,] June 25. Sandwich.—“For your Majesties many high and pretious favors, namely for sending this worthy knight to deleuer your blessing to this fleete and army, butt above all other for your Majesties bestowing on me thatt fayre Angell which you sent to garde me, for these I say I neyther can write wordes to expresse my humble thankfulness nor perfourme service fitt to acknowledg such duty as for these I owe.”

Ibid., p. 414.

XXII.—The SAME to the SAME.

[1597,] June 27. The Downs.—With account of the movements and preparations of the fleet.

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Ibid., p. 415. For "this day" read "this daye's"; for "Warspight," "Wastspight"; and for "four fly boats" "5 flyboats."

XXIII.—The SAME to the SAME.

[1597,] June 28. The Downs.—Thanking her, in his usual style, for a letter and message.

Ibid., p. 416.

XXIV.—The SAME to the SAME.

[1597,] June 6. Weymouth.—Sending a messenger from the fleet, and recommending his cousin Fulk Grevill;

Ibid., p. 417. For "your poor vassal," read "your poor vassals"; for "concern," read "conserve."

XXV.—The SAME to the SAME.

[1597,] July 6. Portland Road.—Sending thanks for the "fyve deere tokens, both the watch, the thorne, and above all the Angell which you sent to garde me; for your Majesties sweet lettres indited by the spirite of spirites."

Ibid., p. 419. For "used to do" read "use to do."

XXVI.—The SAME to the SAME.

[1597,] July 6, "Att midnight."—Will fetch on board the fleet to-night 500 soldiers who disorderly do loiter ashore.

Ibid., p. 420.

XXVII.—The SAME to the SAME.

[1597,] July 10. Plymouth, "setting seale."—On the condition of the fleet and its manning.

Ibid., pp. 425-7. For "as useful to bring myself home," read "as careful to bring myself home." After "since the action is your own," insert, "the counsaile your owne, and the glory must be your owne."

XXVIII.—The SAME to the SAME.

[1597,] July 12. "From aboard your Majesties good ship the Mirehonore."—On sending by a messenger of her own choice an account of state of the fleet and army.

XXIX.—The SAME to the SAME.

[1597,] July 19. Falmouth ["Fawmouth"].—On sending another messenger [Sir Thomas Gates], after damage to the fleet by a storm.

Ibid., p. 433.

XXX.—The SAME to the SAME.

[1597,] July 20. Plymouth.—Has come all night post over the rugged mountains of Cornwall on hearing that Raleigh with divers ships was at Plymouth; mentions the ships and officers found there.

Ibid., p. 434. For "Warspight," read "Wastspight"; for "Mary Rose," "Mayrose"; for "Mere Honor," "Mirehonore."

XXXI.—The SAME to the SAME.

[1597,] Aug. 14.—"I do geue accompt to My LL. of the state of your Majesties fleete, and to yourself nott my wordes butt my soule speaketh affectionatest wishes and faythfullest vowes."

XXXII.—The SAME to the SAME.

[1597,] Aug. 15.—On sending Sir R. Crosse with a despatch.
Ibid., p. 446. For "Outer Sound" read "Ofe sound."

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XXXIII.—The SAME to the SAME.

[1597,] Aug. 16.—"From aboard the Dew Repulse." Sending a messenger, who is highly commended, for further directions.
Ibid., p. 448. For "from your direction" read "from you direction."

XXXIV.—The SAME to the SAME.

[1597,] Aug. 31.—"From the height 39." On the change of plans relative to Ferrol and to the fleet from the "Assurreys" (Azores).
Ibid., pp. 453-4. For "is attested," read "is altered"; and for "than all men else have, do, or shall have," "then all men els thatt have, do, or shall live."

XXXV.—The SAME to the SAME, on his retiring from Court.

N.D.—Complaining of her unkindness.
Ibid., pp. 462-3.

XXXVI.—The SAME to the SAME.

N.D.—Thanking her for her "kind and often sending" to enquire about his health.
Ibid., p. 465. Omit "again" after "life." For "justness of love," read "justice of love."

XXXVII.—The SAME to the SAME.

N.Y. [1598?] Sept. 20. London.—I send Mr. Darcy "to know how your Majestie doth; and I had bene mine owne messenger had I nott had this very day infinite busines." I crave pardon for my ill writing, "having the hedd ake, the hart ake, and the mind ake all att once." I beseech you "to give this man some gracious comfort in his sute."

XXXVIII.—The SAME to the SAME.

[1598,] Sept. 20. London.—In reply to a message from her by Mr. Gerard that she valued herself at as great a price as he valued himself. Since she has driven him to despair, he seeks freedom.
Ibid., p. 497. For "I seek, Madam, but as yet I find nothing," read, "I seeke freedom, butt as yett I find yt in nothing."

XXXIX.—The SAME to the SAME.

N.D.—Upbraiding her for "the intolerable wrong" she has done him.
Ibid., p. 493. For "in life," read "of my lyfe"; for "whatsoever falls out, that," "that, whatsoever falls out"; for "owe my life," "owe you my lyfe."

XL.—The SAME to the SAME.

[1599,] N.D.—Recommending a gentleman who desires to leave Ireland for England; "thatt any men should leave purgatory to go to paradize, yt is nott strange."
Ibid., Vol. II., p. 63. For "alarum" read "alarums"; for "render," "tender"; for "None," "For none"; for "a stroke," "a blow."

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XLI.—The SAME to the SAME.

[1599.]—Vindicating himself on three points with reference to his government in Ireland, viz., his obedience to her command to displace Lord Southampton, the sending a list of offices, and the creation of Knights.

Ibid., pp. 58–9. For “there are three,” read, “thatt there are three;” for “which would make,” “and which would make.”

XLII.—The SAME to the SAME.

[1599.]—Desiring either to have his services graciously accepted, or to have leave to retire altogether.

Ibid., pp. 56–7. For “humblest vassal,” read “loyallest servant.”

XLIII.—The SAME to the SAME.

[1599.]—Asking that Jack Ratcliff may have his wardship bestowed on him.

Ibid., p. 56. For “of a brave race,” read “to a brave race”; for “till I revenge,” “till I may revenge.”

XLIV.—The SAME to the SAME.

[1599.] Aug. 30. “Arbracken” [Ardbraccan].—Complaining bitterly of his “banishment and proscription into the most cursed of all cuntries” (Ireland).

Ibid., p. 68.

XLV.—The SAME to the SAME, after his return from Ireland.

[1599.]—A letter of humble submission. Endorsed as having been written from Wanstead.

Ibid., p. 83. For “in presumption” read “by presumption”; for “and recover,” “and to recover.”

XLVI.—The SAME to the SAME.

[1599?].—After being by her own voice commanded out of her presence, and by her hands thrust out. Endorsed as having been written from Wanstead.

Ibid., pp. 129–138. For “pars ignava,” read “pars ignaviæ.”

XLVII.—The SAME to ROGER [MANNERS], FIFTH EARL OF RUTLAND.

[1595,] Oct. 16.—Upon the letter’s going abroad to travel; being a third letter of advice to him.

The first letter of the three is printed, from Harl. MS. 4888, in Devereux’s *Lives of the Earls of Essex*, Vol. I. pp. 322–332, but that two other letters were written on the same subject appears to have been hitherto unknown. I therefore copy this third letter (which I found amongst confused miscellaneous papers) in full. The greater part of it is written by an amanuensis, as mentioned by the Earl at its close.

“My Lord, since you have required of me some advice nowe at the verie instant of your goinge, I must not refuse you, thoughe my want of leisure and health will make that which you receive from me little worth. My first letter to your Lordship did contayne generalities; my second was particular, to direct you in course of studie; and this shall onlie tell you what are the notes I would wissh you to gather in your travaill, which being but a posting night’s woorke after everie bodie is

gone to bed, I desire may be private to yourself, and may serve to awake you in some things, though it cannot instruct you in all.

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When your lordship comes into any countrey, I would wissh you to observe the nature of the clymate and temperature of the ayre ; for so you shall best judge of the healthfulnes of the place, and may have some inducement to gesse at the disposicion of the people. Also to mark the condicion of the soile, whether it be fertile or barren, mountaynous or eeven, full of woods or champion, and to note the principall rivers, their begynnings and course, the streights and passages that do seuer one province or peece of province from another, and what their length or bredth is ; the circuite and the diameter or length of the countrey : how it is peopled and inhabited ; what are the commodities with which it abounds, and which it vents, and of the other side what it wants, and drawes to it from forrain parts. What ports it hath, what shipping, and howe their trafficke lyes : how the people are armed and trayned : what fortified townes or castells, what renewe, what arsenal, what alliaunces, and what known ennemies the State hath. For these things will leade you to knowe whether any countrye be ritch or poore, stronge or weake. But above all things I would have you understand the manner of government of the place where you are ; where the souveraintye is, in one, as in a monarchie, in a fewe, or in the people ; or if it be mixt, to which of these formes it most inclines : next, what ministers of state and subalternat governors, as counsaile and magistrats : thirdlie, by what lawes or customes it is governed : and lastlie, what is the execucion of justice in peace, and their discipline in warr. If your lordship will tell me that these things will be too manie to remember, I aunswere, that I had rather you trusted your note booke then your memorie. If you object that some of these things being martiall, and others points of State, you shall not be able to collect them, nor judge of them, I must aske you whether you would not get a pylote on a strange coast, and guyde in an unknown way ? And so if where you come you seeke after those things, you shell assoone fynd directers to guyde you to them as to any matters of sport or vanitie. The first thing your lordship must seeke in all this course, is industrie ; for as greate difference is betwixt it and idlenes as betwixt a lyving man and a dead. The second is to direct that industrie to good things ; for els the more you do the more yll you do, and the faster you goe the farther you go owt of the way. The last is that you be rather endeavoringe to do well then beleevving you do well ; for besydes that all self conceyted young men do growe infinitelie vayne, when once, owt of opinion that they are wise or good inoughe, they hold themselves pleased withe themselves, they fall more backward in a monneth then they growe forward in a yeare.

This was written yesternight att St. Albon's, butt so ill written as I was fayne to use my man's hand to copy yt out. Excuse its hasty writing, and my indisposicion after my iorney, which keepes me from correcting yt. More leysure may bring forth a worke of more price, though this, as all thatt I derect unto you, is full of affection, and accompanied with my best wishes.

From your lordship's most affectionate

cosin and trew frend,

This 16th of October.

Essex."

Addressed :—"To the right honorable my verye good lord and cousen the Earle of Rutland."

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XLVIII.—BACON(" Fr. Verulam, Canc.") to ROBERT DEVEREUX, THIRD EARL OF ESSEX, thanking him for a letter.

1620, Nov. 7. York House.—Times for writing were never so scant with him; returns his best wishes with regard to the noble enterprise wherein Essex serves (viz., the expedition to the Palatinate).

XLIX.—CHARLES, ELECTOR PALATINE, to the SAME.

1639, March 8-18. The Hague.—Recommending the bearer, "as one who hath followed me this last summer, and hath some yeares served under the States and Swedes; therefor I make noe doubt, but he will be fitt to doe his Majesty some service that way, though I hope it will not be needfull within his dominions."

(Essex was at this time the King's lieutenant-general in the expedition against the Scots.)

L.—[The COUNTESS OF] KENT to the SAME.

N.D.—About becoming tenant of a house belonging to him, which is greatly desired. The letter is not dated, and is simply signed Kent, but it is evidently written by the wife of one of the Earls (probably Eliz. Talbot, wife of Henry, seventh Earl, which Henry died in 1639) from the mention of "my Lord" in the following sentence: "I beseech you be pleased that my Lords servis and myne be presented to my Lord of Harford and my Lady, with exceeding thanks for ther so noble permission of us in theirs [*i.e.*, in their house] for this time of our being so destitute."

LI.—The EARL OF HOLLAND to the SAME.

N.Y., Dec. 17.—A short letter, assuring him that all the writer's best services are at his disposal.

LII.—The COUNTESS OF LEICESTER to the SAME, "My honourable dere [grand] sonne."

N.D.—"My noble dere sonne, my oulde age and thys could wether make I cannot wright much, but you shall se I will doe my best to get out my ill tenants, for I will be fede noe longare with fayre words, and then you shall dyspos. So God allmyghtye bles you, with the rest of my dere chylderne thar, with health and all happynes, as I evare rest

Your grandmother derlye lovinge you,
LEYCESTER."

Seal, the bear and ragged staff.

APPLICATION FOR A LOAN TO THE KING.

[1628], *an.* 3, Feb. 7.—Printed form (printed in imitation of writing) of application [from Charles I.] for loans; the blanks filled up with the name of Thomas Paramour, esq., as collector, 500*l.* as the sum desired, and the date. Signed, "Ja. Mylles."

1635, June 15.—Bond from Robert, Lord Brooke, Sir Benjamin Rudyer, Sir Gilbert Gerard, John Pym, esq., and Henry Darley, of Gray's Inn, esq., to Lord Say and Sele, for payment of 821*l.*

1642[-3], Feb. 1.—Grant by Robert, Earl of Warwick, as Lord Proprietor of the province of Montgomery, to — Hall, of Bermuda, gentleman, of 300 acres of land in the island of Trinidad, paying for the first year one pound of tobacco, and afterwards fifty shillings yearly.

Articles of Agreement between James Ravenscroft, lessee of the Parsonage of Shenley, Herts, and the Parishioners of Shenley.

1644[-5], Jan. 27.—The said lessee shall allow to the Minister or lecturer of Shenley the house in which Mr. Stephen Jones now lives, the churchyard, the profits of the Easter book, christenings, buryings and marriages, and 70*l.* yearly, and shall pay Mr. Henry Walter 10*l.* for his pains in preaching in time past. But whereas John Ravenscroft, brother to the said James, has an annuity of 40*l.*, should it or any part thereof be sequestered by Parliament, then a corresponding amount shall be abated from the 70*l.*

Copy.

Collection of papers relating to the settlement of the affairs of the THIRD EARL OF ESSEX by his executors (the Earls of Northumberland and Warwick and O. St. John), for whom William Jessop acted as agent.

1646–1647, etc.—The papers include various bills, with orders for their payment and receipts. One item of charge is “for mending three cases for my Lord’s tobacooe-pipe.” Charges for his funeral on Oct. 22, 1646; viz., for the coffin, 2*l.*; for the fashioning and adorning the effigies, 15*l.*; for scarlet hose trimmed with gold and silver plate-lace for the effigies, 8*l.* 16*s.*; for an Earl’s coronet, 9*l.* 16*s.*; for making the vault, 16*l.* 10*s.*; &c. Order for payment to Mr. Rich. Vines of 5*l.* for the sermon preached at the funeral, with Vines’ receipt. Petition from Isaac Powell and Andrew Fownes, gent. servants to the Earl, for payment of moneys due to them; with order thereon for its consideration dated 11th Feb. 1650. Long list relating to the distribution of the Earl’s wearing apparel among the servants that attended in his chamber.

1647, March 31.—Warrant to Mr. Will. Jessop from the arls of Northumberland and Warwick and from Oliver St. John, the executors of the Earl of Essex, to pay 2420*l.* 11*s.* 7*d.* to Sir Robert Shirley, Bart., in full of all debts due from the Earl of Essex to Sir Charles Shirley, deceased, whose guardian the Earl was. With a previous receipt signed and sealed by Sir Rob. Shirley on 8th Dec. 1646, and a statement by Jessop of the settlement of the account, dated 7th April 1647.

1647[-8], Feb. 3.—Agreement between the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Warwick, and Oliver St. John, the Executors, as to a composition made by the two former with St. John, respecting a sum of 4309*l.* 2*s.* due to the Earl of Essex for money lent by him to the Parliament, and secured upon the Bishops’ lands. Signed and sealed by Northumberland and St. John, and witnessed by Edw. Payler, John Thurloe, and W. Jessop.

1648, August 25.—Letter from John Thurloe to W. Jessop. The sum of 147*l.* remains to be paid to the Earl of Essex’s servants, and 200*l.* to the poor of the parish of Clement’s.* “My Lord of

* Thurloe at first wrote *St. Clement’s*, but struck out the *St.*

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Northumberland and Mr. Solicitor [St. John] have agreed to pay it out of their owne purses rather then to expect the receivinge any further summe out of the estate of the said Earle, that being uncerteine;" and they desire that the Lord Admiral [the Earl of Warwick] may be entreated to give order to have his part paid. The servants are importunate, and the Churchwardens of Clements have been with Thurloe about a dozen times.

1647, May 5.—Acknowledgment by Richard Wilcox, of Kensington gent., to W. Jessop. He has received back the sum of 276*l.* 11*s.* which he had heretofore paid to Jessop to be employed in a plantation in Virginia, and transfers to him all his right in the said plantation.

1652, Dec. 16.—Sale of lands of Lord Rich. Agreement for the sale of some of the lands settled on the marriage of Robert, Lord Rich in 1651, for the purpose of raising 10,000*l.* for the payment of his debts, of which a schedule is attached.

There are also other documents relating to his debts; and see *infra*, under 1659.

1653, Nov. 1.—Order of Parliament that Mr. Stephen Marshall be desired to preach at Margaret's, Westminster, on Saturday, 5th Nov.

With a note subjoined to W. Jessop from his "loving frend" Marshall, asking him to pay 500*l.* of Mrs. [Cecily] Meux's money to Mr. Richard Sheppard of Ipswich; with this postscript—"I met him upon the rode, and for want of other paper I write upon my order from the hous." Sheppard's receipt is added.

N.D.—Petition from the Thames Watermen to the Protector Oliver and to his Privy Council. Signed by many hundreds "of the Watermen and others concerned in navigation within the river of Thames," praying for restriction upon the Ballast Office with regard to the supply of land-ballast, and for prohibition of engines for supply of river-ballast. The signatures are attached on a roll of eight sheets of paper, of which four are filled in double columns, one in four, and three in three columns.

1654-7.—List of payments made by W. Jessop, on warrant from the Protector, to Col. Philip Jones, for Jones' salary as a member of the Privy Council.

1658, April 14.—Letter from John Thurloe to William Jessop, desiring him to pay Mr. Symball 200*l.* for freight of hay to Mardike; with receipt for the same on the following day subjoined.

1659, June.—List of debts wherein Charles, Earl of Warwick, stands engaged with his brother Robert, Earl of Warwick, late deceased.

1659.—Account of "Moneys charged on the Exchequer by warrants from the Council of State."

1660, Nov.—Dec.—Three Letters from John Hitchcock, Mayor of Stafford, to W. Jessop, Clerk of the House of Commons, respecting the Post Office at Stafford.

With a narrative of the management of the Post Office there from 1644, and a copy of a numerously signed memorial in behalf of John Hudson as Postmaster instead of Thomas Challenor.

MSS. OF
W. W. B.
HULTON, Esq.

LIST of the captains of companies in five regiments, each of ten companies, commanded by Sir John Burrowes, Sir Charles "Rich, Sir Edw. Conway, Sir Alex. Brett, and Sir Will. Courtney, which are to goe this journey."

1664-1675. A long series of affectionate letters written by W. Jessop from London to his daughter Mrs. Anne Hilton, with a few to her husband.

These contain very little beyond family matters. The plague is mentioned in letters of 20th May and 27th June, 1665; in the former it is said that two persons had fallen dead of the plague in the street, and in the latter (in the week following which the writer was going to leave London) that "London begins to be full of sadness and distraccion This week is guessed at 300 of the sickness more at this tyme—at least last week, as I am told—than 40 years since, when above 5,000 died in Aug." On 12th May 1666, he describes a fire in Holborn, and adds, "there was a sad experiment then given of what we formerly feared, the want of water by occasion of the new sewer." On 3rd Nov. 1666, he writes from Gray's Inn that he returned to London last night: "my journey concluded almost with my passage through the ruins of poore London, where I saw the smoke yet contynewing in divers cellars, and in one a clear burning fire."

Fourteen small volumes of notes of sermons by eminent Puritan divines, from 1634 to 1656. Of these three or four are in shorthand, and most of the volumes belonged to William and Ann Jessopp, of Warwick. A very large proportion of the sermons are by Edmund Calamy and Obadiah Sedgewick; others by Nanton, Goodwin, Sibbes, Caryll, Howe, &c. One volume is interesting as containing sermons preached at sea in July-Nov. 1648, of which eleven are by Dr. S. Annaly *al.* Annesly, and the rest by—Augur ("aboord the St. George, 23rd July"), —Marshall,—Ayers,—West, and—Raworth. One by Dr. Annesly was preached when "before Goree," 29th Oct.; another on 12th Nov. has th's note, "The Dr. was interrupted from proceeding further by a supposd distemper aboard the Love."

Among several account-books there is one which contains an account of goods shipped for the West Indies in various ships in 1636, with memoranda of deaths at sea and desertions, and account of tobacco shipped in the *Happy Return* at the Isle of Providence in 1637. It has also an inventory of goods and books in [Warwick] house in Holborn in 1660-4.

One historical relic of considerable interest is a silver seal, struck, as it would seem, for the use of Parliament in May 1660, which represents the Kingdom emerging, in three portions, from chaos, with the motto, "*Legem Ejus Expectabunt*" (Is. XLII. 4, *Vulg.*). This seal appears to be quite unknown, but probably was prepared at the time when the two Houses of Parliament were holding conferences as to the seal that should be used pending the King's return; and was consequently in Jessop's possession as being Clerk to the House of Commons.

Sailing charts of the sea-coast of England, Scotland, Ireland, France, the Netherlands, Norway, and Spain, showing the sand-banks, rocks,

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&c., beautifully drawn and coloured, on four sheets of vellum "by John Burston, dwelling over againste New Gravell Lane, in Radcliff Highway, neare London, anno Domini 1645."

Bond in 40*l.* from a miner that he will well and truly serve for a year in the coal mines at Hulton or Denton, according to the customs and orders there used; dated in 1676.

List (on parchment) of subscribers for three plates or purses of sixty guineas, for a horse-race at Aughton Common, near Ormskirk, in 1764.

Printed papers taken at the battle of Vittoria, 21 June 1813, relating to the Imperial Order of *Réunion* conferred on Major P. C. Poupart, 22nd August 1812.

Amongst family papers of recent date there are some connected with George Stephenson which must not be omitted. For the earliest chapters in the history of English railways and their first engineer are closely associated with Hulton Park. After the completion of the Darlington Railway, George Stephenson was invited by Mr. William Hulton to construct a railway from Bolton to Leigh, a distance of ten miles, for the convenience of the Hulton collieries. For three months Stephenson consequently stayed at Hulton House while making the necessary preparations, and during that period took lessons in writing from the village schoolmaster, whose descendants still preserve one of the half-crowns which he paid for the instruction. His original estimate for the line, dated 26th Jan. 1825, and amounting to 49,343*l.* 1*s.*, is preserved with a bundle of papers and correspondence relating to the railway, as well as a subsequent estimate, dated 28th Feb. 1827, in which, while the cost of nearly all the mechanical work is increased, the total amount is reduced to 37,905*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*, chiefly by a large deduction on the cost of embankments and excavations, and by the omission of wharfs, and of locomotive engines in addition to "permanent" (*i.e.*, stationary) engines. One locomotive was, however, provided, being the second which Stephenson constructed; to which the name of *The Witch* was given on the day of the opening of the line, 1st August 1828, and of which the name-plate and whistle are still preserved. The instructions for the ceremonial of the opening exist in a MS. paper.

WILLIAM DUNN MACRAY.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF R. W. KETTON, ESQ., OF
FELBRIGG HALL, NORFOLK.

MSS. OF
R. W. KETTON,
ESQ.

At Felbrigg Hall Mr. Ketton has preserved a large mass of papers of the Windham family, resident there for many centuries. The collection consists chiefly of correspondence between various members of the family, and includes the following:—Letters of Sir John Hobart to William Windham, mainly about Norfolk elections and other county affairs between 1673 and 1682, but referring also to events of wider historical interest at the time of the alleged Popish plot; a few letters of Colonel Windham to his mother when campaigning with the Duke of Marlborough; others of James Windham of a little later date, showing the widespread ruin caused by the bursting of the South Sea Bubble; descriptions of travels abroad in 1741; letters of Dr. Dampier of Eton, and of David Garrick, who were guardians of the future statesman, William Windham. Of the latter eminent man are preserved some diaries beginning in 1772, when he was 22 years old, and ending in 1775, which illustrate his early life and pursuits; there is also a bundle of letters addressed to him when Secretary at War in 1795 by French *émigrés* of mark. Some contemporary copies of letters of the Paston family, of the time of Edward IV., and a number of manuscript ballads and verses on political, social, and personal topics, make up this interesting collection.

Tempore Henry VI. Paston Letters.

A large sheet of paper containing copies in a hand of the time of Edward IV. or possibly earlier, of letters from and to William Paston, Justice of the Common Pleas, and John Paston his son. They relate chiefly to a dispute as to some land at East Beckham, but as (with one exception) they do not appear in any edition of the Paston letters, they are given here entire.

1. "To my right worshipful and trusty Master William Paston, Justice.

Worshipful and right trusty master I commend me unto you desiring to hear of your worship and welfare the which God keep to his pleasing, and to your own heart's desire praying you evermore of your good mastership and of your good continuance praying you at the reverence of God to hold me excused (*torn off*) lewd and uncunning language the which I answered you with at your being at Cromer; for so help me God and Halidom I said it naught to you for no bad trust that I have in you, but only to let you witen what temptations that I have had by that same person that I told you of and by others many more that w (*torn off*) avow it in the same manner, saving your reverence, as false men done and my bodily enemies and worshipful and trusty master; and as for that I should have the manor in ferm in such form as you communed of before my neighbours at Cromer, I pray you at the reverence of God that you will do your good mastership therein as you have done before time, for as you do I will stand thereto for I have communed with one vicar and with other friends of me and they, and I pray you evermore of your best counsel therein.

No more to you att this time, but Jesus keep you both body and soul.

By your bedewoman,

JOAN MARYET."

MSS. OF
R. W. KETTON,
ESQ.

2. "To my worshipful Master Justice of the King William Paston.

Worshipful master and reverend sovereign I commend me to you ever as your poor bedewoman desiring ever to hear of your good welfare with prosperity and good life to the pleasing of God, praying you evermore of your good mastership and counsel in the matter the which is for the manor of East Beckham, of the which matter you and we communed of at Cromer the last time that my son and I spake with you. And I had liever and so had John my son to have an end and be in secure possession within a year to the bare manor without any reward of damages than longer abide to stand in doubt of law and of your life and our also and how the end be made and . . . (*torn*) what time I consent and am well pleased. No more at this time, but the Blissful Trinity have you ever in keeping. Writ at Cromer the Wednesday next before Corpus Christi day.

By Joan Maryete
your poor bedewoman."

3. "To my honourable and worshipful Master William Paston Justice of the Common Pleas dwelling in Norfolk.

Right worshipful and honourable Sir I recommend me unto you letting you wite as touching for that between you and John Maryet. In good faith, sir, two days before you went I could not see him and when I met him I asked him where he had been and he told me he had been with Bonevyll Knight (*sic*) for to go over sea with him; so I entreated with him and spake to him on such wise that I reconciled him so that he granted me that he should come unto me to my house. And so when he came I asked him whether he were of the same will that he was before or no; he told me in case you would be his good master as you have been before and to give him also [as] much as reason would as the livelihood is worth and may be worth, and as other men have said it is worth, you should have it before any man of life [alive] and after the covenants made by you his mother and him. And so in his part he will be ready and fulfil at all times your desire under that manner of form. And so I came for to seek you and you were departed betimes in the morning. Wherefore sir, and it like you for the love of God in your great wisdom and power comprehended in your person to take you so nigh, to go through with him, for now I have so entreated him in such wise where he was not advised at this time for I have to go home, neither (*sic*) his wife nor (*sic*) so for that cause I have had fear . . . (*torn*) is going about as he hath done, that he hath had many excitors to procure him rather to harm and frowardness the contrary to your intent and his (*sic*) to learn cause or matter in fulfilling of your intent and his ease and in especial in London and thereabouts. And therefore sir, I will advise you and pray you that you will have me excused that I shall declare unto you in good sooth you should well know it cometh not of myself and for I have heard since your departing that the Vicar of Cromer came in your name to John Maryete and proffered him 360 marks, and he desired 400 marks. Also it hath been told me that Hameden hath been examined what the livelihood was worth to him, and he hath said that it was worth 20 marks by year; and therefore sir, for the love of God within this vacation time between this and the next term he shall be at home at Cromer let some some one about you essay if you may draw to some good end, and if he make no end with you between this and that, and you vouchsafe when you come at the next term to bring with you the indenture of your covenants as touching your bargain; and also that it

may like you to bring the parcels of all such money as he should owe you. All this seen, I trust to God to make an end between you, for I trust to your high discretion the default shall not be found in you, and by my truth and he be unreasonable we shall bring him to reason whether he will or will not. And God have you in his keeping. Written at London the 7th day of December

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by your own
Thomas West."

4. "To my right worshipful and trusty Master William Paston Justice.

Right worshipful and trusty master I commend me unto you, desiring ever more to hear of your worship and welfare, thanking you of your mastership that you have showed unto me at all times, praying you of your good continuance; and as touching the bargain of Beckham, the which was made betwixt you and my mother, on whose soul God have mercy, and we by indentures sealed both on your part and on ours, I am ready to fulfil with that you would send me the indenture of our part that I may know verily what your true bargain is therein and our right and title on our part, for I am sure there is the (*sic*) nor no man else that I should proffer this bargain to would hold me wise to make a bargain of such avail, and the party therein, less than I had mine indenture to show firm what my right is therein; and therefore trust verily I have no bargain made with no man, nor naught will not proffer unto the time I have the indenture of our part and also that I have true knowing of the due debt that we owe to you. And therefore I pray you of your good mastership that you write to me plainly how you will be governed in this matter, and thereupon I will busy me to make an end for the valuation of the deed and your right and our, and profit of the country. No more to you at this time, but I pray you evermore of your good mastership and good counsel.

Written at Cromer the Monday next after Our Lady's day, the Nativity.

per JOHN MARYETE.

5. "To the right worshipful Sir, and my good friend Philip Berney, Esquire.

Right worshipful Sir, I recommend me to you and pray you write that you and others are enfeoffed in the manor of East Beckham to my oess (use) and thereupon I have in your name and others taken an action against John Maryete of Cromer. Wherefore I pray you that you make no release thereof to no man till I speke with you, and God have you in his keeping. Writ at London the 22 day of October.

Yours

WILLIAM PASTON."

To John Damme.

Sir, I recommend me to you and thank you of your great labour with all my heart, but as by your bill my father should be bound to pay all William Maryott's debts or half at the least, that is 100*l.*, which with the said 40*l.* that John should have is twice as much as is owing as I conceive, the which should hurt me more than avail. And I was at that time at Cromer and wot well that it was neither Maryote's moving nor my father's that he should be chargeable of more than he oweth. His payments, expences, and his bargain allowed, I suppose they shall hold him paid with this bill if there be any more that heard it, I pray help they may unseal, but begin at these first and then send forth the

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other. I would we had six seals if it might easily be. Sir James Gresham told me that you think the bargain were not certain, but if it were put in certain what the debts be that should be content. He thinketh that the 40*l*. maketh the bargain certain betwixt John and my father and though it be not with other matter that I have it shall be certain I know. My Lady Morley, Hastings and my mother and I, &c. dined this day at Lincoln Cocks' and supped this night together also and divers persons were disposed to have said no good word of you, and after ere we departed they that have said worst of you said better of you than I hear them say this twelvemonth day, and in substance contrary to all old tales. *Multa habeo vobis dicere quæ non sunt in libro hoc.*

By JOHN PASTON.

1673—1682.

LETTERS of Sir JOHN HOBART, of Blickling, to WILLIAM WINDHAM, of Felbrigg, from 1673 to 1682, about the Norfolk election and other local matters.

1673, April 17. London.—Lord Townshend, Sir Robert Walpole, and J. Bladwell to the Deputy Lieutenants of the County of Norfolk; Lord Richardson, Sir John Hobart, Sir Philip Wodehouse, Sir John Holland, Sir Robert Kemp, Sir Jacob Astley, Sir Peter Gleave, Sir Christopher Calthorpe, William Windham and others; asking them to attend with the writers at Christ Church, Norwich, to receive the Sacrament, "and the first day of the sessions to take the oaths and subscribe the declaration required" in the Act for preventing the dangers of Popish recusancy.

1678-9, Jan. 23.—Sir John Hobart to William Windham. Election news. "Mr. Mountague was stopt at Dover in his passage for France—but not taken in woman's clothes as was reported;—a messenger is sent to summon him to appeare at Court, not to take him into custody, soe that great care seems to be taken not to break priviledge. They say my Lord Aston's answers upon his examination hurt him more than Dugdale's information against his Lord, and was the chief cause and—as is thought—a very good one for his close imprisonment. I heare the Lordes in the Tower were sent to, to lett them knowe there was as good evidence against most of them as against the condemned prisoners, upon which my Lord Stafford desir'd to speke with my Lord Bishop of Canterbury, who being sent by his Majesty had an hour's conferrance with the Lord Stafford, but what it was, is not yet publickly knowne. Grove and Ireland will be certainly executed tomorrow. Pickering's execution is yet respited."

1678-9, Jan. 25.—Sir John Hobart to William Windham. Enclosing a copy of the proclamation dissolving Parliament, and intimating his intention of standing for the county with Sir John Holland (he hopes) at the election. Advises Mr. Windham to stand for Lynn.

1678-9, Jan. 28.—Unsigned and unaddressed letter endorsed, "Hobart writes he will not stand." The writer declines to stand at the next election.

1677-8, Feb. 28.—Sir John Hobart to William Windham. The news is that Mr. Cory is dead or dying; yesterday "I received a letter from

a considerable person of Norwich to desire me to use my interest with you" to stand for the City against Sir N. Catelyn. Sir John thinks favourably of Mr. Windham's chances. . . .

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"I feare by the newes these two dayes that all Flanders is, or will be sudden lost, and by the taking most of the Prince of Orange his ammunition and great gunns in Ghant and Bruges the next campagne will be broken, and all the United Provinces in great danger this summer; and our fate too neare approaching." Upon the back is a copy of Mr. Windham's reply, in which he thanks Sir John for his "unreasonable kindness for me, who will not declyne the service of the countv, nor court the employment *à la mode*, and soe 'tis a foolish vanityte to offer at it in this age against soe popular and notable a knight, who in all likelihood will be encouraged from above and countenanced here, therefore you'll doe well to thinke of some body of a more generous and publick spirit."

[1679.]—Election petition of Sir John Hobart against the return of Sir Christopher Calthorpe and Sir Nevill Catelyn.

[1679.] — Sir John Hobart's case against the return of Sir Christopher Calthorpe and Sir Nevill Catelyn.

1679, April 3.—Sir John Hobart to W. Windham. The first part unimportant. "Going in the morning up into the Speaker's chamber—as I usually doe—I was made a prisoner there for three houres, which at first was a little serious to me, having much business upon me, but some friends explained the reason why the keys were carryed to the Clerke's table of the House: One Mr. Reading a lawyer who Sir John Holland have seen often plead at the barr of the House—and soe he did but two dayes since—was there apprehended by order of the House, and presently examined by the Committee of Secrecy. His charge is great enough to endanger his life. The proofs against him will fortify Oates' and Bedlow's testimony and strongly affect the Lordes in the Tower by whoes order he was employed to corrupt Bedlow with great promises &c., and to prove this there are besides his owne hand two gentlemen of credit to witness this against him. There is sufficient proof to make out the articles against the Lords."

1679, Good Friday [April 18].—Sir John Holland to W. Windham. "We are told from Bury that there were letters directed to the Speaker, signed by three English gentlemen dated lately from Brest to acquaint the House with the Great and formidable preparations of the French King, both of horse and foote, ready upon the coast to be shipped and ships ready to receive them, and to put to sea The daily discovery is still of the continued practises of the priests and papists carrying on the design of fying the Citty and other matters will put off the hearing of our election petition."

1679, "about" April 25.—"A cotype of our letter to the Gentry of Norfolk."

"The House of Commons having declared that Sir Christopher Calthorp and Sir Nevell Catlyn were not duly elected to serve as knights of the shire for our countye, and a writ being issued out for a new election, wee thinke it reasonable to acquaint you, wee are encouraged to offer our services to the Country, and that wee will personally appeare upon the day of election, which is the 5 of May. If you thinke us worthy of that imployment, wee desire you'll please to appeare for us

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with your interests, and if wee have the honour to bee chosen, wee will endeavour to acquit ourselves as behoves

Your faithfull servants

JO. HOBART

WM. WINDHAM."

1679, May 12.—Lord Townshend to Mr. Windham, on election matters; assuring him that "our Norfolk world shall know, that who-soever pretends friendship to mee, must appeare for you, or shall never be owned by mee."

1679, May 13. Sir John Hobart to Wm. Windham—"I came safte to towne by 9 a'clock Sunday morning, and after I had payde my devotion at the Church, I went to the doore of the House—further I could not goe the indenture not being return'd.—I found they were engag'd in the debates of those great questions which you will see in the journal of that day."

1679, May 15.—Sir John Hobart to W. Windham on election matters, trying to rouse him to energy enough to petition for some seat (not named) which he had lost at the election. On the back is Mr. Windham's reply in which he says: "I confess I take so much delight in my nursery and garden that I don't envye the Knight the honour of being in the House, nor—to use your owne words—provide ammunition, guns and carriages to assault him; yet upon a publick designe I will proceed so far as Sir J. A[sh], you, and our great friend advise. I am glad you are soe brisk and active; when there is an opportunitye for me to serve my King, country, friend or myselfe you shall finde I will rowse up and be as active and unwearied in the service as anybodie can be."

1679, May 15. Quidenham.—Sir J. Holland to W. Windham, condoling with him on the loss of his election.

1679, May 20.—Sir John Hobart to Mr. Windham.—Political matters. "The great obstruction in proceeding to the trial of the five Lords in the Tower is from the preference of the trial of the sixth, and the judgment upon his pardon with ascertaining the judges upon that as well as to the fact which seems considering he has pleaded guilty, and his pardon is the same thing, this does still remaine in difference betwixt both Houses, and I feare should still doe soe. . . . And by the result of this whole daye's debate in the Lorde's House I am confirmed in my apprehensions." A long debate upon the report from the Committee of the abuses of the Navy "wherein two of the members were highly accused, Sir Anthony Deene and Mr. Pepies: the last layed downe his Secretarye's place last Sunday, and it resulted in this that both were committed to the Sergeant at Armes and order'd to answer their accusations Thursday next. No less than matters of treason and felony are laid to their charge, but by what I have heard I am apt to believe neyther will be well made out against them. They are neyther my favourites, and I believe them not wholly inocent, but yet in these particulars they will fare the better rather than the worse from the warmth of the prosecution, and that their offences are magnified beyond a due proportion."

1679, May 24.—Unsigned letter to Mr. Windham relating what took place in the House of Commons upon a petition brought in by Sir Christopher Calthorpe against the return of Sir John Hobart. The petition was rejected.

1680, June 3.—Sir John Hobart to W. Windham. Protesting against the report circulated by his enemies that he had been at a Conventicle within the past three weeks.

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1680, June 26.—Sir John Hobart to W. Windham. A newsletter. "That which passed in Westminster Hall seems to be very remarkable for some part of it, and for the proceeding of the Court. . . . Lord Shaftsbury with 8 or 10 Lordes more and other persons of quality mett together neare the Court of Requests—as I was told, for I saw them not—and sent for the Clerk of the Crowne to draw an indictment upon evidence given to the Grand Jury of Middlesex against the Duke in order to his conviction for a Romish Recusant. The Lord Chief Justice—as they say—having notice of this, sent for the Grand Jury into Court, and as is likewise sayd, being inform'd that they were just then enter'd upon the evidence of the foresaid indictments, and demanded whether they were ready with their indictments and presentments, to which they replyed they were in a good forwardness with them, but had not yet perfected them, but that they had something else ready to offer to the Court, which was a petition to his Majestie for the meeting of the Parliament, &c.—in effect the same as formerly.—The Petition was received and read, and then the Grand Jury desir'd that one of the judges would deliver it to his Majestie. The Court told them they knew noe law which did oblige them to be their letter or petition carryers, but wished them to desist, and if they would not they might deliver it themselves: and then Judge Jones by the direction of the Court told the Grand Jury that they were discharged from their attendance upon the Court. Soe they were discharged before they had delivered in any indictments or presentments, which those who know the practice of the Court, say was never knowne before, nor yet that a Grand Jury was ever discharg'd before the latter end of the term."

1681, May 31.—Sir John Hobart to W. Windham.

The first part on election matters.

"The extreordinary councill on Sunday at Windsor was expected to result in the resolveing the meeting of a Parliament, which some say was the subject matter of that dayes debates, they lasted very long, and as I am told ended in the negative: The greatest news current in this place, is further discoveries of the old plott, new sham plotts and counter plotts: That of Mackgray's and others offering to prove that Sir E[dmund] B[ury] Godfrey hanged himselfe, was thought to be soe considerable, as to be countenanced at least by one or more great Lords in the tower, to be recommended to Secretary Jenkins to be introduced by him with a sett speech at Councill in admiration of God's providence which had brought to his hands soe wonderfull a discovery as he was then ready to make to them, with much more to the like tune. Then the Irishman was produced, who not having considered his leason well, was taken tripping, and being further pressed, discovered the whole cheate, and fearing that a letter he had wrote to Mrs. Sillyer after he was taken into custody had been intercepted, and perhaps her answer if she had wrote one, he confessed the said letter, upon which, and not before, Secretary Jenkins confessed the said letter to Mrs. Syllier had been intercepted and then produced it, which did fully cleare the whole matter.

An Irishman—for all the witnesses of late are of the tribe of the Mack Shams:—has sworne that my Lord Mayor, the two Sheriffs, Sir Ro. Clayton and Sir Thomas Player offered him 100*l.* per annum for

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his life to sware against the Queen and the Duke: upon this they say her Majestie will bring her action, and the other persons are as highly ex[as]perated on the other side.

Godfrey's brothers have acquainted my Lord Chief Justice that they will petition the Court, to interceed for a pardon to two persons who are ready to prove strange particulars of the murther of their brother and the plott. Severall Lords were againe with my Lord Chancellor to know his majesties answer—on friday laste—to their former humble desires, that he would be pleased to grant his pardon to two at present unknowne persons, to which the Chancellor told them, that his majestie sayde there had been severall days sett for the comeing in of evidences etc., that they might have then taken hold of his mercy, but now the doore was shutt, and besides he did not know, but Fitzhain's might be one of those persons, therefore he refused it. The Lords replyed, that he was none of them, that they desired his Lordship once more to acquainte his majestie, that they desired not the pardon should extend to treason, or murther, but only to misprision of treason, nay further that these persons were men of great credit and quality, and that one of them was an English Peere, and that he had soe great an assurance of his majestie's grace and clemency that if his majestie would not promise him a pardon beforehand, yet he would come in, and make his discovery, and see putt himselfe upon the justice of the nation, this is soe near a romantick story, that if I had not received it from a very good hand I should hardly have troubled you with it. Men's mindes are bigg with expectations, I wish it might be a fruitfull season of good productions, but my feares are greater then my hopes that it will be as barren of that kinde as the excessive drought have made the earth, which is great to that degree here, that noe man ever knew the like, the said effects are already too apparent, and if it continues will grow far greater."

1681, December 20.—Sir John Hobart to W. Windham.

Sir John speaks of his visit to William Windham in the country and the relative pleasures of London and country life. He gives a short account of affairs with France, and then concludes "The condemnation of Argile you will finde in printe, but there are some circumstances relative thereto, that you will heare of afterwarde, which will more explain that matter: I never knew a season of less news in the best sense, I am glad there is noe greater in the worse. Those who are inquisitive and thoughtfull, could not imagin a grand cavelcade introduced by trumpets and the great patrons of both churches should be only to call a poore baggpiper to account, or disband a small foot company. But stars of a great magnitude will in their motions carry aboute with them lesser lights that depend upon their immediate influence, this perhaps made a full meeting at the Kingshead on Saturday, where I dare say my worthy friend was not, nor is in danger of being one of the Caball—if they have any.—But a visit at Oxford is decent, and agreeable to his often professed cevill principle which I hope was received as it deserved."

1682-3, January 11.—Sir John Hobart to W. Windham on "the great affair of the shutting up of the East India Company, that is of payments untill next March," the discontentment it produced, and the various reasons which caused it. Sir John says "the great disagreement amonge themselves, seems to me to be like a house or kingdome divided between themselves." He also adds "I am glad 'tis that time of day yet to baite Catholick bulls, I wish they may never have better

quarter: But yet I suppose this pastime in your neighbourhood was intended to increase popularity, as the other company was nere that place where the Lady and her sonn made their visit: He that keeps such company 'tis pity he should have better."

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1682-3, March 22.—Sir John Hobart to W. Windham on Lord Townshend's visit to the King.

"I heard something of the manner of it from one who was told it from an eye witness, that he was received by the King, from thence he went to the Duke who said 'my Lord you are welcome thus farr on your way to R[ainham]' and immediately turned his back. This was not well resented, but with some trouble of minde he presently went out of towne: upon this an honest gentleman who was prevy to this and former passages, spake freely his minde to your relation, which I presume would produce noe other effects, then increasing a little the mortification:"

No Date. October 9.—Lady Hobart to W. Windham on the death of her husband.

"Whatever the nice rules of gentility of our agge are I am soe sensible of my friends kindnes as its very agg[r]eable to mee and soe I will you was your favouer of the first of this mounth and those good wishes to mee and mine dus confirme your harti kindnes for my dear husband who though but an effect of your one merit had a most reall esteem for you and so exprest it whilst hee had any recolezione of thoughts left in him. Sir Joseph Ash and Mrs. Windham has in-devered for an oppertunity to have Hayes misfortanes but her present desinge tooke not effect but I think my sonn intends to waight of Sir Joseph before he goes into H to see if he can give him any hopes, its much in Hayes power to heelp himself though as to my frind I may say at present all things lookes with a dismall prospect to my viwe, I am

Sir your obliged, affectionate servant

Hobart.

"My faithfull servie to Mrs. Windham and thanks for her favouers who shall p'edanly (?) take an opportunity to doe it myself."

MISCELLANEOUS POETRY AND PROSE.

A miscellaneous collection of MSS., mostly poetical, of which the following have been selected. They comprise political, social, personal, and satirical subjects, and contain several epigrams and sonnets by and on eminent persons, which (it is believed) have not before been printed.

1. N.D. [about 1713].—"The Reverend Mr. Smedley, Minister of ——— (sic) in Ireland, on Dr. Swift.

A Deanery he has got at last
By ways most strange and odd
And may a Bishop be in time
If he'd believe in God!

2. N.D.—Verses unsigned, the handwriting of the 18th century.

"The Bench have oft posed us and set us a scoffing
With signing John London, John Sarum, John Roffen,
But His Grace of today no expounders will want
For he signs with his own proper name—Thomas Cant."

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[This satirical allusion may be applied to either Archbishop Thomas Herring translated from York in October 1747, or Archbishop Thomas Secker translated from Oxford in March 1758. The name of John appears to be used as a class name.]

3. N.D. Verses unsigned [after 1720].—On the back of the paper is an address in another hand “To Mrs. Cooper, at Gunton near Norwich.” [In the corner is the frank “Free, Wm. Windham.”]

“What tho’ I am a London lass
And handsome am as can be
And to set off my pretty face
I dress my head like Denbigh *—who is a foreigner.
At operas I constant shine,
By toupees so surrounded
That with pulville and speeches fine
My verces are confounded.
In Masquerades I go well dress’d
And talk so very pretty
That by the crowd I am confess’d
Like Lady Mary witty—my Lady Mary Wortley.
I at Assemblys play Quadrille
But not like Bristol storming
Like Dorset † I can lose and smile,
My visage not deforming.
At Court I go but there I fret
And ruffle every feature
To be push’d out by Nanny Brett
A little silly creature.
Like Manchester I grace the ball
And move with Harvey’s air—a
That ’tis confessed by one and all
I am a gracefull fair—a.
At Leicester Fields I give my vote
For the fine-piped Cotzoni
At Burlington’s I change my note
Faustina, for my money.
Ottilio’s musick I dispise
For none can please like Hendall [Händel]
But the disputes which hence arise
I wish and hope may end well.”
Thus do I gayly spend my days, &c.

[There is a stanza or two more.]

4. N.D. Handwriting of the 18th century.—A miscellaneous collection, in the form of a small book of six sheets, containing epitaphs, enigmas, inscriptions, epigrams, from which are taken the following :—

* The Countess of Denbigh, wife of William, 6th Earl, was Isabella, daughter of Peter de Jonghe of Utræcht.

† Lionel Cranfield, 7th Earl of Dorset, was created Duke of Dorset 13th June 1720. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Lieut.-General Coleyear and niece of David, Earl of Portmore.

Another [epitaph] on Sir Philip Sidney.

England Netherland the heavens and the arts
The souldiers in the world hath made 6 parts
Of noble Sidney, for who will suppose
That a small heap of stones may Sidney enclose
England had his body, for she it fed
Netherland his bloud in her defence shed
The heavens have his soul, the arts have his fame
The souldiers the greife, the world his good name."

"A witty jest made by the Earl of Rochester upon King Charles the 2nd, the Duke of York, the Duke of Monmouth, the Duke of Lauderdale, and Doctor Frasier, viz. :—

Here's Monmouth the witty
And Lauderdale the pretty
And Frasier the learned physician,
And above all the rest
Here's the duke for a jest
And the King for a great politician."

"Another also made by the same man for which the King was merry with his nobles, none being able to make a rhyme to Lisbone, they sent for him * who upon promise of pardon began thus with a glass full of wine :—

Here's a health to Kate
Our Sovereign's mate
Of the royal house of Lisbone
But the devil take Hyde
And the Bishop beside
That made her bone his bone."

"The French King having in vain-glorious boast caused the following verses to be inscribed on a marble pillar at Versailles to tell the greatness of his actions to future ages, viz. :—

Una dies Lotheros, Burgundos hebdomas una,
Una domat Batavos luna, quid annus agat!

In English thus :

Lorrain a day, a week Burgundy won,
Flanders a month, what would a year have done ?

Which being seen by the ingenious Earl of Rochester he presently writ underneath :

Lorrain you stole, by fraud you got Burgundy,
Flanders you bought and God ! you'll pay for't one day."

5. N.D.—Fragment of a sheet on which is written in the handwriting of the 18th century this squib :—

"My Lord, here's a christening," the officer said
"The gossips are ready, the cushions are laid,
What, without my leave," cry'd the Prelate inflam'd,
"Go, lock up your font, let the Infant be damn'd."

* Rochester (*sic*).

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7. N.D.—Epigram :

“ When Hulse for some trifling unorthodox jests
As an atheist was censured by bigots and priests
The politick doctor, to remove the reproach
Was seen with a parson six months in his coach.
When Cheselden saw this device had success
He conceiv’d, in some sort, it might serve his own case
So, to take a notorious censure away
Contrived to be seen with a wit every day ;
Then, with Pope by his side, in the pride of his soul
‘ Now, damn ye, d’ye see, who can say I’m a fool ? ’ ”

8. N.D.—Epigram, addressed on the back “ For William Windham Esqre. at Polesworth near Atherstone, Warwickshire.”

“ On Mr. Nash of Bath, a freethinker, and Mr. Berkeley, a stupid rigid orthodox believer, both at Bath.

On grace and faith and mysterys high
Two witts harangued the table ;
Berkeley believes, he knows not why,
Nash swears ’tis all a fable.
Oh, peerless champions ! then agree ;
Nash ! kiss thy empty brother ;
Religion smiles at foes like thee,
But dreads a friend like t’other.”

9. 1753, Oct. 3.—“ Ballad on the meeting at Norwich . . . by Mr. Gardiner.” An election squib.

10.—Epigram on the Duchess of Queensberry, and answer.

On the Duchess of Queens—y.
Did Cælia’s person, and her sense agree
What mortal could behold her, and be free :
But nature has in pity to mankind
Enrich’t the image, but debas’t the mind.

Answer.

Had Pope a person equal to his mind
How fatal would it be to womankind :
But nature, who does all things well ordain
Deform’d the body and enrich’t the brain.

11.—On a Lady Howard, by Mr. Pope.

Cosmelia’s charms inspire my lays
Who fair in nature’s scorn
Blooms in the winter of her days
Like Glastonbury Thorn.
Cosmelia cruel at three score
(As bards in modern plays)
Four acts of life pass’t guiltless o’er
But in the fifth she slays.

When'e're impatient for the bliss
 Within her arms you fall
 The plaister'd fair returns the kiss
 Like Thisbe—thro' a wall.

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N.D.—

"Say ! what reward shall be decreed
 For deeds like those of Sir John Cope
 Reason and rhyme are all agreed
 His ribband should be made a rope."

N.D.—"Verses on Mr. Prior by Mr. Ingram of the Temple ; brother
 to (Vall ?) Ingram of Bath."

N.D.—Poem beginning "But what are these to great Atossa's
 mind ?" Endorsed "Pope on the Duchess of Marlboro'." At the end
 is written : "It is said and believed that the Dutches gave him (Pope)
 1,000*l.* to suppress and call in all the printed copies of the Poem whereof
 the verses upon her were a part : but if he took the money and did not,
 it was like other things of the same nature which he did."

N.D.—Paper of verses, the first headed "The resolve by Lady M.
 Wortley."

Following this is "Lady M. Wortley's imitated by Mr. P[o]pe."

N.D.—"By Lord Chesterfield on his making Mr. Kent the King's
 painter." [William Kent died in 1748.]

"As, to Apelles, Ammon's son
 Would only deign to sit ;
 So, to thy pencil, Kent ! alone
 Will Brunswick's form submit :

Equal your envied wonders ! save
 This difference we see,
 One would no other painter have—
 No other would have thee."

N.D.—Complimentary verses, unsigned ; addressed on the back to
 "the Hon. Mrs. Wyndham." *Begins—*

"Much at an hour I need not name
 When sluggards stretch and lovers dream,"

Ends—

"Pray when you write, remember will ye
 To give my love to brother Billy ?"

N.D.—Epitaph upon the Bishop of Salisbury [Burnet]

"Here Sarum lyes of late as wise
 As learned as your Aquinas
 Yet to be sure he was no more
 A Christian than Sosinas (Socinus)
 Oaths pro and con he swallowed down
 Loved gold like any lay man
 Wrote, preached, and prayed
 And yet betrayed
 His Mother Church for mammon ;

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Of every vice he had a spice
Yet though a precious prelate
He lived and dyed if not belyed
A true dissenting zealot.
If such a soul to Heaven is stole
And 'scaped old Satan's clutches
We may presume there will be room
For Marlborough and his Duchess."

Some lines on Miss Townshend, by the Author of the history of Benet College, Cambridge.

"Instances of the elegant stile of Alderman Nutting of Cambridge.

"Whereas a multiplicity of damages are frequently occur'd by damage of outrageous accidents by fire, we whose names are underfixed have thought proper that the necessity of an engine ought by us, for the better extinguishing of which by the accidents of Almighty God may unto us happen, to make a rate to gather benevolence for better propagating such good instrument."

"Honourable Sir, Have sent you a small present, who humbly pray may prove worthy of acceptance which is a hair. Who is your humble servant."

15. N.D. (handwriting of the 18th century).—Paper headed "Key of the persons supposed to be meant in Pudica."* A List of 48 personages [? of a play] with their prototypes, or living representatives, as follows :

Dick Merryfellow	-	-	Dick Gardiner.
Count Antiquary	-	-	Mr. Earl, junr.
Squire Fog	-	-	Mr. Hase.
Jack Shadwell	-	-	Mr. Buxton, of Shadwell.
Miles Dinglebob	-	-	Mr. Branthwayt.
Pudica	-	-	Miss Sotherton.
Mr. and Mrs. Bull	-	-	Mr. and Mrs. Sotherton.
Edmund Holdfast	-	-	Mun Locke.
Tom Templeman	-	-	Tom Churchman.
Canidia	-	-	Miss F. Preston, now Mrs. Jerney.
Billy Tweed	-	-	Berwick, a Surgeon.
Jacob Bullet	-	-	Old Jacob Preston.
Billy Popple	-	-	Billy Jerney.
Worthy Clergyman, page 26	-	-	Rev. Mr. Preston.
Counsellor Bullet	-	-	Isaac Preston.
Injured Lady	-	-	Mrs. Courtney.
Littlefish	-	-	Isaac Sprat.
Frank Spixworth	-	-	Mr. Long.
Sir Edm-d B-c-n of G-l-l-ng-m	-	-	Sir Edmund Bacon of Gillingham.
Justice Brutus	-	-	Phil: Brewster, Esquire, and Justice.
Mr. Monosyllable	-	-	Mr. Brett.

* From a pedigree compiled by a descendant of one of the personages mentioned below, it is ascertained that this must have been written between 1751 and 1753.

Beau Taper -	-	-	Mr. Beavor.
Sir Charles Easy -	-	-	Sir R. Ward.
P-ke -	-	-	Pembroke, an attorney.
Miss Shadwells -	-	-	Miss Buxtons.
Dr. T-n -	-	-	Dr. Thurston.
B-le -	-	-	Boyle.
W-ls-gh-m -	-	-	Walsingham.
M-l-ne -	-	-	Malone.
Sir R-ch-d C-x -	-	-	Sir Richard Cox.
Sir A-r G-re -	-	-	Sir Arthur Gore.
Ch-r-ls G-rd-r -	-	-	Charles Gardiner.
N-pp-r -	-	-	(sic).
E-l of K-ld-re -	-	-	Earl of Kildare.
E. of C-rr-ck -	-	-	Earl of Carrick.
Bishop of Cl-gh-r -	-	-	Bishop of Clogher.
Bishop of D-rr-y -	-	-	Bishop of Derry.
St-nh-pe -	-	-	Mr. Stanhope.
R-b-rts-n -	-	-	Robertson.
H-b-rt, son to the E-. of	-	-	Mr. Hobart, son to the Earl of
B-ck-ing-msh-e -	-	-	Buckinghamshire.
Miles Dinglebob's Uncle	-	-	Old Miles Branthwayt.
His son A——r -	-	-	His son Arthur.
Sir Billy Silly -	-	-	Sir William Wiseman.
Sir Harry Kirby -	-	-	Sir Hanson Berney.
Dr. S-lt-r -	-	-	Dr. Salter.
T-m Walsh for -	-	-	B-m.
Popgun hall -	-	-	Gunthorp.

16. N.D. (handwriting of the 18th century).—Paper headed “An Epistle of Chion to Matris, translated from the Greek Original. A letter written after 401 B.C.*”

Another bundle marked “French and Italian verse and prose printed.” Containing a copy of a canzone of Metastasio’s beginning “*Grazie agl’inganni trioi, Alfin respiro o Nice*,” and an answer to it by Giacomo Zanotti. And several fugitive ballads and squibs.

A bundle of miscellaneous printed pamphlets, lampoons, &c., contains a “Case of John Mills, Benjamin Johnson, James Quin, Josias Miller, Theophilus Cibber, John Harper, Benjamin Griffin, William Mills, William Milward, Charles Shepard, Thomas Walker, Lacy Ryan, John Hippisley, Dennis Delane, Thomas Chapman, Samuel Stephens, Mary Heron, Elizabeth Butler, Christiana Horton, Anne Hallam, Jane Bullock, and Elizabeth Buchanan on behalf of themselves and the rest of the Comedians of the Theatres Royal of Drury Lane and Covent Garden,” protesting against a bill in Parliament for restraining the number of houses for playing of interludes, &c.

MISCELLANEOUS PROSE PAPERS.

This and similar papers (see No. 2) appear rather to be diaries of travel, and the impressions formed on the writer during his stay at the places from which or about which he writes.

* Date of the Battle of Cunaxa, where Cyrus was killed fighting against his brother Artaxerxes.

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1. 1693, October 3rd, new style. "Lucqua." Paper unsigned, headed "concerning Florence."—The character of the Duke, Cosmo dei Medici (III.), about 55 years old. Is extremely religious, a great admirer of money, and particularly kind to the English of either sex. Has walls underground and a corridor to retire privately to from Poggio de Pitti into the Gallery. Keeps the city bridled, and adds to his treasures. Engrosses all the salt and iron. The latter he gets from the Island of Elba which he hired of the Spaniards. Allows even the bread and corn to be monopolized and connives at tradesmen going out of the country without confiscating their goods (his father would never do it). Since this permission the city is denuded of 30,000 men. Has 16 per cent. of all lead sold and 8 per cent. of widows' portions that marry. Takes 16 per cent. for all houses bought and 5 skillings English for every pig or hog and proportionally for eggs &c. brought into the town. On marrying a son has 300,000 or 400,000 crowns of the country towards maintaining the expence. Does not scruple to take the finest altar pieces out of several churches and put copies in their stead; "the severall pictures I have set down in another paper." [This does not appear among this bundle.] He is the greatest Merchant in the world. The Duke of Bavaria put some money into his hands for security, 300,000 crowns of which he subtracts for the Prince's portion, gives 4 per cent. for the rest. He has a fine altar piece making in brass basso relievo for the East Indies by the best Master in the workhouse belonging to Jean de Bologne. The Palace of Pitti was built by a townsman who hearing a nobleman's house mightily commended said he would build one should have a court where the House should be able to stand, every window of the House should be bigger than his door. All the pictures taken out of the churches are kept here with a great many others of the most famous hands. Apartments here are fitted up for the Cardinal the Duke Prince Ferdinand and his brother who has the Duke's library near him. Speaks of the renowned library of the Pitti Palace and specifies some of the literary treasures. "Nothing was more remarkable than the famous library keeper Malliabecchi who can be compared to nothing but a more learned Diogenes, a man of an extraordinary memory and unparalleled complaisance; of a low height and small wast. To see him in his Chamber is to view one with a little short Inn waistcoat, breeches ragged, a napkin about his middle to keep the cold and the company's eyes from his nudities; 3 or 4 large rooms drowned with books, stairs blockt up with Pamphlets, and windows stopt up with Folios; his money about the table which he purchases a roasted egg or some such dinner with, for being afraid to lose a minute upon himself seldom sits to a formal dinner or sleeps with his habit off, a man of a correspondence as general as his memory is vast, of a civility as great as his way of living is particular."* In another House of the Duke's called Poggio Imperiale which the writer describes as beautifully adorned and arranged there are pictures of sixteen English women; "the Dutchess of Cleaveland's obscured all the rest; in the 2nd floor was a large gallery with the daudiest picture of King James' Queen that ever was seen making her liker a kitchen wench than a Helene, King Charles the 1st and Queen by Vandyke and great many fine Cabinets with festoons of

* Antonio Magliabecche was born at Florence, 28 October 1633. As a boy he was placed as servant to a dealer in fruit, and while in this employment betrayed so remarkable a propensity for books and letters that a bookseller took him into his service. The Grand Duke, hearing of his wonderful talents and memory, appointed him his librarian. He died 14 July 1714.

mother of pearl in basso relievo." Prince Ferdinand [son of the Grand Duke] is about 30 years and married to the Duke of Bavaria's daughter. Descriptions of him and his wife. The Duke and the Prince dine separately. The Duke maintains all the Prince's equipages and allows him 100 Crowns a day for pocket money, keeping his musicians and comedians. He generally lives at Prattibua about five miles from Florence in a "little house but the best chambers except pitts (?), fine waterworks, organs playing, drums beating, storming of towns, shooting of guns, all sorts of mills going, Pan playing on his pipes, nymphs coming out of their houses filling their pails with water and retiring with a work of tricks to wet the spectators, fire grottos with serpents drinking and swans men giving them water, and a great many cool rooms." The Duke has another house about the same distance with a park about thirty miles away where he hunts game and pots the venison for slaves and gives leave to shoot pheasants and hares. The young Prince, John [son and successor of the Grand Duke], speaks English pretty well. Jo. Haines was his tutor. Very favorable to the English.

2. 1693, (*sic*) September 9 (*sic*), new style. Innsprück. Paper unsigned [same handwriting as No. 1.]—Begins "About 5 English miles before wee came to Inspragg wee met on the sides of the mountains an infinite company of wing'd grasshoppers 5 times as large as they are commonly in England." So great is the plague of these insects that prayers are offered for delivery from them; they are supposed to come from Hungary where there were such prodigious quantities that they left nothing but poisonous herbs for the cattle, who died in great numbers from eating them. The insects "will sit upon a stack of hay and devour it presently; if they should attack a man I know not how he would escape, for they bite as severely as most little birds." Describing the salt making at Hall [Hallstein] the writer says the salt comes from the top of a hill at a good distance, where there is a spring which runs into their chambers of salt, where hundreds of men are either working, sleeping, or eating (for day or night there is no intromission), from thence in pipes to their pans which are many and large. The workmen are the strongest Germans that can be got and they carry columns of salt weighing 300 lb. and more. They are obliged to have an iron and leather hat weighing 40 lb. to save breaking their necks, and no man is admitted as a workman unless he can carry it up a hill and three times about a ring; when the Duke of Florence was there, one carry'd all this and a man upon the pillar of salt besides. The salt is extraordinarily good. Another expedient used in making the salt is by the heat of the sun. A machine made on wheels has a cover removable at will for sunshine and foul weather. It is thought that the Emperor of Germany receives 100,000 crowns revenue from the salt. The deer and stags at such times come down from the mountains in great numbers, sometimes as many as two hundred one after another. Quails are taken in large quantities by means of nets. Foxes and hares are white here and have extremely long hair to keep them from the cold. The bears and wolves here are troublesome. Refers to the frequency of goitre in these parts. The method of coining money in this country is curious. At Hall they "having molten the silver pour into a mould which by two round brass solid boxes they make as long again, then putting of it between two circular bodys—which go by water—of several sizes they grow it what stamp and what bigness they please, then they cut it round by laying of it atop of a hole in iron and cut it by a solid made engin adapted to the hole and going with a screw; the "Krisers" [Kreutzers] they make by laying it upon an

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iron with the stamp and another with the reverse screwed down upon it. They cut the gold peices by a very great screw pois'd with great weight, another of these screws that stamps the little money goes by water, the other by the hand, of the 4th part of a floren a new man could make 150 crowns and of the "Kritser" [Kreutzer] one man could make 50 crowns." The Queen of P. [Poland] is at church all day long; she and the old Duke of L. [Lithuania] used to go every night at 12 o'clock to prayers. She has four fine children, the eldest 15 years old. Earthquakes are frequent here.

The next place spoken of is Neuburg on the Danube, where the writer says is a handsome college. The Danube is not very broad but swift.

Ausbourg [Augsburg].

"A very fine stat-house not to be compared to that of Amsterdam." The inhabitants put salt on their houses to keep them from enchantments.

"At Brussels the Jews would have stole away the s^t sacrement but being prevented stole the box in which it was and immediately the blood squirted in their faces."

Also mentions many curiosities seen on the journey.

3. N.D., but contains an autograph note signed W. Windham.—As to an application made by Count Massay for a ticket to see "our" play. Mr. Windham writes his opinion on this application and an opinion is signed by him and six others adverse to it (though others support it), the Count's behaviour to the English not entitling him to any particular regard. The memorandum is signed by Richard Nevill Aldworth, W. Windham, Charles Churchill, George Hervey, George de la Lippe, William de la Lippe, and Robert Price."

4. 1722. June. — "The substance of the Bishop [Hoadly] of Hereford's charge."

N.D.—Copy of the reasons of the House of Lords for insisting upon certain amendments to an Act intituled "An Act for the further limitation of the Crown and the better preserving the rights and liberties of the subject whereby persons having office or places of profit or pensions from the Crown are made incapable of serving as members of the House of Commons."

1743.—Copy of Lord Stair's Memorial to the King "when he resigned his command."

1738, May 20.—"The Speaker's speech to the King at the close of the Session," stating that the House of Commons had voted 3,750,000*l.* for the maintenance of the fleet and army and for discharging a million of the national debt. The vote had been increased to that amount owing to the injuries and insults offered by Spain to English ships in the West Indies and America.

1704, Feb. 27.—A series of resolutions condemning the action of the House of Commons for committing to prison John Paty, John Oviatt, John Paton, Henry Bars, and Daniel Horn "for commencing and prosecuting actions at law against the late constables at Aylesbury for not allowing their votes at the election of members to serve in Parliament."

1692, Dec. 20.—Dublin. "Account of the dispute between the Lord Lieutenant and Parliament in Ireland," relating to the claim of the Irish House of Commons to prepare the heads of money bills. The account is in a letter beginning "Dear Sir," but unsigned and undressed. The Irish hope by this practice (if they obtain their demand) that they will "in time oblige the Crowne to repeal Poynings' law, a thing which is universally desired here, for as on the one side it would tend mightily to the liberty and flourishing estate of this country, so it is thought possible to assert the power and dominion of England over Ireland in time to come. . . . My Lord Lieutenant looks upon it as an attempt in the Commons to become as much as they can independent on England, and the Commons say it's their birth-right, and that they as well as the Commons of England ought to have it; that it's reason that they that give, should dispose of the manner of giving."

N.D. [1737].—Copy letter (beginning "George R.") from King George II. to the Prince of Wales.

"George R. The professions you have lately made in your letters of your particular regard to me so contradictory to all your actions that I cannot suffer myself to be impos'd upon by them.

You know very well you did not give the least information to me, or to the Queen that the Princess was with child until within less than a month of the birth of the young Princess.

You removed the Princess twice in the week immediately preceding the day of her delivery from the place of my residence in expectation—as you voluntarily declared—of her labour; and both times upon your return you industriously concealed from the knowledge of me and the Queen every circumstance relating to this important affair, and you at last, without giving any notice to me, or to the Queen, precipitately hurried the Princess from Hampton Court in a condition not to be named. After having thus, in execution of your own determined measures, exposed both the Princess and her child to the greatest peril, you now plead surprize and your tenderness for the Princess as the only motives that occasioned these repeated indignities offered to me, and to the Queen your mother.

This extravagant and undutiful behaviour in so essential a point as the birth of an heir to my Crown is such an evidence of your premeditated defiance of me, and such a contempt of my authority and of the natural rights belonging to your parents, as cannot be excused by the pretended innocence of your intention, nor palliated or disguised by specious words only.

But the whole tenour of your conduct for a considerable time has been so entirely void of all real duty to me that I have long had reason to be highly offended with you. And until you withdraw your regard and confidence from those by whose instigation and advice you are directed and encouraged in your unwarrantable behaviour to me and to the Queen; and until your return to your duty, you shall not reside in my palace which I will not suffer to be made the resort of them, who under the appearance of an attachment to you, foment the division which you have made in my family and thereby weaken the common interest of the whole.

In this situation I will receive no reply: but when your actions manifest a just sense of your duty and submission, that may induce me to pardon what at present I most justly resent.

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In the meantime it is my pleasure that you leave St. James's with all your family when it can be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the Princess.

I shall for the present leave to the Princess the care of my granddaughter until a proper time calls upon me to consider of her education."

"G. R."

1704 to 1708.

A miscellaneous collection of newspapers containing no new matter, tied up with the following letters.

[1704] August 23, O.S. Nordlingen.—Colonel William Windham to his mother. "I was loth to write very soon after my first account I gave you of my being shot in the leg in the late engagement because truly my surgeons could not tell well what to think of the matter, but upon my arrival to this place—which is the hospital for all our wounded—I have got all the help I can desire, and on Tuesday last was fortnight my leg was doomed to be cut off, and accordingly it was that day, since which time I thank God there has not happened the least ill accident that could be . . . Surely a greater victory [Blenheim] was never gained. They were 11,000 foot stronger, and we were 5,000 strongest in horse; they were so strongly encamped that they laughed to see us coming."

1704, Sep. 13, O.S. Nordlingen.—Colonel W. Windham to his mother, with accounts of his health. "My stump goes still to admiration; the bone must scale off at the end before it can be healed up or else one week more would do the business which now may take three, but there is no danger nor much trouble in that." In a postscript, "our garrison is again at Bois le Duc, please to direct to A[msterdam]. I long to hear a full account how everything does at Felbrigge, pray do you spend the winter there?"

1707, July 28, O.S. Meldert.—Colonel W. Windham to his brother Ashe Windham. "This morning our Duke has received an account that Prince Eugene and the Duke of Savoy have forced the enemy's entrenchments before Toulon, July 18th, O.S., where they had posted 35 battalions for the security of the town. Our friends were beaten on the first attack, outcarried it in the second with a terrible slaughter to the enemy. We have no room to doubt of this account, nor that the town will be taken, for this letter expresses a strange alarm that they are in at Paris, as if they were totally and infallibly undone.

Two days past Mr. Vandome made a detachment from this army of 17 battalions and 6 squadrons, so we are in great expectation of entering upon action on this side. We have been a long time talking of the low estate our enemies were reduced to, and I think verily that it is now almost come. The Dutch have published a resolution that they will buy up no more of their bills, nor lend them any money: this we reckon almost as good as another battle if they keep their word. Your poor godson I am afraid will be dead by that time I get this evening to Lovain. We talk already of marching towards the enemy; if they retire behind their lines we may besiege Mons or Tournay; but if they stand us we may send you better news." At the bottom of the letter, after the signature, is the following note in another hand dated "Wavre le 11

Aouût à 5 heures du matin": "Notre armée a marché toute la nuit, et aura prevenu les ennemis au camp de Genape où nos gens ont pris poste à la pointe du jour. Il est croyable que les ennemis auront passé la Sambre sous le canon de Charleroy: sinon il pourra y avoir ce jour une bataille, ou du moins qu'on tombera sur leur arrière garde.

Le Duc de Savoye faisoit travailler aux lignes de circonvallation pour ouvrir la tranchée le 3 de ce mois."

[All the above is written on the inside sheet of the paper; on the front is:—]

1707, Aug. 12. Amsterdam.—"What you find on the other side is all we had this post from France, we hear nothing of what the Colonel says on the other side which makes us think that the thing is not so fair as we heard at first. All the expectation we have is that the 7th there arrived an express to the King of France, and what he brought is kept very secret. Next post we shall know more of the matter which you may depend shall let you know."

1708, July 30. Paper endorsed.—"Scheme of the manner of the landing the Army." General Erle who commanded the Expedition was on board the *Ludlow Castle*.

1708, July 24.—"Orders to be observed before and after landing the forces.

1. That all officers on board take care to look over their men's arms every day and see that they be well fixed and have good flints.

2. That before they land they take care to have six cartridges fixed in their hats and to tie their cartridge boxes and pouches about their necks so as to keep them dry.

3. That when they land no officer or soldier shall stir out of the ranks on any pretence whatsoever on pain of death which shall be immediately executed on them.

4. That the adjutant general be attended by an orderly adjutant of each brigade, each of the majors of brigade by a sergeant of each regiment who are to repair to the adjutant general and the majors of brigade as soon as ever they land.

5. That the men be all ordered on the decks and that the officers on board each ship do read the articles of war to them with notice that if any of them transgress they shall be proceeded against according to the said articles without mercy.

"Thos. Erle."

1707, Dec. 22.—"Copie d'une lettre écrite à S. A. Milord Duc de Marlborough." Unsigned. The writer has a plan for transporting the Duke's army into France through the enemy's lines and begs a short audience before refusal of his project is decided upon. He goes on: "Mais comme je ne scaurois souffrir que votre Altesse n'aye pas toute la gloire d'une si belle expedition, on trouvera aisément des moyens de retenir S. A. E. de Brunswick sur le Rhein en grossissant pour un tems son armée de propres troupes de la votre, que vous serez par consequent en droit de reprendre toutes les fois que bon vous semblera, sans qu'il y puisse trouver à redire. Cependant cela obligera l'ennemi d'estre plus fort sur le Rhein et facilitera la réussite de la ruze que vous mettiez en usage contre lui en Flandres. Mais pour cela, Monseigneur, je prends la liberté de vous le repeter encore, ne vous embarrassez pas beaucoup de l'Italie, et attirez de ce coté-ci toutes les troupes qui sont le plus dans votre dependance, et que l'Empereur

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envoye en Italie tel nombre qu'il voudra de celles dont il veut absolument disposer en seul quelque raison, quelque necessité, quelque remonstrance, qui puisse s'y opposer."

1712-1720.

Bundle marked "Letters of K. W[indham], and some from her son James Windham, about South Sea Stock."

1712, Feb. 9. Toulon.—Unsigned letter beginning "Dear brother." Containing a description of the Island of Minorca, the fortifications of which the writer thinks are "three times as strong as Gibraltar . . . a good many of these are English fortifications by Brigadier Durrant, of whose engineership people have so good an opinion that nobody thinks a stone is wrong placed."

1718, May 3. Bath.—James Windham to his brother, Ashe Windham, at Felbrigg. "Dear Brother, I was yesterday at Bristoll where I received the 50*l*. of Sellwood. Your favour came safe, and I really think Sister Grey much mended; and the waters pass well enough, gaming and praying our chief sports, except with Patty a little now and then. The weather now very good and fine riding out. General Meredith not here, a great many quality; Strafford, Richmond, Kent, March, Southerland, Colrane, Harley, Warwick, Armagh, More, Howard. All with us send much service."

[1720.]—Mrs. Windham to Ashe Windham at Felbrigg.

"South Sea is all the talke and fashion; the ladys sell their jewells to bye, and hapy are they that are in. It has fell a little, some say till the bill is past; others, foreigners doe not come in: last post sayes it sells in Holland for 400 . . . but the first dealers were the greatest dealers and gainers. Jemy [Ashe Windham's brother] so pleased with his good fortune, his grave face is turn'd to a smiling; he can't looke on you without a simper. . . . Mr. Whitworth . . . gave me 200 guineas for the refusal of South Sea at 500 in two months for 1,000 stocke, I am afraid he will not take it, and I be a rich widow at last. Never was such a time to get money as now."

1720, No month.—James Windham to Ashe Windham. South Sea Stock. "I grow rich so fast that I like stock jobbing of all things. . . . Since the South Sea have declared what they give to the annuitants Stock has risen vastly. South Sea has this day been 460; they offer 50 per cent. for the refusal at 450 for the opening. I think it will be 500 before the shutting, I mean the stock." Has "a mind to buy land," and wishes for an estate in Norfolk: would "willingly buy a clever estate in land if it cost 10 or 15 or 20,000 pounds." Asks his brother to buy for him if he hears of anything that is good.

1720, July 12th.—James Windham to his brother Ashe Windham. Is glad he has sent to Mr. Walpole for 1,000*l*. subscription. Their Mother has been promised 1,000*l*. in the Company by Lord Townshend. "Perhaps after the books open (August 22) the South Sea may lend money on their stock, it can't be before, but then as they can't lend to everybody, happy are they that can get it, so your best way is to secure 1,000*l*. as soon as you can conveniently, and keep it for that purpose." Talks of buying an estate.

[1720], Aug. 23.—Mrs. Windham to Ashe Windham, the first part as to the purchase of an estate near his own at Felbrigg.

"The bubbles instead of a milion have by underhand ways, have projected to increase their stocks to milions without end, have forced the Government to goe about to suppress them, and if they cannot doe it, the parl^t must, or millions must be undon, for how can lutstring copes, and Thames water, or insurance employ millions, abundance will be loosers now; Sir Alex. Cam. (*sic*) 40,000*l.*, Lord Westmorland 150,000*l.*, and lesser people in abundance. Stocks that sell at a 100 canot devide 9*d.*, some not $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*

1720, Nov. 26. London.—William Windham to his brother, Ashe Windham. "We are here in a most sad state between hope and despair. Allmost every one gives great assurances. Mr. Walpole is said often to declare he thinks his scheme will do, but the Parliament is put off and people are frightened, and so stock falls.

Poor Jimmy's affairs are most irretrievable and as to the misery which I think will attend this affair we do not see 100th part. Allmost all one knows or sees are upon the very brink of destruction and those who were reckoned to have done well yesterday are found stark nought to-day. These devills of directors have ruined more men's fortunes in this world, than I hope old Belzebub will do souls for the next. . . . Lord Irwin has compounded a difference of 27,000*l.* with Colonel Charters for under 7,000*l.*, but over I fear great sums borrow'd. Sir B. Wrench is quite out of heart, going home on Monday. If the ministry do nothing after all their promises, they are as bad as the directors. . . ."

1720, Sept. 27. London.—William Windham to Ashe Windham. The bursting of the bubble. "There never was such distraction and undoing in any country. You can't suppose the number of familys undone. One may almost say everybody is ruined who has traded beyond their stock. Many a 100,000 man not worth a groat, and it grieves me to think of some of them. I have no contracts against me, only that they upon whom I have obligations are bad paymasters. . . . They call South Sea 300, but there are no buyers. Mr. Walpole and the managers give no hopes of better things in a few days; not a penny stirring."

1720, Jan. 3. James Windham to Ashe Windham. As to his affairs. "My own private money is in a bad way, but the office was never more safe and secure. . . . My accounts there are so clear and so known by the whole office that you will likely have your bond up in a week after I quit . . . Mr. Ingram will be out as will all the directors from any place of trust, for 'tis said the Court have given up the directors, and in a little time they will be in the state of bankrupts for the good of the company. Aisleyby must suffer, and some say Craggs." Speaks of his own prospects: "the sea is fittest for an undone man, and so I am for that."

1720-1, Jan. 5. Salt Office.—James Windham to Ashe Windham. The bursting of the bubble.

"A bill is ordered to be brought in to make it felony for the South Sea directors and others of that house to go out of the kingdom, felony to alienate their wealth, felony to conceal it, and felony in others to conceal it. Motioned by Sir Joseph Jekyll, seconded by H. Walpole and others, this past *nemine contradicente* and will put them under great difficulties. A committee of 13 are ordered to examine this affair, who are to be chose on Friday by balotting. There is no danger, but enough

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will be proved against them—it is illegal to by stock in a corporate capacity, unwarrantable to lend money on subscriptions, but the top directors have 100 things to answer for. The town are very much rejoiced at this vigour in the Commons for it was shrewdly suspected the Court did desire to screen the directors for fear it might draw in Craggs: as for Aisleby he must fall, he has at least been guilty of as much villainy as any of them.

The directors have brought themselves into bankruptcy by being cunning artful knaves; I have come into the same state for being a very silly fool. I loose by people being ruined, and by the 3rd and 4th subscription not being delivered out above 20,000*l.*; this will pay no debts, and hinders me from paying them other ways." Asks his brother to be as "easy" as he can with him.

Letters to Colonel William Windham and his fellow students at Geneva 1741, from his companions and their tutors.

A bundle of letters so marked, addressed indifferently to Mr. Windham or Thomas, 7th Earl of Haddington, upon a variety of topics connected with the travels of these young gentlemen in France and Holland. Mr. Windham was at Geneva with his tutor Benjamin Stillingfleet, author of "Tracts in Natural History;" a "Treatise on the principles and power of harmony" &c., who was a grandson of Dr. Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester 1689–1699.

The letters are not of general interest, but the following passages have been selected.

1741, April 4. Amsterdam.—T. Dampier* to "Mons. Windham, ou en son absence à Milord Haddington à la cour de St. Pierre, Genève." . . . "Mr. Tate says he won't fail sending you next post an account of Locatelli. . . . Locatelli must surely be allowed by all to be a *Terre moto*. Tate adds the three other elements, Heavens and all. . . . He plays his '*Labyrinthe*' and another piece which he has lately composed 50 times more difficult with more ease than I can humm the '*Black Joke*' . . . for my part I look upon him to be as great a player as Handel, tho' this latter be so much bigger and taller. He plays with so much fury upon his fiddle that in my humble opinion he must wear out some dozens of them in a year. Mr. Smith, the bookseller here, who is master of a great stock of learning in all the arts and sciences, told us that he (Locatelli) never was known to play one note out of tune, except once, when in performing the difficult piece he has lately composed, he thrust his little finger through the bridge of the fiddle and could not get it out again. . . . I must tell you also of many fine books I have purchased. The Plato and Proclus I have bought, Johnny, are better than yours, being accompanied by their title pages, as a proof whereof I tell you that both were printed by John Valderus at Bâle in 1534; I bought mine also cheaper than you did yours. Every article is a matter of triumph. I have bought also Simplicius's *Comments on Aristotle* printed by Aldus, and Theocritus, Hesiod, &c., printed by Aldus in 1495. Very neat and precious jewels indeed! . . . And to crown all, old Still[ingfleet], I have bought a most magnificent Sophocles for you, by H. Stephens. 'Tis

* Afterwards Sub-Master of Eton and Dean of Durham.

quite clean, large margins &c. It cost 10*l.* of France and many words in endeavouring to get it for less."

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1741, April 11. Amsterdam.—T. Dampier to his friends at Geneva—on Locatelli, the then celebrated violinist.

1741, April 11. Amsterdam.—T. Dampier to W. Windham, as to the prints and engravings the writer has purchased. In conclusion he says: "I must tell you before I finish this letter that if you receive no more pleasure in Germany than we did in the little we passed through, you will heartily repent of your journey. Gothism sits triumphant upon every building and palace throughout the whole country."

1741, April 19. Rotterdam.—T. Dampier to his friends, William Windham, Lord Haddington at Geneva; a long chatty letter, not of general interest. The greater part relates the ridiculous behaviour of a certain knight whom the writer calls Sir Butcher Trey, in Holland.

1741, July 30. Mitcham.—T. Dampier to his friends at Geneva. Home news. Mrs. Tate is gone away to Scarborough but has asked Dampier to write news enough for both. "Don't you think it odd in him to trust me with talking of musick and Handel? They have had several conferences together, and I observed Fritz's musick to lie before them, and that the great man frequently cried Bravo and sometimes bravissimo. He laughs very much at the opera which is preparing for next winter. He has refused to have anything to do in the matter. There are eight subscribers, each one 1,000*l.* I can remember the names of some of them: Lord Middlesex, Lord Brooke, Lord Conway, Lord Holderness, Mr. Conway, Mr. Frederick, &c. Lord Middlesex it seems is the chief manager in the affair: the men of penetration give hints that his Lordship's sole aim is to make his mistress, the Muscovita, appear to great advantage upon the stage. With this intent, say they, he has taken care to hire singers with voices inferior to hers; and her's is not worth a farthing. Lord Brooke is quite easy in the matter. I believe he would pay a thousand pounds more rather than have anything to do in it in the character of manager." Lord Brooke is surely the sweetest man alive, if he kept not Symmer in the house with him and such a crowd of servants to pick one's pocket after one has dined with him. He intends building a house next summer in Wiltshire." Politics. "Doubtless you have heard of the motion made in the House just at the ending of the last Parliament to petition the King to remove Sir Robert [Walpole] from about him. Some say Sir Robert gave Sandys a great deal of money to bring it in to the House. 'Tis certain it proved of no small advantage to him in the succeeding elections. The weakness of the minority appeared too plain in this affair; when it was moved in the House many of them immediately went out and amongst the rest William Shippen. Some say they were not advertised of the motion beforehand; others, that they were br—bed off. 'Tis very remarkable, that all those who lie under the suspicion of Jacobitism in the House were against the motion. I can defer no longer giving you an account of Lord Sandwich. He is very strong in the country interest, and takes all his measures to continue it. He is married to the sister of Mr. Fane who was resident at Florence—a very agreeable and sensible lady. His lordship keeps only a pair of horses and drinks nothing but port wine. His whole way of living turns upon this principle, to keep himself out of necessity. He is regular in all respects, and what is a

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very good and Christian thing, Johnny, he never swears an oath. He never spoke in opposition to Lord Halifax; so far from that, they are fast friends; act in concert together, and always second one another in the House. He exerted himself in the Huntingdon election with great vigour and success. He got his two men elected and threw out General Handesbye who has had a long and established interest there. He gained his point by mere good management, which has contributed a great deal to his character in the world as a very able man. To keep some of his men, who had promised him their votes but were not very steady, out of the way of temptation—for no less than 300*l.* a man was at last offered—he sent them out upon various pretences a travelling about England from one fine house to another, so well guarded that none of the opposite party could possibly come at them. . . . I never saw anyone so engaging and affable towards the common people.” The “state of learning in England. . . . The book that has made the greatest noise lately in the polite world is *Pamela*, a romance in low life. It is thought to contain such excellent precepts, that a learned divine at London recommended it very strongly from the pulpit. You desired Still[ingfleet], to have some account of Dr. Middleton’s book [*Life of Cicero*]. People are much divided about it, but in general ’tis thought inferior to what was expected: ’tis very much so in my humble opinion. The dedication to Lord Hervey has been very justly and prettily ridiculed by Fielding in a dedication to a pamphlet called *Shamela* which he wrote to burlesque the forementioned romance. . . . As to the Doctor himself, he is striving all he can to get preferment, but his former writings concerning the authority of Moses and the Archbishop will be always an insuperable obstacle to it. He has wrote frequently to the Archbishop and has had several conferences with him in order to clear himself.”

1741, Oct. 14. Mitcham.—T. Dampier to the Earl of Haddington at Geneva. The writer and Mr. Tate “have not been a fortnight together ever since we came to England . . . at present we are likely to remain tied down to the same spot.” Is heartily tired of Mitcham society; “all the politicks they have, they have out of the newspapers, which tell lies most nonsensically and afford a spacious field for the more nonsensical comments of all that can but just read and write.” News of the town. Lord Morpeth is dead. “’Tis credibly reported that he died of the venereal distemper which he caught in Italy and kept secret so long that it proved at last incurable. The Tapster has married his sister. They say ’tis a monstrous match: you know what a huge giantick fellow he is, and she is not more than fourteen. You know I suppose that Lord Hallifax has married one Mrs. Dunck, a 120,000 pounds fortune. Her guardian used all means to make her marry one of the Stanhopes; but she resolved to chuse for herself.”

1741, Nov. 9. Paris.—Robert Price* to William Windham.

“The first thing I did after my arrival was to go to le Bas the engraver and under pretence of looking at his prints to enquire after Laurent’s direction, but I liked him so well that I passed the whole afternoon with him. He was just come from walking and had brought home some little groups of figures he had just drawn after nature; it is his custom when he walks out to take his book with him and in case he sees anything picturesque to sketch it out . . . he kept me

* Mr. Price was one of the executors of Col. Windham’s will.

with him the whole afternoon till it was quite dark showing me all his drawings. He is at present about a couple of pieces of Berghem which are extremely fine I went the next day to Laurent's, he is a sensible well behaved man: I expected to have seen a young man, but as well as I can judge by his looks he is near forty. I found him at work and saw on the table some very good proofs of Stephano della Bella. I suppose he has formed his taste of engraving in aquafortis from him, for he told me he looked upon him to be the greatest man in that way that ever lived He showed me all his aquafortis proofs which are extremely fine, and made me a present of some of them with a beautiful print after a picture of Salvator Rosa which he engraved for an Englishman who has got the plate." Prints and books bought for his friend Still[ingfleet] "I have sent you Pardie's celestial maps. At one time I almost despaired of being able to execute your commission. I ran about from shop to shop for near two days without being able to find them they cost ten livres. The other day I invited Laurent and Le Bas to breakfast with me and to show them Busiri's landscapes; I was very agreeably surprised to see Soubeyran whom they brought along with them. They looked over all Busiri's things and were vastly pleased with them. We afterwards went out together to the Swedish Ambassador's who has some fine pictures and a great collection of fine drawings, we found him with the Count de Chelus. I showed them my Busiri's things that I had brought along with me; they both liked them much. The Ambassador asked me for his direction, and told me he would certainly employ him. Soubeyran, Laurent, and Le Bas have been pressing me very much to engrave Busiri's things in aquafortis; I believe when I am settled in England I shall undertake it, though I fear it is much beyond my force"

An account of the state of tennis at Paris. "The first time I went to the Court I saw such a match of four as is not often seen, the two best gentlemen players at Paris against a marker who is reckoned the best player in Europe and a girl about eighteen or nineteen years old. She has a fine way of playing, and I believe in a double match is stronger than I am."

1741, Dec. 19. London.—R. Price to Lord Haddington. The first part of the letter refers to music matters and "Fritz's" trios which the writer is trying to publish by subscription. "I hope we may be able to get Fritz a little money by it, but they are such abominable Goths here that I can answer for nothing. They cannot bear anything but Handel, Courelli, and Geminiani, which they are eternally playing over and over again at all their concerts. I was at a concert at Lord Brooke's where Carbonelli played the first fiddle; Tate brought with him some concertos of Loccatelli without solo parts, which are extremely easy, but because there were some passages out of the common road, they looked upon them as the most extravagant things in the world and not to be played at sight. Tate and I are of a concert of gentlemen performers where Festing plays the first fiddle, we tried to bring in some of Loccatelli's musick there, but when we mentioned it to Festing he looked as if he had been condemned to be hanged. The only performers of note that I have yet heard are Caporali, Carbonelli, and Festing. . . . We have had a very good opera here, but a great many people have not liked it, the singers are Monticelli, a soprano, the finest singer I ever heard, Amorevoli the famous tenor, Visconti the first woman a very good singer, the Muscovinta an indifferent one, and two

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or three great scrubs. The first opera was made up of songs of different authors, among which were some exceeding fine ones ; the second opera is composed by Signor Galluppi ; I have heard it but once and therefore will not pretend to decide about it, but it seems to be pretty good." Gives an account of his journey from Paris home and his reception by his father. "He looks upon me as a great connoisseur in painting, and as such has introduced me to all his acquaintance among the painters, which is pretty numerous.

As I have heard Dicky mention Wotton as a great Landskape painter I will let you know in what light he appeared to me. I am very well acquainted with him and have seen his pictures often. He has the greatest price of any man in England ; is a cunning fellow, and has made great interest among the nobility ; but he is the dirtiest painter I ever saw. He is not capable of making a great variety of tints and at the same time keeping a harmony in his colouring, for which reason he makes one brown tint go through the whole piece, which causes an infinite confusion and dulness. . . . He is at present doing the siege of Tournay, which appears to me an undertaking much beyond his capacity . . . Windham, I have given your letter to Doctor Hartley and he has been exceedingly civil to me ; I have been with him to the Byromites club, but things go very slowly there and they lay the fault on Doctor Byrom who is in the country.* I have nevertheless begun shorthand with Doctor Hartley." The letter concludes : "Captain Thomas sends his compliments to Windham and Stillingfleet, Toriano to Lady Dossy and Johnny, Lord Sandwich to Dicky, and Tate and Dampier to you all."

N.D. [circa 1741]—A begging letter in French addressed "Aux nobles seigneurs Milords Anglois logés presentement chès spectable Docteur et savant Monsieur Sertory, très célèbre professeur à Genève." The writer, who describes himself as, "Samuel Rufflin bourgeois de la ville d'Azan au canton de Berne, notaire," offers his services to "vos grandeurs" and, should this be unacceptable, begs "un petit viatique pour s'en retourner dans son pays. Eloigné de près de cinquante lieues."

1741-2, March 11. Strasbourg.—Benjamin Tate and T. Dampier to their friends at Geneva, Richard Aldworth, William Windham, Lord Haddington, &c. A description of their travels from Geneva to Strasbourg.

1739.—"A short history, containing an account of the actions of Dicky, commonly called the Berkshire Boy, from the first day of September to the 20th of October in the year 1739." Mr. R. N. G. Aldworth, here called Dicky, was one of William Windham's companions at Geneva.

1761-1770.

Letters of Dr. Dampier of Eton from 1761 to 1770, and two of David Garrick, 1762, to Mrs. Windham (Sarah Cubin). Dampier and Garrick were, with Benjamin Stillingfleet, who did not act, guardians to William Windham the statesman.

* The Rev. John Byrom, F.R.S., who invented a system of shorthand. He was author of the pastoral of "Colin and Phebe," contributed to the "Spectator," and other poems. He died in 1763.

1762, May 1.—David Garrick to Mrs. Windham.

Proposing a meeting with Dr. Dampier “upon the present state of our affairs.”

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1764, Jan. 23.—David Garrick to Mrs. Windham.

Appointing Jan. 25th to see her at his house in Bloomsbury Square.

1766, March 7. Eton.—Dr. Dampier, under master of Eton, to Mrs. Windham.

“There have been great disturbances amongst the boys here, and I am sorry that your son is accused of having a large concern in them. In order therefore to cover his retreat and to prevent a publick expulsion, which would probably be the consequence of his longer stay, I shall send him home to you tomorrow morning. When I am in town, about a fortnight hence, we must meet and consider how to dispose of him. If I may advise I would not have you mention to any one the cause of his coming home so soon before the holidays.”

[1761], Nov. 6. Eton.—Dr. Dampier to Mrs. Windham, condoling with her upon the death of her husband. Dr. Dampier, as other papers in this collection show, was a great friend of William Windham's, travelling with him in Geneva and elsewhere.

1761 to 1766.—Letters from Dr. Dampier to Mrs. Windham on business matters connected with her husband's estate (of which the Doctor was one of the trustees), and with her son William's progress at Eton.

1763, Oct. 6. Eton.—Dr. Dampier to Mrs. Windham, as to the reports of fever at Eton, which have been grossly exaggerated.

1770, Sept. 2. Eton.—Dr. Dampier to Mrs. Windham. Has seen her son at Oxford and hears the best reports of him. “He is indeed a very extraordinary young gentleman, and if, please God, he enjoys his health, he cannot fail of making a very considerable figure in the world.”

1765, Feb. 18. Upper Grosvenor Street.—The Bishop of Norwich [Philip Yonge] to Mrs. Windham, as to the patronage of the livings of Honeston and Berghapton.

DIARIES OF THE RT. HON. WILLIAM WINDHAM.

1772, Sep. 13.—The day above expressed the first time of writing in this book: What follows for this next page or two, had been before written in my pocket book.

Sunday, Sep. 20th.—Set off for Ireland: arrived at Oxford about 10 at night; lay at the Cross.

Monday, Sept. 21st.—Dined at Banbury, the first time of my seeing it since I passed through in the year '68 in my return from Wroxhall.

The Friday following, viz.: the 25th, at 5 o'clock walked round the cliff, seven miles short of Conway, the place where I had been before with

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Mrs. B.* *and remembered bygones.* The name of it I believe is Penmaen Ross.

Some writings of Swift found about a year and a half ago in Kensington Palace, in an apartment that had been Lady Marsham's, they were brought by the woman who found them to Lord Hardwicke. Dr. Jeffries who read them with Lord H. told Mr. Cleaver of them, and spoke of them as proving a disposition in Swift to come round in his politics. Lord North was informed of such writings being found; I believe was told by Lord H.: they were therefore carried to the King.

Grenville said he had often heard his mother speak of Swift and of the opinion entertained of him by the party, and has heard her say that she remembered her father talking of him as a man who had no influence but in his own opinion.

A note in the late Mr. Grenville's edition of Swift, written in his own hand, mentions his having heard from Lord Bolingbroke, that the four last years of Queen Anne was considered by the party as too violent for publication.

1772, Oct. 3rd.—Dined at the Castle in company with Sir Richard Johnson, the person who had been created a Baronet for his vigorous defence against the Hearts of Steel. He was a short active man, of seeming liveliness and good humour, but very much of an Irishman in his manners and countenance and conversation. I have heard that at the time of his being at college he was engaged in a disreputable quarrel in which a man lost his life.

Charles Townshend's account one day to a person inquiring what was passing in the House; that it was "only one of King Charles' breed barking at Lord Chatham." The person speaking was the Duke of Richmond.

Lord Townshend related the following circumstances of the death of Lord Scarborough who shot himself in the time of Sir Robert Walpole: that he was considered a man of the nicest honour, and was personally the greatest favourite of the King, though in his political conduct he was generally in opposition. The King had taken him into his closet, and disclosed to him his intention of changing the ministry, telling him at the same time that he entrusted him with this from the high confidence he had in his honour, and that he had mentioned it to no other person living. Sir Robert Walpole knew of his having had such a conference with the King, and was anxious to know the subject of it. Lord Scarborough was at that time passionately in love with the present Duchess of Manchester, to her therefore Sir Robert Walpole went, and engaged her, by whatever means to endeavour to obtain the secret. When she had succeeded in her attempt, Sir Robert went to the King and reproached him with his designs. The King was so confident of Lord Scarborough's fidelity that he denied it, till Sir Robert mentioned such circumstances as proved that he must be in possession of the secret. By what means Lord Scarborough was informed of what had happened whether from the King's own mouth or by report, I don't recollect, but, as soon as it was known, having first, as it was said, left his name at the Duchess of Manchester's door, and placing himself before a glass with

* Bridget, daughter of Commodore Arthur Forrest, who married in 1767, the Hon. John Byng, afterwards 5th Viscount Torrington. Mr. Windham married her sister Cecilia in 1798.

books to support him behind, discharged a pistol in his mouth. In this position he was found by the servants who came in.

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Upon Lord Chesterfield's first coming to Ireland, Mr. Ponsonby, Lord Shannon and the other leading people produced long lists to him of majorities that they could command in the House of Commons. Lord Chesterfield's answer to one of them, that is Lord Shannon, was, that he should have been extremely glad to accept his services, but that he had just bespoke a yard and a half of Parliament, of the Speaker.

This is not exactly the state of the *bon mot* as I heard it, but is as likely to be agreeable to the fact, and for the purpose of telling answers better.

Mr. and Mrs. Jephson told me that Lord Chesterfield used to keep a great sharp nosed dog called Loyola, of which he and his wife were preposterously fond, that used to keep all their company in continual danger. He once flew at Mr. Stanhope, Lord Chesterfield's son, as he was leaning against his mother's chair in the dining room and tore a great piece out of his breast. They were so selfish, so unfeeling, and so brutal as never to confine or muzzle this dog, because they were safe themselves; and once upon Mrs. Jephson's asking Lady Chesterfield how she might keep from offending Loyola, she told her, 'dat she believe her best chaunce vas not look to dat part de room.'

An amusing story is told of Admiral Boscawen that "coming on morning into Mr. Wolfe's tent at Louisbourg, he saw a packet of English papers. The first thing he looked to was the account of the stocks and the reflection it suggested was 'God damme, here we are fouting away here, while in England we might all be making our fortunes.'" Major Baggs who related the circumstance told me he was present and heard it.

Friday, Oct. 23rd. As I was fencing with Lord T. at eleven at night, after dining with Mr. Scot, a packet arrived which brought me a letter from —— [scratched out in original], the first I received since his going abroad. I went immediately to my lodgings and read it, together with two from Mrs. B. . . g; *pace amata*, his was read first.

Thursday Nov. 5th. Received the letter from ——'s servant with the account of his being ill at Brussels.

Sheridan's experiences as manager of the Dublin Theatre. He attempted "to bring the stage to some respectable footing from a situation of the greatest tumult and indecency. As an instance of the state it was in before, he told that when Garrick was acting *Lear*, and reclining his head on Mrs. Woffington's lap as Cordelia, one of the audience on the stage came and thrust his hand into her bosom. He afterwards searched Garrick through the house in the intent to chastise him or perhaps to kill him because he heard he had looked displeased at it. The stage used to be crowded so as scarcely to leave room for the actors, and all kinds of disorder were the consequence. The first step taken was to forbid all admission behind the scenes." This led to great disorder; "a Mr. Kelly, a Connaught man chose to climb over by the orchestra. Sheridan charged the constable with him, but the constable, being afraid to detain a person of the appearance of a gentleman, let him go." At the end of the performance Mr. Kelly broke into Sheridan's dressing room, "and so abused him that Sheridan knocked him down."

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Further riots took place and Sheridan was obliged to go to law. He obtained verdicts against three persons. "He mentioned that this was the first instance of a Grand Jury's finding a bill against a person considered as a gentleman."

There are several "anecdotes of Mrs. Woffington as told me this morning by Sheridan, Nov. 15, 1772," and the following story which "Mr. Montgomery told me this evening" about Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, that at her death "A note of his was found among her papers for a thousand guineas" which had been given her by a gentleman of Ireland as the premium for some honours to be received through her interest The honours stipulated for were not obtained before her death, and the gentleman upon representation of the story to the family recovered the note which she had deposited by agreement in a particular drawer shewn to him. It may reasonably be supposed that this was not the first instance of her accepting money on those conditions, and that much of Lord Bute's interest has been employed in her service. Nov. 25th 1772.

Names of several people whom I used to see at the Castle during the time of my being there, from Sept. 20th to Dec. 8th 1772; Mr. Gordon, Major Baggs Col. Smith, Aide-de-Camp, Col. Patterson, Aide-de-Camp, Lieut. Loftus, Aide-de-Camp, Mr. Courtney, Mr. Scott. [There is a break in the diary from Nov. 25th to Dec. 6th.]

1772, Sunday, Dec. 6th, one o'clock morning.—I am now returned from taking leave of the *Montgomeries*, upon the certain expectation of sailing to-morrow morning, if the wind is fair; let me not forget my having sat *next Barbara at supper*, my going with her to the *dorm*, and the *feelings* I then had. *Bless her!* Farewell Dublin! I part with nothing in it I regret but that.

Got up on Monday morning at seven expecting to sail immediately, but found that the wind was not fair, and that there was no prospect of going till that evening or the next day. Sat at home the greater part of the morning, very much disappointed and perplexed, nor knowing either how to go again to the *Montgomeries*, or to leave Dublin without going. In the evening, however, I went, after dining with Lord Harcourt, and found *Barbara* much as she was the evening before. The table at supper was placed with the head towards the east part of the room, and I sat between her and Mrs. Montgomerie in good spirits at the beginning of the night, but grave as the time of parting drew near, and she the whole time attentive to me. Let me never forget her stopping on the stairs. Col. H. and Bl. not present as night before.

On Tuesday morning at 11 o'clock, sailed. On Wednesday about 10 arrived at Parkgate; on Saturday, *i.e.*, last night, came into London. Went immediately to call on Miss H. and enquire after Mrs. B[yng] but did not find her at home. Called again this morning, *viz.*, Sunday, and saw her.

Monday, Dec. 21st.—Went to Ickleford for the first time. Was joined by Miss H. by agreement at Barnet.

[1773] Monday, Jan. 4th.—Went to Hertford ball. Passed the greatest part of next day with Mrs. B. and Miss H. at the inn at Hertford.

Friday.—Returned to town. Found a note left at my house from Mrs. B-y* ; saw her the next night and on Sunday morning.

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Thursday, March 5th.—Was followed by Mrs. Bar. from St. James's Church, and overtaken as I entered the Mall from Spring Gardens. Walked round to the Birdcage Walk and continued there till half-past three.

. Cholm[ondely] returned to London. I had dined that evening at Mr. Hickey's with Mrs. Cholm. and returned home at 10, when I was informed that Ch. was arrived. He came home about twelve.

April 5th, Monday.—Went to Ickleford. Miss H. set off the day before for Hertingfordbury with her father who was to go on to Ickleford.

12th.—Returned to town with Cholmondely who had come the Friday before.

14th.—This evening about two hours ago Mrs. B[yng], Cecy,† and Miss H. stopt in the coach at my door, being just come to town. Miss H. had met them at Barnet. Mrs. B. comes this night to my house.

12, Monday.—A night of consternation and apprehension, thought that H. heard of my being in the house, and would put an end to our meeting ; terror at seeing Miss H. so much affected. Staid there till near 4 o'clock.

[There is a break in the diary here until the 29th June. In this interval Windham had agreed to accompany his friend Constantine Phipps (afterwards Lord Mulgrave) on his voyage in search of the N.E. passage. He gave up the project on account, as is generally supposed, of an aggravated attack of sea-sickness. The journal begins again in a new book on or about the 29th June when Windham, after leaving Capt. Phipps, landed at Bergen. There is no date to the first two entries, but the language suggests that the first was written immediately before he started, and the next very shortly after his giving up his voyage.]

"Secret and separate. This is my confidential book ; in this will be contained all those thoughts, memorandums, notes, reflexions, &c., which no eye must see but my own. To thee, my ever-adorable friend do I dedicate it, with whose name it will chiefly be filled. May God grant that we may meet again, and enjoy together the recollection of the times when these were written !

"How have I fulfilled my resolution ? The time since the writing of the above, indeed since my getting on board at Sheerness, has been a chasm in the history of one's mind ; instead of exerting myself to preserve a lively recollection of things past or absent ; instead of thought and vigilance and exertion, which I fancied would be excited by the newness of the situation, my mind has been occupied only with melancholy reflexions on the business I had undertaken, and a comparison of my present state with the enjoyments of Ickleford parlour. Not one purpose which proposed in the voyage has been answered : on the contrary my powers of reflexion have been weakened, and my thoughts been less active and my perceptions less lively than they would have been at Felbrig or Oxford. I could form no strong conception of the condition in which I stood, nor feel myself excited by the recollection of my own

* Query Mrs. Barry. See next entry.

† Cecilia Forrest, sister to Mrs. Byng, whom Windham afterwards (1798) married.

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sensations at other times. Let me learn from this, what I might have known indeed by former experience, and from the nature of the thing itself, that the state of a person's mind is not materially altered by change of place; *cælum non animam mutant qui trans mare currunt.*

The interval from my coming to Sheerness to my quitting the Hamburgh vessel I will set aside by itself, and either leave it wholly to memory, or take some notes of it at some future time: my diary commencing from that time and now instant, I will endeavour to keep with some regularity.

After getting clear of the ship, we set off very pleasantly for Bergen, the schipper and I being in the pilot's boat, and his boat with his own people attending us. The sight of land, and the prospect of being shortly in a town, and among people who could speak English made me feel at first very comfortably: but it soon began to occur to me that I had conducted affairs with my usual mismanagement. By bringing this man to the town with me, I was publishing the bargain I had made with him, and all for no purpose but to procure money for a fellow, without any occasion, who had already fleeced me most unmercifully. At any rate I was discovering that which I wished to have concealed; and a thought now came into my head which had never occurred before, that the particularity of such a bargain might suggest an idea, which idea might travel a great way, of the agreement having been made in some fright taken at an appearance of danger. The landlord was likely to mention the circumstance of an English gentleman, of such a name, having come in such a manner, in his letters to Scotland: there might be several Scotch and Irish masters of ships in the place; as improbable stories had arisen from as little beginnings and been circulated by less direct means. These reflexions made me very uneasy, and threw me into a fit of rage and despair at my own folly, in which state I with some difficulty got to sleep.

At about 4 o'clock, then, on Tuesday morning being the 29th of June and the day before yesterday, I landed at Bergen. The appearance of the place at coming in was very fine and romantick, but the mortification I felt about this affair had depressed my spirits and I was foolish enough to be quite melancholy at the idea of being alone in a strange country or, what was less remarkable, at the prospect of a journey of 600 miles through such a tract of mountains. The hospitality however, and civility of my landlord have made my stay here very comfortable.

The Consul here is Alexander Wallace, Esqre., whose sons, in his absence, I went on Tuesday to wait upon, and found as completely Scotch as if they had lived in Edinburgh all their lives. The youngest asked me in token of his sentiments, whether Mr. Wilkes was hanged yet; but it is to be observed that he is a little disordered in his head, which prevented my giving such a reply as I should otherwise.

The town of Bergen contains no very striking edifices, nor has it any very regular or spacious streets, but the whole appearance of it is clean and lively, the houses being built of wood and painted, and the roofs covered in general with red tiles. At the water's edge on one side are warehouses raised on piles and projecting over for the convenience of receiving and shipping timber, and on the opposite side is a broad wooden quay which is set apart entirely to the fish traders Till within these few years, there were I believe no stone buildings, but they have now got a Dutch church, and a sort of castle and some

houses built by a Scotch mason, who came over with his people, after the last fire; and what is very remarkable, the stone was obliged to be fetched from Scotland likewise.

July 3rd.—I have just had a visit from the Consul who came very civilly to wait upon me immediately on his return to town. He seems a brisk intelligent man, and to be of much pleasanter manners than his sons. I dined yesterday at his house, before his return. The dinner and what belonged to it, was certainly ordinary it consisted of three dishes sent up one by one according to the Bergen fashion to which the company were helped in order after the master of the family or his wife had taken off a sufficient number of portions No liquor was given at dinner, that I saw, besides wine, to which we were helped from time to time by Mr. Wallace or his brother, and at each glass some toast was given, such as, Friends in Norfolk, in Scotland, &c.

11th, Sunday.—This morning at a little before seven, after rising at three in order to finish my letters to Ch[olmondely] and Mrs. B[yng], I set off from Bergen Tis now near 7 in the evening, and we have passed the 5th Gastschever's house or the 5th Norse mile. The weather has been very pleasant, and I am much refreshed by my dinner and some sleep I got between 12 and 4, yet I am far from being in spirits, and the reflexions that for three months I shall have known nothing of those I love, and that no age is insured from the common fatality of nature, makes me very unhappy.

12th.—After continuing upon the water all last night, and today, and thus much of this night I am just arrived, two o'clock in the morning, at Ardalsare

The town very small, consisting of about 50 buildings, most of which I understood were used only as warehouses Tuesday about three o'clock, after much chattering between Gron and the people, we left Landal: I had been detained some time by my letter to my dearest friend at the end of the two mile we were forced to ascend part of a steep mountain to meet the river on the other side. The passage during this ascent and our descending the river again was the wildest I had ever seen. I was admiring a fine fall of water that descended on the opposite side, when my guide chose to entertain me, by way of anecdote of the place, with the story of a man who had been robbed and murdered there I think this scene was adequate to all my hopes of a mountainous country. After getting through a road infinitely abrupt and rugged, we crossed the river again on a bridge about 40 feet in length and twenty in height, thrown over without any support in the middle, so that, as my guide told me, it was customary to let only one horse pass at a time. At last we met with a house where the woman regaled us very comfortably with eggs and loaf-bread and some cheese that was very eatable. I gave her 4 or 5 stivers and she expressed her thankfulness in the same manner as the girl at Landal by taking me by the hand.

Arrived at Elsinore on Saturday the 31st of July between 11 and 12 at night. My first care on coming thither was to enquire about the post, and put in a letter for my dearest friend. The next day dined with Mr. Godwin and made the necessary enquiries about a ship, and in the evening went over to Copenhagen.

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Gottenberg. Almost all the women that I saw in the streets of Gottenberg of the appearance of gentlewomen were covered with black veils. The women in Sweden were much more comely than those in Norway, owing chiefly I believe to their taking some pains to protect their faces from the weather.

For the first part of my journey from Bergen, the women I think went entirely without covering on their heads, and were the most disgusting objects I ever saw, which undoubtedly was owing very much to that cause, though I don't think entirely. A great change was to be observed in their countenances as we came nearer to Christiania, where the use of a large covering of linen began.

Friederickshald was the first place where I observed any oak. . .

[Nothing more seems to have been written by Mr. Windham at this time. There is a gap of a few leaves, and then the following characteristic entry:—

“Felbrig, May 3rd, 1774.—Upon my parting with Gasen at Christiania, I took an account from him of the names and distances of the places at which we had stopt. This I wrote down in pencil upon a little scrap of paper, torn I believe out of a book; intending either that day or the next to transcribe it into my book; but from that time to this have I suffered it to remain undone, though the paper for the greatest part of the time lay either in the Euclid, or this case, becoming every day less legible. It is now either lost or mislaid, so that I must copy this from one taken by Cawston.* The instance most parallel which I recollect to this, is of the equation written on my first beginning algebra on the slate at Oxford, and suffered to remain so long before it was transcribed into the end of the Euclid.” At the bottom of the next page is, “the paper mentioned above to be missing has just dropped out of the Euclid where I had failed to find it, though I had searched for it there at the time, as I thought, narrowly.”

No more of the journal is in this book.

At the end are some pencil memoranda, one of which is interesting as throwing some light upon Mr. Windham's motives for abandoning his voyage with Captain Phipps. “To my present thoughts are to mention to B[yng] the true cause of *a disgust taken* &c., but to desire him at the same time not to repeat that, but to say only that he *believed* it was dislike of a life at sea, and not finding myself well enough to answer the purposes I had proposed. Quare, *disgust taken*, or *disagreement* happened, or both?”

Then follows a list of names: “Lord Townshend, Courtney, Fraser, Erskine, Lees, Jephson, Col. Paterson, Mr. Scott. People in Norfolk. Lord B[erners?], Sir Harb[ord Harbord], Lord W[alsingham], Mr. Bacon, Mr. Marsham, Mr. Fellowes, Mr. Durant, Sir E. Astley, Mr. De Grey, &c., and minor gentry such as T. Elwyn, Johnson, Adey; Lord Roseberry.

Capt. Suckling, Mr. Walsingham, Col. Lee, Col. Harcourt, Sir W. Drake, Lord Harcourt, Capt. Schomberg, Major Bagge, Lord Shelbourne, Lord Rochford, Major Fleming. Oxford people. Chambers, Scott, Palmer, Wilmot, Lord Winchelsea, Ellis, Johnes, Dodwell, Hill, Wilson, Thornton, Norton.

Johnson, Burke, Poore, Browne, Alleyne, Pepys, Lord Palmerstone. Travel, Vandeput.

* Mr. Windham's servant.

The third volume of the diary begins in Nov. 1773.

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"On the 13th of November my term in my house in Burlington Street ended, and I left town on the Saturday following being the 20th; I left Ickleford on my way hither (Felbrigge) having been accompanied by Mrs. B[ying] and Julia, as far as Biggleswade, where we dined about six o'clock. Proceeded that night to Huntingdon, where I was to place George [Byng?] at his school.

Sunday stopt at Cambridge where I saw Mr. Townshend, and halted at night at Barton hills. Before I went to bed Lord and Lady Townshend came in on their way to town with whom I sat till about one, and breakfasted in the morning. The circumstance is rather to be remembered from the effect it had in raising me from a state of some dejection, and from its coming so oddly in proof of some questions I was just before debating. . . . In the morning, after writing a *private letter* to B[ridget?], I set off for Felbrig, and got thither between four and five o'clock. . . . From this time (Nov. 23) to my going to Rainham I continued at Felbrig, not prosecuting my studies so vigorously, nor observing my resolutions so firmly as I ought, but upon the whole better than formerly, and so as to give hopes of amendment for the future. What the degree of my diligence and the state of my day was then, will be best known for the purpose of future comparison by transcribing an account of four or five days from papers written at the time. 'Wednesday, Dec. 8th, 1773.—Rose this morning about 9; had been awake about half an hour before. Sat down to the *loci plani* immediately after washing myself, without shaving or combing my hair, and continued so employed till past ten. Went to breakfast and during part of the time proceeded in getting by heart the 15th Sat. of Juvenal.

By the time I returned to my own room I imagine it full half past eleven. From that time till within a quarter of two, continued at the same employment, but not in a way that quite satisfied me. At a quarter before two ceased reading, and soon after went out firing with the pistols and riding till just four. Between four and the time of dinner being ready—about 20 minutes after—resumed the problem in the *loci*. After dinner tempted to read Anson's *Voyage*. Continued in the parlour till past six; hardly sat down till seven; doubtful how to employ myself. At last took up a problem in the arithmetic, read the operation and part of it worked. With the interruption of tea, and necessity of going downstairs, little was done till 8 when I sat down to write to my dearest B., my resolution in the meantime pretty much forgot, and my mind left vacant.

From 8 o'clock then till considerably past 11, have I sat with the paper before me, and in a constant state of attempt without having written more than part of one side, amounting I suppose to twelve lines, and that not such as I could send. The whole performance therefore of this day has been the finishing one problem in Simpson, and a fruitless attempt of four hours to write some part of a usual letter to my most intimate friend—middling.

[Several entries follow in the same dissatisfied strain.]

. . . . Dec. 18th.—I went to Rainham. I stopt for some time at Holt to send a letter to Mrs. B. and got some dinner at Fakenham, so that it was past six and dark when I got to Lord Townshend's, where I found Mr. Birch and Masterton and Pringle I think, and Beevor and a timber merchant who had come for the purchase of the large oaks. My principal business was the knowing from Lord T. what method he would agree upon for making known his intentions to Sir Armine

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Wodehouse. While I was there Sir John Turner came and Major Coney, and staid the greater part of the time. . . . On the Wednesday or Thursday we went in a large party to a lodge about six or seven miles off to course, the keepers having been sent early in the morning to beat the hares out of the cover, and carry thither the dogs. During my stay I was not very pleasant, though from no cause but that, which if I don't take care will return to destroy every enjoyment and perish every faculty again. . . . I set off on the Saturday morning being Christmas day, and got to Felbrig about five. The next day set off on horseback to Norwich in order to meet Byng and Mrs. B. and Julia, who were to be at Attleburgh that night. Lay at the Swan: in the morning rode out on the London road at such time as I supposed it likely they would be coming near, and at about 3 miles from the gates saw the coach coming as I was preparing under a hedge the note to be given to Mrs. B. . . . We got into Felbrig between eight and nine o'clock, Dec. 27th, being the first time of B.'s and Mrs. B.'s and Julia's having ever been down here. The period which here succeeds being such as consists of scenes and passages of happiness not capable of being exhibited in a journal, is better committed entirely to my memory and heart, where it is in no danger of being lost, than imperfectly reckoned out here, by an enumeration of trifling occurrences. I skip therefore at once to the time when we were obliged to leave this and proceed all towards London. Feb. 5th [1774] we set off in my coach . . . and the 8th arrived at Ickleford. [On leaving Ickleford, Mr. Windham went to town.]

Sunday [Feb. 27, 1774] was marked by . . . my calling on Mrs. Cholm[ondeley] who was at Mr. Gillio's house in Grosvenor Street, and meeting there with Cholmondeley. We then took that walk through Lincoln's Inn and Holborn and a lane I think leading into Fleet Street, in which the point was settled so very material both to him and me. It was some days after this, I have a notion on the Friday following, that I got into the lodging in Suffolk Street the same as Major Graham had had, No. 7. My time was now spent pretty uniformly, and not unpleasantly. Cholmondeley generally breakfasted with me; I dined often at home, wrote on most nights to Ickleford; went more often than formerly to the play; and to Miss H.'s about 5 times in a fortnight.

[Nothing of any interest occurs until] (1774) July 1st, Friday. "Went at nine to Foote's to meet Cholmondeley at the authour's, where I saw Lord Walpole &c. and Suckling, and in the next box General Fraser and an officer, an Irishman I believe, in the Portuguese service. Next day called at Miss H.'s in the morning, having met her walking in Charles Street, and settled what she has now desired."

The journal goes on to relate a riding tour taken by Mr. Windham with Cholmondeley and Byng through Stamford, Grantham, Nottingham and so through Derbyshire. Nothing of particular interest seems to have occurred. On the road from Derby to Matlock "we met Mr. Thrale's coach in which was Johnson who assented to the remark of the extreme beauty of the country, and observed that it was an object of reasonable curiosity the situation of the house here and the whole scene just like Bristol.

16th, Saturday.—. . . At about four o'clock we arrived at Buxton. . . . We supped in the rooms. The persons of any note here or whom we knew were Duke of Newcastle, Lord Lincoln, Sir Richard Philips, Robt. Conway, Tommy Tutteridge, Miss Pree and her sister

and General Mostyn. In about an hour after supper they began dancing as at Matlock, at which I staid till 11. . . . Buxton is a small place consisting only I should imagine of fifty or sixty houses which lie at the foot of some hills and make but an inconsiderable appearance. They are all of stone, as in the Peak I think in general. The town is comprehended in the Hundred of the Peak though not situated among the mountains. . . . Cholmond. and I walked up the road on the other side of the bridge talking on graver subjects and among the rest of Goldsmith's writings and the study of Astronomy. We went up between 11 and 12, when Cholm. staid in my room and I read to him the poem of the *Metamorphosis atomistæ in museam* out of the *Musæ Anglicanæ*.

19, Tuesday.—In the morning came down late. Set off [from Loughborough] on our way to Leicester. Read before I came down some part of the first chapter of the Acts of the Apostles with considerable attention and renewed the intention formed over night [a resolution for better management for the future]. What I saw at Leicester was the ruins of the abbey, the tessellated pavement, the library, and the stocking frames.

21st, Thursday.—Set off about ten o'clock [to Bedford] Left Bedford about four At a little before seven arrived at Ickleford after an absence of a fortnight all but a night having gone out on Friday about ten in the morning and returned at the above-mentioned hour on Thursday evening but one following. In our way from Bedford I cannot say that I did all I could any more than for any other portion of time since our being out; but was not altogether deficient. Since my being arrived I have thought, not altogether without profit, but the principal part of my time has been employed in completing this.

23rd, Saturday.—Set off from Ickleford. [Describes how after a not very pleasant ride he reached town]. I went to my lodgings at No. 7. In the evening I wrote a letter to Sir Ed^d Bacon and one to Mrs. Byng. The next morning sat at home till about one when B. called; went with him into the Park and met Pennington, the lieutenant, and Lowther. Walked afterwards with B. to the Horse Guards whence I took coach and drove to Newington to call upon Horseley but he was out of town. Returned to my lodging before four and sent for some dinner from the Hotel. About 5 o'clock called at Mrs. B.'s to enquire after Miss Swan who I was informed was ill. Came home afterwards and gave directions for removing my things to Mrs. Moncrief's. Walked in the Park and met Montagu. Went at my return to Mrs. Moncrief's, there I stayed till bed-time reading I think a little of Lord Bacon on the advancement of learning. The next day at four o'clock went to the Tiltyard Coffeehouse to meet B. At seven o'clock we went together to Foote's to his new piece of the *Cozeners* where in the opposite box was Miss H. and Joe, to whom we went. Mrs. Abingdon sat next and I observed never looked round. I went out with them at the end of the piece and walking with her to the door in St. Albans Str. returned to my own lodgings. There I sat writing uninterruptedly a letter to Cholm., till it was too late to send it, for part of the time I think I was reading some propositions in the first part of Horsley's book [*De Inclinationibus*]. Great interruptions from people in the street. [The Diary then goes on to relate a visit which he paid to Binfield next day, going down in company of Byng who returned to town next day.] "In the evening I had a long conversation with

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Mr. B. walking up and down before the dairy and sometimes sitting on the bench, Julia and Ceey being either in the walk or the dairyhouse at the same time." [Next day Byng returning to Binfield, they all pay a visit to Caversham and stay at Mr. Loveday's for the night. Windham describes the country as beautiful and relates his occupations while there, one being exercise on the water where he was engaged in rowing. Speaks of his thinking while there "but not much or not well."] Next morning set off for Binfield again passing through Sunning where I had a sight of Mrs. Knyvitt. In the morning had been some time with Mr. Loveday in his study where I had been also the day before. From him at this time I took the following particulars, then set down upon a piece of paper, that in the Harley library in the Museum was a manuscript Pindar done by Thomasen the famous writer of the Greek character, the No. 6315. Thomasen was a school-master; lived at or near Chester and died in 1740 aged 54 that on the guinea coined in George the 1st's time ann. 1714, one of which he showed me, there were the letters PR. EL. signifying *princeps elector*, which some of the German princes took offence at understanding it as if it had been *primarius elector*. The guineas were therefore never coined, but the reason vulgarly supposed for the new coinage was that some Jacobite had been concerned in setting the die for the former guinea and had put the figure of horns on the top of the King's head meaning to reflect on him on the common notion of his being a cuckold; the two uppermost leaves of the laurel wreath having something of that appearance.

3rd August, Wednesday.—Left Mr. Loveday's about ten o'clock from this time continued at Binfield till

13th, Saturday.—Went up to town, Mr. B. having gone on the Thursday before. Mrs. B. and Julia went with me as far as the Red Lion at Egham, very pleasant, talking all the way; the subject *Miss K.* Mr. B. in particularly good spirits. In the same disposition we parted, I congratulating myself and thinking myself very lucky for having had the resolution to suppress some ill humour by which the whole might have been reversed arising *on the recollection of a remark made on that as we came down* [from Egham to Hounslow thence to town] and afterwards went to my lodgings at Grece's Next day rose about nine sat till about 12 or 1, employed as before. On consideration during the preceding day and Saturday evening some time must have been spent in continuing my journal as well also some in reading part of a sermon of Barrow's on the existence of God proved from the frame of the world. If I recollect I went to bed on Saturday night thinking on the nature of that argument and rose with that in my head in the morning. At about 12 or 1, on Monday went out going first to the warehouse in St. Albans St., then to Payne's the bookseller's to inquire for Gesner's *Dictionary* and thence to Mrs. Russel's. Of most of these places I had made memorandums by knots tied in my handkerchief and for some part of the way thought of the benefits likely to accrue and which I had already experienced from that practice."

16th, Tuesday.—[Describing a renewed visit to Binfield on that day where he remained till the Friday following he says] "This day went round by Oakingham to Sunning. I should have mentioned that the day before we all dined at Miss Riches to which I went and from which came back in Miss Neville's coach. On Saturday evening drank tea at Neville's with single speech Hamilton. Talked a great deal of

Bernard ; of the character of the Eton masters and fellows ; of Cook's voyages. On Sunday went all viz., Mr. Forr[est] Mrs. Can., Julia, Cecy, August, B., Mrs. B., and I to Sunning hill from which we returned about seven

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23rd, Tuesday.—Over night after taking leave of Mrs. Forrest instead of going into my own room sat up with Tom talking of gales of wind &c. till one ; then talked a little through the door with Cecy and afterwards wrote some of this so that I did not get to bed till just two. In the morning set out about a quarter before 11, Julia and I and Cecy going in the post chaise, and B. and Mrs. B. in the other. Arrived at Windsor before one having come rather in an ill humour all the way from within a mile and half of Binfield viz. : from Rowles's, owing to the circumstance remarked here

From that time till Thursday at 6 o'clock staid at Windsor with Walsingham. Of my stay there I cannot say much ; it was but little of the day that I was alone. The objects of the place seemed to suggest sufficient matter of reflexion but I did not exert myself so as to make a proper use of them. On the Wednesday morning I went with Walsingham to Gloucester Lodge and was in company with the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester for the first time, being introduced and kissing their hands. I was tolerably attentive to myself while I was there and endeavoured to feel myself in the presence of a king's brother, but was not quite so much so as I might have been, nor could excite in myself much of the feel of being with a great man. At tea Ferguson the Lecturer was with us who was then at Windsor reading. Mrs. Walsingham had got his pocket [book] to transcribe parts of it. I looked at it and thought it contained a great deal of trifling matter, for instance one side inscribed, questions relative to the National Debt which were no more than calculations of the weight of the National Debt in present coins, of the number of men it would require to carry it &c.

The next day at dinner also Ferguson was there, when I learnt from him a contrivance used in some silk mills at Bishop Stopford in Essex in order to produce a reciprocating motion in a horizontal beam, of the same sort and for the same purpose as that at the mills at Derby, which was effected by other means. The contrivance, as he described it at dinner, I did not understand but have made it out since I think to be a groove consisting of two half spirals meeting each other cut in a horizontal cylinder which is made to revolve round its axis, into which groove an arm, I suppose, is fitted intended to receive the reciprocating motion, the beam being in the same horizontal line with the cylinder 25th, Thursday—Set off between 5 and 6 o'clock for London. [No entry till]

September 1st.—The preceding week was passed much at my own lodgings which were at Grece's, during which time I used to read Horsey's book and the Greek testament. [Nothing of much interest till]

4th, Sunday.—Came to the lodgings in Chidley Court
. From the above time viz. : the time of my coming to those lodgings to the present time which will be immediately set down, a period in which all good habits and resolutions seem to have been forgot, all bad ones seem to have sprung up, my thoughts and opinions on the most essential subjects to have been shaken, and the powers lost by which they should be settled.

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27th, Tuesday.—I am now come to my new lodging No. 9, Suffolk street [gives the reasons of his coming there, and a rather long description of a visit to Mrs. Byng and many words written in Greek characters.]

28th, Wednesday.—Lay awake last night for some time thinking of the difference made by this change of habitation and of the necessity of not losing the advantage of it. [Reflections on the time just passed with Mrs. Byng; he visits her again—description of his behaviour there.]

29th.—Sat at home till one when Cecy and Miss H. called on me to go a riding. Rode out going by Paddington on the Hampstead Road as far as the turning to Lord Mansfield's [Details of another visit to Mrs. Byng in Cecil St. and in what a disturbed state he returned.]

[Each succeeding day he appears to have paid visits to Cecil St.; for three days he says he can look back with tolerable satisfaction.]

[Oct.] 3.—Went to Cecil St. a little after 8. Just saw Mrs. Byng and set out with Cecy and Miss H. for the review that lasted till 2—four hours. [Returns to his lodgings and then again visits in Cecil St.—his observations thereon.]

[Nothing of interest related except a ride to Binfield which was apparently taken for distraction. Then no entry of any remark through that month and part of November, which was passed in various short journeys to Hounslow, Egham, Hatfield, and other places till]

[November] 27th.—Went down to Ickleford in order to make some stay. Quitted my lodgings in Suffolk St. the day before viz. : Saturday—Dined at the monthly meeting of the club of University College. While I was at my lodgings about nine received the message *from Miss H. to come to her* in a hackney coach. The recollection of the feel with which this left me all that night and the next day, the interruption it gave to all my thoughts and the enjoyments it deprived me of, the effect which it had for a week or ten days afterwards make this instance sufficiently distinguished to be placed upon record as a boundary of such folly. The morning of my coming was very cold and frosty and of a most wintry appearance which, added to the uneasy feel consequent on what had happened the preceding night, made my journey rather gloomy. To obviate this, which I knew must be the case, I took with me a volume of the *Collectio Poetarum* and read between London and Welwyn the *Phormio* of Terence. This gave occasion to me to reflect how strange my life must have been at Oxford when such an act as this would have reckoned largely in the work of a winter. From Welwyn I rode the pony sent down since to my brother George, and arrived just before dinner. [Thoughts on approaching Ickleford and resolutions to make it a place of studious residence, but the diary does not contain much if anything connected with study, the main portion of the life there being apparently devoted to riding, and occasional meets of hounds. There is a reference one morning to a *memorable and critical conversation*.

[December] 25, Sunday and Christmas Day.—At about twelve o'clock having waited till then on account of the letters, Mrs. Byng, Reggy, and I, set off for Royston on my way to Bourn Bridge where I was to meet Phipps and Banks. The badness of the roads which were rendered hardly passable by the frost, and the terror occasioned to Mrs. Byng by the falling off the horse made my going very uneasy, and after stopping only half an hour at Royston I sent them away in a fresh post chaise and four. I proceeded in a post chaise and pair to Bourne Bridge where I arrived about 6, and about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour before Phipps and Banks. The frights they had in getting home by being obliged

by the post boys to change horses at Baldock, and the lateness of their arrival I heard afterwards in a letter. We went on that night to Barton Mills and the next day, viz., 26th arrived at Felbrig.

1775, January 4th.—Left Felbrig, and the next night about $\frac{1}{4}$ before 12 got to town. I went to Reve's to get a bed but they were full; they procured me, however, a lodging on the opposite side of the way.

6th.—Dined at Phipps whence I went after dinner with Henry Phipps to Drury Lane where Garrick was to act Sir John Brute. The places which we had were about the centre row of the middle front box. The play had been begun some little time before we came in. I had set there about ten minutes during which Garrick had been chiefly on the stage when on turning to my right I saw on a row a few rows below Miss H., and on looking further beheld to my great astonishment Mrs. Byng. They had sent it seems a note to me at my mother's, having heard of my being in town from Mr. Gwyn, which note had not been brought to me by the neglect of my servant to Lord Mulgrave's, till I was gone. They wished me to come in a coach, and the next day I met Mrs. Byng with Miss H. by appointment in a coach and drove round about the King's road till four. I dined at my mother's in the evening, drove with them again till it was time for them to go to Mr. Norris where they were to sup. [The diary has nothing of interest between this date and the end of February. There are frequent visits to Ickleford during this time.] [February] 24.—Came up to town expecting the masquerade to be on that night. Mrs. Byng came with me as far as Welwyn.

27th.—Went to the masquerade. I quitted that day my lodgings, No. 9, Suffolk Street, and had my things removed to my mother's, where I dined. All the evening I continued there. About eight wrote to Mrs. Byng; at a little before eleven drove to Lord Mulgrave's by appointment whence Phipps and I went to Lord Spencer's where masks were seen, where we stayed a short time and then proceeded to the masquerade. Came in I suppose about 12 past 12. The place was very crowded and brilliant, but did not contain so far as I observed many of those persons whose presence, I think, contribute more to the estimation of the meeting. Of persons that I know there were Mrs. Chol[mondeley] concealed as a conjurer, Miss Chol[mondeley], Miss Grickin, Lord Pigot, Miss Phipps, Lady Cork, &c. I stayed till six in the morning by which time it was broad light. [Same day went back to Ickleford.]

March 3rd.—Came up to town riding my mare as far as Welwyn, coming in a chaise from there to Hatfield and thence to Barnet. I came up in expectation of dining with Sheridan, but found there had been a mistake. Dined at my mother's.

[The next entry in the Diary is as follows:—]

April 16. I should hardly have conceived if I had not found it proved on the face of the journal itself that from the date last set down to the present time all account had been suspended.*

The day following, viz.: a Saturday I went into the lodgings in Corke St. at an apothecary of the name of Baine where I had occasion to observe very particularly my subjection to the influence of place, and

* This is evidently a note in the Diary, as if on that day he had discovered the omissions which he then supplied. The next entry "the day following" is in *March*, from which date the diary goes straight on.

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strange difference I find in places so little removed from each other, for in that little change from Suffolk to Corke St. I seemed to find the whole state of my being in town altered, nor was I able for the first night and afterwards to divest myself of a feel of something which made my views of life different there from what they had been in the other place. This is undoubtedly great weakness. [March] 11th.—Quitted the lodgings in Corke St., and went with Chol. to Ickleford. . . . Mrs. B. not yet come down after her illness from her bedroom.

On the Wednesday following I went up to Town again in order to dine at Lord Mulgrave's by appointment, where was to be Lady Mary Fitzgerald. Mrs. Byng carried me one part of the way in the chaise. . . . The next day between 8 and 9 I returned, having called upon Cholmondeley, who was in bed, and could not go with me from not finding himself well. [Paid a visit to Hatfield and returning met Mrs. Byng and "Peggy" in the chaise.]

Monday 20th.—Went up to town in order to dine with Hawkins Browne. Mrs. B. carried me in the chaise to Hatfield when we met Cholmondeley by appointment in his way down. . . . The Saturday preceding this was the day, I think, of my being out a hunting for the second time when Meynell and Lord Scarborough and others of the first rate sportsmen were out.

22nd, Wednesday — Went out of town at half-past two in order to overtake Gwynn and Byng, who were to dine at Welwyn. Gwynn came by just as I was getting out of my chaise at Barnet. [Rides with them to Welwyn, where they dine. He then left with Byng to go to Ickleford, and in these words owns to his somewhat easy habit of turning morose under certain circumstances.] "All the while till our leaving the inn [at Welwyn] I was in particularly good spirits. I then contrived as Byng and I were riding to Ickleford in the dark to put myself in bad humour, and this being increased by a circumstance that happened at my first going in I was completely so all that night, and so continued till it brought on what I ought to *dread to think on*."

30th, Thursday.—Came to town in order to go to Mrs. Windham's card party. Mrs. Byng took me to turnpike at Brickwell . . . I had now got the present lodging in Chidley Court.

April 4th.—Returned to Ickleford. I left town in a chaise and read all the way to Hatfield the book I had just got of Gray's poems and letters published by Mason . . .

[On the intermediate page.]—This last time of my being at Ickleford I finished the work which had held me so long of the 7th Book of Pappus filling up whatever had been left imperfect; and also what I had began some time before, the works of Seneca the Poet. I read also what I had not read for a long while, Ovid's *Ibis*.

15th, Saturday.—Came up to town in order to go with Phipps and Banks and Colman on our party to Newmarket and Thetford. [Diary gives account of this trip to Newmarket which included a visit to Cambridge where he stayed a day, returning through Stevenage and Welwyn to St. Albans, where they saw the Abbey; and he staid one night at Hertford.]

24th.—Came to town at about ten o'clock and found that Mrs. Byng had not gone out of town yet. [Till the following 10th May engaged with Mrs. Byng and Julia whom he had accompanied on their way to Binfield with Cholmondeley and had met at Salthill on their return to town.]

On the following Wednesday [May 11th] I think it was that I went with Mrs. Byng and Miss Riches from Chidley Court to Argyle St., and thence with Mrs. Byng to take up Julia, and that we called at Mrs. Reynolds's and Lady Knowles's, I think, and finally at Miss Beauclerk's. [Next day but one accompanies Mrs. Byng and Julia to Ickleford and describes the journey down as very pleasant "singing and talking on agreeable topicks." He returned to town on the following day with them, and went in the coach to Hatfield, where they dined, reaching town again in time to meet Byng at the play to see Garrick. He notes that the six days of this stay at Ickleford were passed "in a rather particular way."]

23rd.—Between six and seven in the evening having been detained in the morning and stayed to dine at Sheridan's, set off on horseback to Ickleford. Rode to Welwyn and thence went in a postchaise. Did not get in till $\frac{1}{2}$ past eleven when they were all in bed except the servants. I got to bed some time after without waking Mrs. Byng whom I surprised in the morning.

27th.—Came to town from Barnet having come hither the night before with Mrs. Byng and Miss Rich.

June 3rd.—Went with my brother to Ipswich.

4th.—Got to Norwich.

5th.—Arrived at Dereham. From that [day] except two days passed at Felbrig, I stayed at Dereham till the—

15th.—When I left Dereham. Got to Barton Mills about twelve.

16th.—Came to Ickleford.

20th.—Left Ickleford. Slept at Barnet.

21st.—Came to town between eleven and twelve.

[The next entry in the Diary is somewhat interesting and precedes an account of what Windham calls his "literary advancement." This is given in full.]

"To night (23rd).—I have been employed for this hour, viz., since eleven, in reading the first proposition and part of the 2nd book of Papp., and this is first attempt I have made to think of anything in mathematicks since at latest the 12th of last month. The return to these subjects after such an intermission even was attended with sensible pleasure. How strange that I should ever suffer studies felt to be so valuable to be neglected so long." [Then on an intermediate page is the detailed account of "literary advancement" under numbered articles as follow:]

1. About the 20 last pages of the 1st book of Horsley's *Apoll. Restitutus*—read sometime in the latter end of August and the beginning of September 1774.
2. The *Philoctetes* of Sophocles read sometime in September or October.
3. The seventh book of Pappus containing 247 pages begun some time in Sept. or Oct., finished not till the 29th of March.
4. The *Æneid* begun October 20th finished Novr. 1st.
5. Juvenal begun Novr. 7th, finished Jany. 15th.
6. Persius ended February 6th.
7. Seneca the poet ended April 30th.
 1. New testament read occasionally during a month or six weeks at the beginning of the winter.
 2. The *Phormio* of Terence read between London and Welwyn in going down to Ickleford Novr. 27th.

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3. History of England in Rapin from Edward the 3rd to about Henry 4th.
4. Part of two sermons of Barrow. These were read early in the winter while I was at Grece's.
8. The four vols. of Goldsmith's *history of England* began some time last month, ended within this week.
9. Four propositions investigated in the *tractatus de Vet. Analys.* These were done sometime between the 20th of April and the 20th of May.
10. Ovid's *Ibis*, containing about 644 verses.
 5. About 140 leaves in the *Novelle di Bandello*.
 6. Some things occasionally in the two first introductory Chapters to the *Tables of Logarithms*.

The above account, few and inconsiderable as the Articles are, exhibits the whole of my literary advancement during the period then comprehended. It is true that this account does not include every page read during that time nor every half hour spent in literary employ but by the minuteness of several of the Articles, both of those of which the quantity is definite and exact and those of which it is computed, it is seen how low this account descends so that the facts remaining unaccounted must be separately so small as to be but little considerable in the amount. The fact is that this amount for a long time back has been less than ever as it has been a principle since the commencement of the *reformation* to reject such particles of reading as are too inconsiderable to be separately noted. That a better idea may be [had] of the proportion of what it appears here I have done to what I might have done, here follow two accounts, the one calculating what times i.e. between what limits the work above stated might have been performed supposing a certain number of hours only to have been applied to it each day (which number is for some part of the work four for others six and for some others seven) and the other what the amount would be of the number of hours necessary to have been actually spent upon it. [Here follow the two accounts, by which he computes the first was 4 months and 2 weeks and the second would be 4 months and 4 weeks [or 5 months].

The Diary then proceeds from May 24th to July 5th, during which period the usual to and fro visits to Ickleford are recorded.

July 5th.—Went down to Ickleford riding all the way. They met me just on the other side of Hitchin, Cecy being on the young horse.

6th.—Next day went to Biggleswade to meet Phipps by agreement to go down with him to the North. We all supped together and stayed there that night.

7th.—Set out with him for Mulgrave. The first night we slept at Grantham; the next at Ferrybridge: the next at Castle Howard and 10th, Monday.—Arrived at Mulgrave.

25th.—Parted from Phipps in order to proceed to the south. We had left Mulgrave the day before, and slept that night at Mr. Halls. The day after that, viz., the 25th we called for a short time at General Hales and I was prevailed on to stay and dine at Chalmers. Phipps then drove me to Stokesly and I rode thence to Thirsk about 21 miles; got there a little past 11.

26th.—Got to Stamford having set off in the morning by 5. Received no letter nor found Mrs. B., so went the next morning in full confidence of meeting them at Daventry. I proceeded to Daventry the next morning; but by the happy ingenuity of certain persons was dis-

appointed, so had nothing to do but to go on that night to Dunstable. The next morning

28th.—Rode over to Ickleford by a little after nine.

30th.—Left Ickleford. Mrs. Byng and Julia came with me to Royston where we stayed an hour or two, and went through Cambridge and slept that night at Barton Mills.

31st.—Came hither viz., Felbrigge. .

Augt.

Sept. 17th.—Left Felbrig.

(End of Diary.)

LETTERS to the Right Hon. WILLIAM WINDHAM when Secretary at War, from French Royalists, relative to the Expedition to La Vendée.

A large bundle of letters from eminent French exiles on various points connected with the corps of émigrés proposed to be raised in England. They are of no historical interest. The following are the names of the writers: The Prince de Leon and the Princess, the Duc de Harcourt, Duc de Crussol, Duc de Lorge, Marquis d'Osmond, Marquise de Brehan, Marquis de Crevolle, Marquis d'Aussigné, Marquise de la Saille, Marquis de Miran, Marquis de Padeloup, Marquis de St. Victor, Marquis des Dorides, Comte de Williamson, Comte de St. Pair, Comte d'Hervilly, Comte de Blangy, Comte de la Ville-Sarjlon, Comte de Broglie, Comte de Robien, Comte O'Mahony, Comte d'Hector, Comte de Peysac, Comtesse de la Bourdonnaye, Comte de Pradel, Comte de Moustier, Comte de Pfaff, Comte de Bruyères, Comte de Contades, Comte de la Monneraye, Comte de Bleuges, Comte de Behague, Comte d'Agoult, Viscomte Williamson, Viscomte de Vaux, Baron de Rolle, Baron Fontanges, Baron de Nautial, Chevalier de Tinguyl, Chevalier de la Rivière, Chevalier de Puisaye, Chevalier Framond, Chevalier de Tintinian, Chevalier de Dampierre, Chevalier d'Audigné, Chevalier de Verteuil, Chevalier de Seucécé, Chevalier de Nercé, Evêque d'Angoulême, l'Abbé de Calonne, l'Abbé de la Britinaye, l'Abbé d'Hérat, General Wall, Capt. Lefebvre, MM. d'Ivernois, Poisson, Normand, de Solerac, Harel l'Aigle, Victor, Kerlevec, Startreenberg, Duchezlar, and St. Croix.

The following have been selected as being more generally interesting than the bulk of the correspondence.

N.D. 52 New Compton Street Soho.—Le Baron de Nautial to Mr. Windham enclosing an extract from a letter to him from Monsieur le Président de la Houssaye. Wishes him to act as he thinks best in the matter. The first account is from a letter from a Marquis de Catreclant first president of the Bretagne parliament arrived from Jersey by the last boat. Asks to present his son to Mr. Windham.

1795, June 2. Jersey.—Extract of a letter enclosed in the preceding. "On se doutait icy de l'arrivée de troupes, je crains bien qu'elles ne nous affoment parler et faites parler, je vous prie de l'article essentiel des approvisionnement. Samedi dernier point de boeuf et la vache contait 18 sols la livre. Les farines manquent, le gain est a 6 sols la livre, et chaque jour, on menace de la sencherir. Point de charbon il n'en arrive plus, si le nombre des consommateurs augmentes sans précautions prises il est certain que dans peu de semaines on nous affamera. Attention particulier sur cet article je vous prie."

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ESQ.

“ Le Président de la Houssaye a l'honneur d'offrir ses respects à Monsieur le baron de Nautial et de lui communiquer la ver cydessus dont il sera usage suivant sa prudence et sa bonne volonté ordinaire, pour les malheureux émigrés. Ils seraient exposés de plus d'une manière si les approvisionnements manquaient a Jersey. Le comte de la Houssaye n'ayant pas l'honneur d'être connu des ministres du Roi d'Angleterre, ne peut se permettre de démarches auprès d'eux.”
Londres 8 Juin 1795 Le comte de la Houssaye.

N.D. June 14.—Extract from a letter, from Lausanne. “ L'opinion qu'on entretenait en Angleterre des forces et des moyens de la France pouvait faire croire qu'on serait obligé de traiter avec elle. Mais les cabinets des Puissantes coalissées qui voyent sa détresse, la laissent se consumer elle meme, et épient le moment de lui imposer les conditions qui leur plairont et qu'elle sera probablement forcée d'accepter, si une troupe grande-avidité ne les porte pas à en présenter de trop onéreuses. Les assignats par le dernier courier de Paris y perdaient $95\frac{1}{8}$ per 100 et il n'y a pas de raisons pour qu'ils ne tombent pas encore plus bas. La dépense du mois de May a été de 1500 millions. Il est aise de voir que tous leurs milliards, qui consistent en biens d'émigrés, dont personne ne veut, doivent etre bientôt épuisés. Leurs troupes sont lasses de la guerre. Le cri général de toute la nation est pour la paix. Le parti de la modération a pris le dessus sur celui des Jacobins et des terroristes. Mais les affaires n'en vont pas mieux. Le Royalisme gagne tous les jours du terrain, et je suis bien trompé si avant l'hyver il n'a pas le dessus. Cette époque selon toutes apparences sera celle de la paix, qui peut seule porter quelque remede à tous les maux qu'on a souffert depuis trois ans etc etc.”

W. O. HEWLETT.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE.

The earlier part of this collection contains several letters and papers of Lord Ligonier's belonging to the years 1760, 1761, 1762, which have in some manner come into the possession of the Hutchinson family. The first is an account of the taking of Carrickfergus by Thurot. There are several documents about Belle Isle, including a letter from Mr. Pitt, announcing its capture. Captain de Bassemont's letter illustrates the condition of Protestants in France at that time.

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But far the greater part of the collection consists of the correspondence of the Right Honourable John Hely Hutchinson, the husband of the first Baroness Donoughmore and father of the first Earl of Donoughmore, extending from 1761 to shortly before his death in 1794. It includes letters from a large number of distinguished persons. Some indeed are only formal, but many write freely and at length as intimate friends. Of the latter class Edmund Burke is the most eminent, from whom are five letters. The most important is that of August 1767 giving his opinion of several politicians. Of Lord Rockingham he observes, "He is gone to the country, without office and with dignity." From Stone, the Primate, there are three. He approves of the Duke of Bedford's appointment as Master of the Horse, "for human creatures certainly ought not to be subjected to him, but to have made him keeper of the lions in the Tower would yet have been more unexceptionable." There are numerous letters from Lord Hertford and Lord Townshend, former Lord Lieutenants. Three of the former's describe the formation of the Shelburne Ministry in 1782, and some of the intrigues that succeeded its resignation, while one of the latter's contains a sketch of Charles Fox in his youth: "He defies, corrects, and drives Ministers into Minorities in order to uphold Government," and refers to "Wedderburn's able dissection of Franklin." Another describes the King's "surprise and concern" at the duel between a Mr. Doyle and Hutchinson, soon after his appointment as Provost, while another duel is referred to "as the taste Mr. Bagnal has been pleased to take of the new secretary" (Blaquiere). Indeed, as Townshend remarks, "amongst other qualifications for public station the gladiatorial is one of the most essential in your country." Though in London, Townshend too found it necessary to fight. From Wedderburn himself, afterwards Lord Loughborough, there are several letters, and two long and remarkable papers addressed to him in 1793 by Hutchinson, containing a sketch of Irish feeling. French principles are universally execrated, except in Belfast, some parts of Derry, and by some few inconsiderable men in Dublin. He refers to the manner in which Government business was transacted, and the measures then before Parliament, especially the Disqualification by Office Bill, the Pension Bill, and the Bill for establishing a Treasury Board. After describing how the Secretaryship of State had become a sinecure, he adds, "The Chief Secretary is in all departments whatever the only efficient Minister . . . There is no country probably in Europe where

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such various powers and departments are in one man, and that man unknown to the Constitution, and yet in the course of a long life I have not known more than two men in that office who had any previous acquaintance with public business."

In a letter to his wife Hutchinson describes the great debate of May 26th, 1783, when Fox and Pitt were opposed to each other. He gave, and he was well qualified to judge, the preference to the last. "He had a decided superiority and is the greatest speaker I ever heard." Letters from Mr. King and Dean Bond in 1786 describe the beginning of the tithe disturbances, the attempts of Government to suppress them, and the steps taken by the bishops. There are numerous letters from Mr. Orde, Chief Secretary to the Duke of Rutland, relating mostly to Irish trade and the proposed commercial treaty with Great Britain. In one is enclosed a copy of a confidential paper from Mr. Beresford to Mr. Orde, containing objections to the propositions then before the British House of Lords with Mr. Pitt's answers.

Several letters from Hutchinson's son, afterwards the first Earl of Donoughmore, and others give an entertaining account of the Lord Lieutenant's visit to Cork in 1785, and a paper by him describes how he acted as a medium of communication in December 1792 between the Government and the Catholic Committee as to the mode of presenting their petition to the King. Several letters from Lord Lyttleton relate mostly to the case of his son-in-law, Viscount Valentia, Hutchinson having been one of his counsel. Woodfall, the printer, feels honoured "by being considered by you so far distinct from the general class of newspaper editors and printers that I am not altogether unworthy of private confidence." Harvey, the eccentric bishop of Derry, makes some remarks about education, not wanting in good sense, and is disappointed that the College will not contribute to the spire he is building. A letter, full of boyish jokes, from W. W. Grenville at the age of 17 to his schoolfellow, Hutchinson's son, is followed a few years later by one from him as Chief Secretary enclosing the official narrative of Howe's relief of Gibraltar. A bishop urges his claim for promotion on the ground, among others, of "having preserved the borough by making 40 new freemen in the midst of the greatest obloquy and newspaper abuse (for our majority was only 19) and returned two members recommended by Government."

But the most interesting part of the collection consists of over 30, mostly long, letters from William Gerard Hamilton, better known as "Single Speech" Hamilton. Hutchinson and he had become friends when he was over as Chief Secretary to Lord Halifax, and Hutchinson's opinion of his ability and character may be estimated from his attributing Junius to his pen, an honour disclaimed by Hamilton. The steps he and Hutchinson took in concert to obtain, the one the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, the other the place of Alnager, are fully described, laying bare the secret history of the transaction. The letters abound with pungent observations on persons and affairs. A member is described as "variable in his politics, but uniform in his wish to be Chancellor of the Exchequer," and he observes, as the difference between myself and the Lord Lieutenant "related only to the prosperity of Ireland, you will easily imagine a dispute on so trifling a subject could not be productive of any warmth." With these are connected the letters of his friend, Mr. Jephson. A long and important one of June 1765, written by Hamilton's direction, describes the state of English parties, Lord Bute's secret influence, the jealousies between him and the Administration, and the Regency Bill. To the Ministers' conduct towards that measure he attributes the King's overtures to Mr. Pitt. His version of

the Duke of Bedford's speech to the King is "solemn and repeated as Lord Bute's promises were, he knew at the time how little they were to be relied on, but he blushed to remind his Majesty that even his Royal word had been pledged to confirm what his Lordship's busy and meddling temper rendered it impossible for him to adhere to." Others throw some light on that obscure passage in Burke's life, his rupture with Hamilton, and the assignment of his pension to Jephson. Several letters relate to the disturbances in College that ensued on Hutchinson's appointment as Provost, and there is a large bundle of papers relating to the petition against the return of the Hon. F. Hely Hutchinson for Dublin University, and to the visitation of 1791.

The documents calendared were picked out of a very much larger number both before and after Hutchinson's death. It is believed that nothing important in the former period has been overlooked, but among an immense quantity belonging to the latter period some were noticed that may prove of interest at some future time; for instance, there is a good deal of correspondence of the first Earl of Donoughmore relative to the Catholic claims, and there are despatches and letters of the second Earl when attached to the Russian army during the campaigns of Eylau and Friedland.

1760, February 22. Belfast. — Major General Strode to the Duke of Bedford. At about 7 o'clock last night Lieutenant Colonel Jennings of the 62nd regiment and four companies were made prisoners of war at Carrick Fergus. About 8 o'clock this morning a Flag of Truce came to this town, and demanded the undermentioned articles, consisting of various provisions and supplies to be delivered today at 2 o'clock, promising to pay for them and threatening in case of refusal to burn Carrick Fergus, and then this town also, with which demand the gentlemen of Belfast thought it best to comply. About 500 or 600 of the country Militia came here today, but they are very ill provided with arms, and have great scarcity of ammunition. The French lost about four or five at Carrick Fergus, and our people about three or four. (*Copy.*)

1760, July 31. London.—J. A. D. to Lord Ligonier. Containing a project calculated to supply the want of troops of such nature rather to save lives than expose them to destruction by throwing an enemy into confusion. Particulars cannot be committed to paper.

Undated. Camp, Warberg.—Col. J. Browne, Secretary to Lord Granby, to Lieutenant General Yorke. By Lord Granby's desire commending the bearer John Haly, Lieutenant in Rutte's regiment in the Irish Brigade in the French service, who has thought proper to quit that service, and requesting him to give him a passport to England.

1760, August 22. Hamelen.—Edward Blakeney to Lieutenant General Yorke, by the same bearer, giving some further particulars about him.

1760, September 9. The Hague.—Lieutenant General Yorke to Rd. Portergis, Esq., by the same bearer recommending him, and enclosing the last two.

1760, October 17. Quiberon Bay.—Admiral Sir Edward Hawke to Lord Anson. Giving the information he had collected about Belle-isle and its garrison which he does not think a good place for a diversion. Also giving the results of his reconnoitings of Morbihan and the Rivers Auray, Vannes, and Vilaine, with the view of destroying the men-of-

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war in the last and the transports in the others, and proposing plan of operations. Enclosed is an extract from a letter of Captain Gambier of the same date giving the result of his examination of a captain of a *chasse marée*. (*Copy*.)

[1760?].—Memorial from Colonel Lloyd, General Adjutant to the Reigning Duke of Brunswick, proposing to form a body of Germans composed of deserters, who at the close of the war might be formed into military colonies to guard the frontiers of the British dominions abroad.

1761, March 21. Dublin.—George Stone, Archbishop of Armagh, to John Hely Hutchinson. "Lord Halifax is named by the King Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but the patent not being passed, it is not yet signified hither in form. The Duke of Bedford, (as you have heard) has removed Mr. Malone, and appointed C. J. Yorke, Chancellor of the Exchequer. His Grace writes thus, viz.: *I having represented to the King that Mr. Malone is not a fit person to serve His Majesty as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that in my opinion it is advisable he should be removed, &c.* I shall make no observations to you, nor is it necessary. Mr. Malone is determined to appear again at the Bar. The Duke of Bedford, it is said, will be made Master of the Horse, which is in some degree right for human creatures certainly ought not to be subjected to him; but to have made him keeper of the lions in the Tower would yet have been more unexceptionable, in truth his dominion here has been very grievous; we have got rid of him now; but I fear shall feel for some time to come the consequences of his having been amongst us.

There are many ministerial changes in England. The principal is the appointment of Lord Bute to be Secretary of State in the place of Lord Holderness. Mr. Legge is turned out. Mr. Pitt as yet keeps his office. It seems as if clouds were gathering over that region, and that storms would soon burst. In the meantime there are appearances, as if the war abroad was drawing towards a conclusion."

1761, April 4.—List of the fees of Lord Ligonier and Mr. Pitt (afterwards Lord Chatham) at the Bath election.

1761, April 22–June 11.—Journal of the siege of the citadel of Belleisle from the landing to the capitulation.

1761, May 2–8.—Another journal of the same between these dates signed by General Hodgson, the Commander of the expedition.

1761, May 14. Strand.—Peter Templeman, Secretary to the Society for the encouragement of Arts, to General Hudson, the Field Officer in Waiting, asking him to apply to Lord Ligonier for a guard of 200 men to keep off the crowd expected at an experiment for extinguishing a house on fire in an instant. The place was near the end of Portland Street Road. (*Copy*.)

1761, May 15.—Hamilton Street.—Joshua Steele to Lord Ligonier on the same subject enclosing a copy of the last.

1761, June 11.—John Murray to [Lord Ligonier]. Bremen. Mentioning his being offered by the Prince [Ferdinand] a commission in the British Legion which he was advised not to take "as it was really an infamous corps, and at the end of the war its service would cease and the officers have no half pay."

1761, June 13.—William Pitt to Lord Ligonier. Have just received the news of the capture of the citadel of Palais [Belleisle] on the 7th—the garrison to march out with the honours of war, 3 pieces of cannon, and to be transported to the Continent. Seal with arms of the Pitt family. Franked Wm. Pitt.

1761, August 13.—“A plan for more expeditiously manning the Fleets by Thomas Cole.” The proposal is to enlist the French sailors of whom there were then about 20,000 prisoners of war, and distribute them by 40 or 50 in different ships. He states that a great number of them are Protestants taken from their parents when young, and then registered in a class and allowed a small subsistence till they are ready to go to sea. The subsistence we now allow them consists only of victuals and drink, and that but very sparingly through the avarice of the contractors, and as to clothes they have not a rag allowed them, though great numbers have been here six years, so that they are a shocking spectacle, though they have received some relief from the generous contributions of the people.

1761, October 7. Belleisle.—General Hodgson to Lord Ligonier. Describing the measures he has taken for putting the place in a state of defence, and expecting soon to have covering for 4,000 men.

1761, October 23. Bockum.—Robert de Bassemont, Captain and Engineer, to [Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick?]. Giving an account of his life and services in France, and declaring his wish to enter the English service, his reason being the disadvantage under which his religion as a Protestant places him in the French service. He was born near Uzès in Languedoc, had risen to the rank of Captain, was sent in 1755 to superintend the repairs and additions to the fortifications of Martinique and Dominica, was taken prisoner on his return and detained 7 months in England, and then released on parol and exchanged. He applied to Marshal Belleisle setting forth his services but the only answer was “What you tell me is not of my time; besides, you shall obtain nothing because you are of the Reformed religion.” On his death he applied to M. de Choiseul for the Cross of Military Merit, three officers junior to him in his regiment having received that of St. Louis. The answer was that that order was for foreigners only, the king not considering that he had any other subjects but Roman Catholics.

1761, October 28. Munster.—The Same to the Same. Enclosing the last, as before despatching it he had been obliged to leave Bockum in consequence of the arrival of a detachment of Soubise’s army.

1761, September 3. Leixlip.—George Stone, Archbishop of Armagh, to John Hely Hutchinson. Have written to my brother Mr. Stone informing him that Mr. Hutchinson will soon be in London and asking him to wait with Mr. Hutchinson on his and my friends but especially on Lord Halifax and Lord Mansfield. Have let my brother know that he may inform others that “you do not come to solicit favours and that you are in no want of them; that you have distinguished yourself in a way not pleasing to our late Governor and that I have no authority to say you may not hold the like course hereafter, and pretend to be assured of nothing in that way but of the soundness of your principles with regard to his Majesty’s Person and Government and to the Constitution.” Entreating him “to converse with any persons of high Rank in a manner as to leave no impression upon their minds of impracticability, and not to let them see too

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plainly nor by too marked a behaviour that you feel your own independency. The contrary manner will engage you to nothing." . . . "With regard to the support of the Government in the approaching session you knew my sentiments fully before you left Ireland and I should have recommended it to all my friends to give the clearest Testimony of their good affection that way although I had not myself been called to assist in that service. But I believe you will now on your return find me again with the harness on my back."

1762, February 1. Belleisle.—John Crauford to Lord Ligonier. Referring to the great amount of duties thrown on the numbers at his disposal. "A very shattered citadel the extent of 32 miles of coast on which there are 53 little ports or principal landing places surely requires numbers to pay any sort of attention to them." Describing the steps he has taken in making roads and repairing the fortifications. I hear rumours the place is to be abandoned. If so will quit Belleisle with as much resignation as Sancho did the Island of Barataria.

1762, June 26. Hampton Court.—W. Gerard Hamilton to John Hely Hutchinson.

"Not having wrote to you since my Lord Lieutenant's [Earl of Halifax] appointment to the Admiralty I think it necessary to trouble you with a very few lines upon that subject. The condition he made upon his acceptance was that he should not be removed from the government of Ireland against his inclination. And he assures me that his present resolution is to return to you, but whatever may be his intention, the object of administration in his promotion certainly was that he should have an opportunity of reimbursing himself his expenses in Ireland, that he should then relinquish that government and be finally settled at the head of the Admiralty. Upon this state of the case you will readily perceive that his return to Ireland is in some degree uncertain; and you will be apt to think it the more so from the knowledge that you have of his Excellency's unsteadiness. I have already informed you that whatever may be his wishes, they will not in the least affect mine. Nothing I assure you would give me greater pleasure than to prolong and to confirm the friendships I have formed in Ireland. If Perry, you, and I, and a few more are of the same mind, I think we cannot easily fail. What I have particularly to propose to you is, that if in the course of the summer there should be a probability of a new Lord Lieutenant being appointed (of which I shall have the earliest information) you should be at the trouble of an expedition into England, I will have the pleasure of meeting you at Chester. It seems to me as if this might greatly contribute to answer all our purposes. An early connection with a new Government and especially in the manner we shall endeavour to form it for you, cannot be disadvantageous. And I am sure of being a gainer by any plan that will inveigle you to this side of the water. It is reported likewise that the Parliament will meet in the beginning of October. If that should be the case you may take a month of a very interesting Session before your attendance in the Four Courts will be necessary. I wish much that you should have an exact idea of our Parliament because it would satisfy you much better with your own. Bring the Examiner with you. Perry is too good an Irishman ever to set his foot in this tyrannical country. I have a thousand reasons for wishing to see him, and I should have great pleasure in circulating in Ireland, as soon as he was embarked, that he was come to negotiate an Union. Be so kind as to contradict peremptorily every report about our not being likely to return. You will perceive

that the Scheme I have proposed to you is at a great distance. It possibly may, and I hope never will be necessary, but let me know your opinion of it, if it should be so." MSS. OF
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1762, July 7. Admiralty.—The Lords of the Admiralty to Lord Egremont. Relating to the safe custody of the prisoners of war of whom there were then at Plymouth alone 7,194. (*Copy.*)

1762, July 9. Whitehall.—Lord Egremont to Lord Ligonier. Enclosing the last.

1762, July 15. Hampton Court.—W. Gerard Hamilton to John Hely Hutchinson. "I am sorry because I conclude you are, that there is a necessity for your going the Munster Circuit upon the present occasion." . . . "I am sure you have too much firmness and humanity to let those who are innocent be made a sacrifice to party and to personal resentment, and as to those who are guilty you and I and everyone I suppose wishes that they may be punished as they deserve. Burke and Mason are at dinner with me."

1762, July 29.—Thomas Cole to Lord Ligonier. Enclosing a Scheme for attacking Ferrol, with map of the harbour and adjacent coast.

1762, August 2. Hampton Court.—W. Gerard Hamilton to John Hely Hutchinson.

"I think it is everything but determined that his Excellency should relinquish his government in April, and continue at the head of the Admiralty. That I may not lose the opportunity of writing to you by this night's post, and in hopes that this letter will find you upon your visit at Leixlip, I shall waive for the present every other subject of our correspondence, and mention only what suggests itself to me as necessary to be done, in order to accomplish what I own I am, and what I flatter myself you are a little interested in, my return to Ireland; and likewise to bring about a purpose or two which you seem to have at heart. While I am pointing out what may be done on your side of the water, you may imagine I am not negligent on mine. Every step which could be, has been taken, and every step which has been taken has succeeded. Nothing I think is more probable than that my being Secretary will be imposed as a condition upon any one who applies for the Lord Lieutenancy: and in that nomination it is also likely that I should be consulted. I need not suggest to you the advantageousness of my situation as Secretary, when I may possibly have been instrumental in the appointment of the Lord Lieutenant, and when I am certain of being supported by the person who appointed him. I will mention to you not only the single thing which I wish at present to be done, but the manner likewise, in which I wish you would do it. The Primate has probably communicated to you my last letter. In that I expressed very strongly my desire of returning to Ireland. You might very naturally observe to him upon this part of my letter, that whatever might be the event, I must consider an offer from him and the Speaker to promote any wish of this sort, as an instance of very singular friendship. As they are at present disposed to me, I am persuaded they would embrace this proposal readily, and I think I could turn it to very good account. An offer from them, while the thing is yet in idea, of their friendship and assistance, will be much better than a request from me, after it has actually taken place. If this could be managed, and a general intimation to his Grace that his speaking favourably of me in his correspondence to Lord Mansfield and Lord G. Sackville, would be what I must necessarily be pleased with, I

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should think our negotiation was in a fair way, and that no other transaction need, or even ought to be entered into for the present. I am clearly of opinion that with but very little conduct, the Primate may be made useful to us in this, and in almost any other instance. He is I think affected to us both, much in the same manner. He has some degree of regard, and some degree of fear, and will not I think therefore, be overfond of attempting to deceive us. For whatever situation your kind partiality may think me qualified, I am not such a leviathan in my disposition as to want an ocean to sport in, and if my little Prime Serjeant and I could but get the conduct of the vessel, I think we could paddle about the Irish Channel, very much to our advantage and amusement.

As to what relates to your pension—I beg pardon, and wonder how I could make such a mistake, I mean your additional salary—I have a scheme in view which I wish most sincerely may take place. Weston, who is Secretary to Lord Bute, is in possession of an employment in the Customs called Alnager, the income of it is 500*l.* per annum. Lord Bute has desired that the tenure which is for life, may be changed into 31 years, that Weston may be at liberty to dispose of it. I have proposed to my Lord Lieutenant that your additional salary should be given to Weston for the term desired, and that his employment should be given either to your son or you for life, or what would be better, to both. The two lives he objected to. The other part of the proposal upon my pressing him extremely, he said he would consider, and I have not seen him since. This is a much better thing than what you proposed about being Joint Constable; but don't depend upon it in the least, its being done or not will be entirely the effect of accident, and caprice. Instead of a seat at the Council Board, I think I can propose something which if attainable, would be far more valuable. Could a peerage be obtained for your wife, either from the present or the succeeding Lord Lieutenant, and be limited over to your children, it would surely be more desirable than any other thing which could be given you. Your family would be established, you might continue in the House of Commons, and in business, as long as it was agreeable to you, and the Examiner will inform you that in the sunset and evening of your day, you might repose yourself upon the Bench or in the House of Lords, or if you preferred it you might have both. I am glad that Lill is extricated out of all his difficulties. The Justices I think rewarded him not unhandsomely. His Sun and his Arrows did admirably. His Excellency would have swallowed, if he had sent them, the Firmament and the Quiver."

1762, August 6. Hampton Court. — The Same to the Same.
 . . . "The place of Alnager is 700*l.* per annum and Weston from some obstinacy of his own would not suffer it to be exchanged for a pension though of equal value; but my Lord Lieutenant assures me that he will endeavour to put your 500*l.* upon some footing that may be more agreeable to you."

1762, August 9. Hampton Court.—The Same to the Same. "I am flattered extremely by finding we coincide so minutely not only in our wishes, but in our opinion as to the method of accomplishing them. And I return you a thousand thanks, for one of the best wrote, and what would very sufficiently have recommended it to me, had it been one of the worst, for the most friendly letter I ever received. I agree exactly with you as to the part, which it were to be wished my Lord Primate would take. But I doubt whether my credit with the independent party, is a circumstance

upon which he will choose to expatiate, as that I am afraid will operate with him, rather as an objection than an inducement, but if he can be prevailed upon, so much the better. Tisdale, from the consciousness that he is alienated from the Primate, and from your visit to Leixlip, certainly will suspect, what you seem to think you have discovered; his Grace's preference for a Prime Serjeant, to an Attorney-General. And unless care is taken, I should think it extremely probable that through the interposition of Bell[ingham] Boyle, both the Attorney and Solicitor should connect themselves with Lord Shannon. I am strengthened in this opinion, from something which has occurred lately. Amongst the competitors for the government of Ireland, Lord Gower is one. If that should take place, Wood, the great friend of Bell. Boyle is destined for his secretary. And I know there was much reliance upon the assistance of Lord Shannon and Tisdale through Boyle, and upon Jack Gore and Lord Annaly through Rigby. If the Primate is displeased upon account of the emulation of sentiment, he has no right to complain of want of communication from me, but of want of sagacity in himself. I hinted frequently, both to him and Cunninghame, that the offer *might possibly* not be accepted. I could not tell them explicitly that it *would* not, without a breach of trust. They treated what I said, not only with disbelief, but with ridicule. And they not only did not see, but they even would not see when it was pointed out to them, that a vain and a generous man, could never act like a niggardly, and an interested one. Those complaints which the Primate has made to you in person, of my Lord Lieutenant's treatment, he has frequently made to me by letter. I am at a loss in what manner to conduct myself. What it is impossible for me to approve, it is in my situation improper for me to censure, publicly. And every private opinion which is imparted to the Primate, runs no small hazard of being soon a public one; but I profess my Lord Lieutenant's conduct is, I do not say unjustifiable, because he possibly may have his reasons, but it is to me unaccountable. The Justices and their friends have most certainly a right to be considered. The demands they have made are, in my Lord Lieutenant's own opinion moderate; and even these were not made till the session was actually closed. I was very sanguine in my hopes that all his obligations of this sort would be discharged in a week after we left Ireland; and they certainly ought to have been, for the sake of government in general, as well as for our own particular interest, if we ever thought of returning. But why so fair an opportunity of obliging so many people was lost, I never could discover; nor do I believe it arises from any other cause than indolence and inattention. What you say of Perry, and what you propose to say to him, are both equally proper; he not only is, but he ought to be, trusted. You are aware of his disinclination to enter into positive engagements, and I profess that I should choose to have the continuance of his friendship flow from the continuance of his good opinion; and it will be much more pleasing to have it arise from conviction than from compact. But the circulating in the manner you propose to Mason, and to Andrews his wishes for my return, with an intimation that another secretary might pass his time but very unpleasantly, would at once answer our purposes, and not interfere with his resolutions. If I should obtain the employment which I wish for, you are desirous of knowing, and I have no desire to conceal, the motive of my return. The reason for preferring an office of income, of influence, and of credit, must, I am persuaded very readily, suggest themselves. Be assured that love does not in this case, nor ever did in any, for more than a week, influence my conduct in the least; but if it had any weight, it would certainly be on the other side. Nothing is more evident to me, than

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that my continuance in Ireland instead of retarding, will very essentially promote my progress in England; and that these two situations will assist each other, and will enable me to assist my friends. The disagreeable part of life is in general, the sameness and repetition of it; change, for its own sake merely, is desirable. But in this case I think it will be advantageous, and what you know has more weight with me, from the friendships I have formed, I am sure it will be pleasing. If the thing could be conducted in the manner that I wish we might easily contrive to enjoy two of the greatest pleasures imaginable, to live with those we love, and to be of service to those whom we esteem. The secretary's fee will be an argument not against, but for, us; it must be better that one should return, who has got his fee, than another, who has it still to get. Lill in his last letter mentions a bargain that might be made with Tisdale, but he is silent as to the reason he has for thinking that the Attorney would approve of it. Will you negotiate this affair if you are of opinion there is any probability of success; might not the Primate be called in. You might suggest to him two inducements; a desire of serving me, and a wish to prevent any other considerable office from being disposed of out of the kingdom. The first would operate a little, and the last a great deal with him. If I obtained the Chancellorship, I would at any time resign it for the Secretaryship, upon its being made equal. I will take care of Loyd and of the captain of marines you mention. I confess I am not much surprised at the popularity of our government continuing. We had every advantage from shew and outside and though we neglected many things which ought to have been done, yet we did nothing which is very exceptionable, and the commission of one wrong thing, lays a government, or an individual more open, than the omission of fifty right ones. Whatever discourse your neighbour [the Primate] may hold as to that part of the administration which fell to the share of the Secretary, I can forgive. I really am sorry for his uneasiness, and I am more so, that I am the occasion of it. I have unfortunately incurred the censure without reaping the satisfaction. But as to what relates to my Lord Lieutenant his lordship is rather insincere. He has had many things done at his request, and he has acknowledged his obligations to his Excellency, with very strong professions of regard, and with a very sufficient quantity of very awkward adulation. If this letter should reach you before you leave Dublin, be so obliging as to hint to the Primate that I have been in the country at Smith's for some time past, and that I will write to him in a few days. As often as anything new occurs that I think may facilitate our negotiations, you shall hear from me. I have much pleasure in thinking that this cabal by letter, will next summer be a cabal in person at Hampton Court, and the winter following I hope, in Dublin; and unless you are a very principal part, not only in the contrivance and the conduct, but in the advantages resulting from it, my end will be answered but very imperfectly. There is not anything, which you can wish yourself, that I do not wish you most sincerely, and which I will not cooperate with you in promoting to the utmost of my power. I have the firmest reliance upon your integrity, and the utmost confidence in your friendship. Our situations are such that we cannot interfere, and that we may assist one another. I have already had, and am certain I always shall have much satisfaction in acting in conjunction with you."

1762, August 10. New York.—Colonel Amherst to Mr. C. Cox. Have just been appointed to the command of a body of troops to dislodge the enemy from their new acquisition of the Island of Newfoundland. Will sail for Halifax in two days.

1762, September 2. Hampton Court.—W. Gerard Hamilton to John Hely Hutchinson.

“With regard to Walshe’s trial I am totally indifferent. I even think that the transferring it to Dublin, as you are to conduct it, will be rather advantageous than otherwise. The pointing out to the public, that while Government was unwilling to involve in the penalties of constructive treason, such as from the lowness of their condition must be supposed ignorant of its nature, it was at the same time desirous of executing as rigorously as possible the law upon those who had not the same excuse of ignorance to plead, will in my opinion be establishing a distinction very serviceable to administration. Whether the crimes proved against Walsh, do or do not amount to constructive treason, is a matter of law, and will I suppose be argued by counsel. Culpit I hope will retain Malone, Perry and Fitzgibbon. The Primate has wrote to me a very proper letter, in consequence of your conversation. But there are some particulars which demonstrate very clearly that he perceives it was concerted between us, and that it did not arise entirely from yourself.”

1762, September 7. Hampton Court.—The Same to the Same. Congratulating him on having “gone through your Munster voyage not only with safety but with honour, and that you have steered your good brig, the little Prime Serjeant, through rocks and quicksands.” . . . “You have been enabled not merely to go through but to convert to your advantage one of those doubtful situations through which a Tisdale or a Rigby could never have escaped unhurt.”

1762, October 14. Hampton Court.—The Same to the Same.
“I could not possibly omit informing you by this post that Lord Halifax has accepted the employment of Secretary of State; of which I have wrote word to the Primate to whom I must beg leave to refer you for further particulars. He continues in the Government of Ireland in the same manner as when he held the Admiralty. The confused situation of everything in this country renders the fate of all individuals extremely uncertain.”

1762, October 19. Hampton Court. The Same to the Same.
“As the fame of your circuit was quicker than your own account of it, I wrote to you a few congratulatory lines from the first effusion of my heart, before I received your letter. I now repeat to you upon reflection, my most sincere congratulations. I pity your fatigue, I admire your prudence, I rejoice in your good fortune, but I love your dexterity. The stroke about thanking Government in the Tipperary address, was admirable. The number of cabals we have held together have thoroughly convinced me, that this part was managed wholly without your interposition, and came upon you quite unexpected. My lady’s footman is a very adroit little fellow. As the gratitude of the Grand Jury to Government upon your account was entirely their own genuine sense, and was not at all suggested to them by your means, I took an opportunity of expatiating to His Excellency upon the service and credit his administration had received from your assistance; a circumstance upon which I could not have said a word, had I suspected there was anything like contrivance in the compliment. Seriously, these Munster gentlemen are highly obliged to Government for sending to them a person capable of restoring them to their senses, and Government if it is capable of feeling and acknowledging any obligation, is much obliged to you for having quieted the only real disturbers of the public peace, these gentlemen levellers. It often happens that there is as much

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address requisite to reconcile them to the best as to the worst measures, and though it is provoking that it should be so, yet the fact is, that greater art is sometimes necessary to set off an honest man, than to disguise a rogue. These thoughts lead me, without any very unnatural transition, to our great Ecclesiastic the Primate. You conducted, I think, the negotiation about the letters he was to write to England, as well as possible. His entertaining some suspicions was unavoidable; and he has performed his promise as far as relates to Lord Mansfield, in the most handsome manner imaginable. I wrote to him by the last post to thank him for his kindness upon this occasion. But the transaction I mentioned in the letter I sent to you by Mitchell was not then set on foot, and I think it far from being unlikely that he would retract what he wrote, and that Cunninghame may be sent over for that purpose. Johnny Magill informs me that Lord Boyle has unexpectedly wrote to him of his intending to be soon in London; is it impossible that this may be another part of Bell. Boyle's plan, and that he comes to negotiate with my Lord Lieutenant's successor. Walsingham assures me he will use all his endeavours with Lord Boyle, to do and say everything that I can wish, and though I do, he does not make the smallest doubt of his success. Could not some preparatory steps with the Bishop of Cloyne pave the way for what I wish in this instance. I had heard before the receipt of your letter of some disagreement between the Primate and Speaker. That very game which his Grace was playing last winter upon Lord Shannon, under the auspices of Tisdale and Lord Boyle, Lord Shannon is now playing upon him; and that is, the giving up of a few points in hopes of succeeding to the attachment of the Primate's friends upon the Primate's death, the tables being turned with respect to the prospect of survivorship, Lord S. hoping from the strength of his constitution, what the Primate reasonably might expect from the course of nature. Say for me to the Speaker, everything which you think I ought to say for myself, and remind him of what he told me more than once, that writing to him, and to the Primate, he should consider as the same thing. Though nothing has passed since my return to England, in relation to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, yet I have reason to believe that the promise which was long ago made, may now possibly be soon performed. I have always suspected that the Attorney and Solicitor General might take this opportunity of showing their ill-humour, and though their resistance would signify but little, yet it would be disagreeable to meet with any opposition in an affair of this nature. I am at a loss to know how far it is in their power to obstruct it, but in order to take from them every pretence for objecting, might not it be prudent to have the grant drawn exactly upon the model of Rigby's, to which they both have set their hands, and to which they never raised any objection. Be so obliging as to consult Fitzgibbon upon this head, with a thousand thanks to him for his opinion, and as many intreaties for his further advice. Let me know what you think jointly. Flatter Jack Gore for me; he has renewed the request he made to me through your means, and I have wrote to him a very civil letter. Mention to Tisdale that though it is not in my power to promise, I certainly will endeavour to serve Capt. Morgan, if he is in the least solicitous for it before the time at which it is probable my Lord Lieutenant will leave the Government, and that I shall be the more earnest in my endeavours, because the little likelihood there is of my returning to Ireland must satisfy him, I have no other motive than the pleasure of obliging him. Your name and Fitzgibbon's I think will prove the law to be sound. As to any other invidious circumstances, when the thing takes place, (of which I will give you

timely notice) recourse must be had to the Primate, who will probably first create a great deal of dissatisfaction and then endeavour to lay it. As I happen to have read the depositions against Hindle, I think you was in the right not to give your reasons to the Privy Council for having bailed him. But it is now immaterial, that humane gentleman being in custody and none of those who made oath against him, having been bound over to prosecute him. My Lord Lieutenant will not burthen the Establishment to make vacancies in the law, but if any should happen in the course of the next six months, my interest shall be exerted to the utmost for Patterson and Harward."

1762, November 10. Privy Garden.—The Same to the Same.

"I come this instant from receiving much and very authentic intelligence in relation to the Irish Secretaryship. It is become here an object of great competition. Let me submit some considerations to you upon this topic, think them over seriously, and let me know your opinion. Much as I rely upon your judgment, I rely still more on your friendship and affection. I will be guided entirely by what you think; but as I know your warmth and disinterestedness in your friendships, let me entreat you that, as what I propose is to be carried on by a common effort, it may not be engaged in, unless it appears to you, as I profess it does to me, for our common advantage. I shall throw down what I have to say without reasoning on it, which I think unnecessary, and without connection, for which I have not time. Two plans are on foot for the Secretaryship, from both of which I shall be excluded, and in neither of which you will be perfectly included. One, a secretary (I have reason to think a Scotchman) to be in Parliament; the other, a secretary, out of Parliament; the House of Commons to be conducted by Tisdale. The latter plan is the one I think the most likely to take place. The Secretary is not to be Wood, but General Waldgrave, and the Lord Lieutenant my Lord Gower. Both these plans, as I profess to you, I wish to defeat, and to prevent, if I can, from taking place at all; which must be done by my own means here; and afterwards from continuing, if they should take place, which must be done by your means in Ireland. Nothing is more evident to me than, that if I was to return to you again as Secretary, I might continue in possession of that employment, so long as we pleased; and I am clear, that advantages more extensive, and on a much wider plan might be obtained in Ireland, than has hitherto been projected by anyone in your situation or mine. It has often struck me that such a body of friends might be made in Parliament, and attached particularly to ourselves, consisting partly of those who are already elected, and partly of those who might gradually be introduced there, as would form, with the power inseparable from Government, a body, which, under our conduct, would be very respectable. What confirms me in this is, that whenever a judgeship or a peerage was asked for any person in Parliament, an offer was constantly made to government of the seat which should be vacated. If these opportunities which occur so very frequently were constantly made use of, it would lead to such a system, as it is very needless to your sagacity to explain. When I relinquish Ireland entirely that strength would confer on you an importance which cannot otherwise be acquired, by putting together abilities and numbers, which separately are formidable but which united are irresistible. In aid of this the first places in the law and consequently the lead of the Commons will be in the hands of Patterson and such men as we can trust, not to mention my efforts here in each alternate Session of Parliament. Perry would be of the last importance to our plan. Do you think his affection

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for us would induce him to co-operate. Ireland, in my opinion, upon this plan would become a serious and solid object of ambition. Let me submit to you whether you might not have an opportunity of probing the Solicitor General and of discovering whether he is made a party to Tisdale's plan, by renewing to him the proposition which he made to you in the last Session, of uniting upon the coming of a new Lord Lieutenant, and you may likewise suggest to him, that from the rumours you have heard, of a Secretary being out of Parliament, your union will be much more effectual and if you should approve of the plan I propose, you may possibly make him take part in it without letting him know your object at large. Let me know your opinion as soon as you have formed it. I can only say I am willing to risk anything, and to embark in anything. My business in the meantime shall be, to procure you everything I can from Lord H[alifax]. Let me entreat you to destroy this letter as soon as you have made yourself master of it, and to let me know the exact day upon which you receive it.

November 11.—Since I have wrote thus far I have received your very affectionate letter of the fourth. From the company, the Cabal at Stillorgan, and from the several circumstances of the Primate's conversation, I collect these two things, that the Primate has betrayed us, that some opposition will be made to the employment of Chancellor of the Exchequer. Cannot you contrive to sound my Lord Chancellor (at a very great distance indeed) upon this head? If he has been applied to by the Primate or Malone, he will probably mention it to you. Don't you think that he would act upon the authority of Fitzgibbon's opinion and yours. Your clerk shall certainly have the custody of the Seal. Don't for God's sake be dispirited, and throw yourself away by accepting the Chief Justiceship until you are ripe, or rather rotten for it. From nature you must survive Tisdale as well as excel him, and then the management of the House of Commons will be your own without a rival. Cunninghame is here, and makes to me the strongest protestations of gratitude and sincerity and I should be very apt to believe him, if I did not know the school in which he had been educated. If Perry and you, through a sense of your own dignity, and through your tenaciousness of a friendship for one who will ever bear you in remembrance, should be driven into Patriotism, I think it not impossible that I should be sent for, in about six weeks after the meeting of Parliament. My candid opinion is this, that partly in resentment for your opposition to Rigby, and partly for your affection to me, and not without perhaps some mixture of regard for Tisdale, the intention is, that you should stand just as unnoticed by Government next Session, as the Attorney and Solicitor did last. Upon the whole, let me entreat you to consult my interest and wishes no farther than they are strictly consistent with your own. I have told you what I should like, but I should dislike anything that could be productive of the least inconvenience to you. If you think proper, communicate my idea to Perry and tell him how much I have it at heart. If it is your wish to engage with the next government, I would have you take the earliest opportunity of informing Andrews, that you will be second to no one in the Irish House of Commons. Perry will very readily express his detestation of a Session conducted by the Justices. At all events I must insist upon your spending some part of next summer with me at Hampton Court. When you come to England I will go with you myself to the Lord Lieutenant. I will say everything of you which justice, gratitude, and affection can dictate. I will explain to him how much more it is for his interest than for yours that you should not only be engaged in the conduct of his affairs, but that you should be the principal conductor of them. You will then be

able to judge whether the part which will be allotted to you by government is such as you can take consistently with your rank and with your ability. If it is and you choose to take it let my wishes be laid quite out of the question; but if what I rather suspect should prove to be the case; that upon my being excluded you are to be kept subservient: I shall be ready to join in such measures as our common inclinations shall dictate and which I profess in my opinion cannot fail of answering our common purposes.

Postscript.—The Policy of a Secretary out of Parliament has its rise in two things. In the impossibility of letting a place of 3,000*l.* go out of their own knot; and in a *bon mot* of Rigby's at Arthur's that as all Irish members of Parliament abuse, it is proper that they should only abuse each other."

1762, December 4.—The Same to the Same.

"What I proposed was upon a supposition that it would be advantageous and equally advantageous to us both. I then thought, and still think, that the scheme is practicable; and the only thing which appears in the least discouraging in it, is the time that would necessarily be required to bring it about, but when it was brought about, I think the entire management of Ireland would be no unpleasant circumstance. But if I am mistaken in my judgment, I shall relinquish the idea (which I took up upon much consideration) immediately. You know Perry better than I do. But I thought a plan of this sort might possibly captivate him. Whatever he may mean for himself personally we know he has a sort of yielding mind which disposes him to oblige. And I think his wishes of that sort will not diminish by his marriage. When you see him let him know that I wrote to him upon that occasion. . . . With respect to this country, everything continues unsettled; and with respect to Ireland nothing, I think, is certain, except that Lord Gower will not be the Lord Lieutenant. What is most probable, as things are now circumstanced, is that Lord Waldgrave will be Lord Lieutenant and his brother the General will be the Secretary; and that things will be arranged much as they would have been, if Lord Gower had been your Governor. I must now inform you that there is not an English lawyer who will advise a *non-obstante*; and therefore unless Fitz-Gibbon (to whom I am obliged for his kindness, and to whom I will write in a few days) thinks the Chanceryship of the Exchequer can be granted in the same manner with the Master of the Rolls, I must much against my inclination, turn my thoughts to some other object. You may imagine among other things, that Weston's employment has not escaped me. But be assured that while there is the least probability of obtaining it for you, I will not pursue it. But you must be sensible that my Lord Lieutenant having now no further thoughts of Ireland, and having many engagements to discharge to his own private friends here, will be as averse as possible to loading the establishment, even to the amount of a shilling, except for his own particular purposes. What I would recommend to you is this. Obtain from Waite the name of some insignificant employment and write a letter to me (I mean an ostensible one) desiring that your additional salary may be annexed to that employment for your own and for your son's life. From my Lord Lieutenant's way of thinking, I know that he is more likely to comply with this request, than with any which may bring an additional charge upon the establishment; but I must likewise inform you that in his Excellency's present disposition with regard to Ireland, I cannot be responsible for his solicitude to oblige any individual in the kingdom, though you really are, as you

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ought to be, much better in his opinion than any other person. If I drop the idea of Chancellor of the Exchequer for myself, do you wish that (impracticable as it may seem at present) I should try to get it for you? While you are consulting Waite upon your own account, consult him likewise upon mine; let him know what I have mentioned to you about the *non-obstante*, and ask him, if this scheme fails me, what object he thinks it would be most desirable for me to pursue. Cunningham is here, and returns to Ireland at Christmas. He is exceedingly sly, and though I cannot produce any absolute overt acts, I believe, exceedingly insincere. Let me hint to you that there is a scheme broached here by the Primate, and circulated everywhere by Cunningham, that the people in Ireland wish for nothing so much as to keep up 18 or 20 thousand men. His Grace acknowledges that if all the duties, which have been laid in the course of the war, are continued after the peace, they will yet, from the increase of the civil establishment, and other circumstances, fall short 50,000*l.* a year of what will be necessary for keeping up the usual 12,000 men. But notwithstanding that, since Ireland wishes it they ought to be indulged (and the amanuensis says that if they wish so, he thinks they well deserve to be so indulged). His Grace's objects in this proposition I take to be three. The first is to recommend himself to English Government here, by this extraordinary proposal; the second to keep up Lord Drogheda's regiment; the third is to render the Government that goes there as unpopular as possible, that he may make himself as useful to them as possible. What makes me mention this to you particularly, is, that you may not engage yourself with regard to this measure, which will probably be the trying one in the course of next Session, and it will always be time enough for you to declare your opinion after you have determined to take your part."

1762.—"List of his Catholic Majesty's Naval Forces in Europe, the West Indies, &c."

1763, January 15.—John Hely Hutchinson to [W. Gerard Hamilton ?]. Relating to the date at which the oath taken by the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer was drawn up and whether the office was regarded by the framers of it as a ministerial or judicial one. "The word 'Highness' Lord Coke says was the royal stile before H. 8, but the fact was not so in this kingdom. I have carefully looked through the old Irish Statutes upon this occasion and I cannot find any instance where Highness was applied to the King in any of those Acts till the 28 H. 8, and from thence to the Restoration the word frequently occurs in these Acts in every reign."

[1763.].—W. Gerard Hamilton to John Hely Hutchinson.

"I have received all the letters which you mention, and the several papers enclosed relative to the Chancellor of the Exchequer which I am persuaded will give perfect satisfaction to the Attorney and Solicitor General. As I have not been able to bring this affair to a conclusion with my Lord Lieutenant notwithstanding the promises which have been made from week to week, you will not be surprised if the Alnager's employment meets with more delay than you wished, or than I hoped for. I have endeavoured to prevail upon his Excellency to write to you upon this subject, in such a manner, as I thought, would be satisfactory. He has promised more than once to comply with my request, and whether he has performed his promise I must leave you to judge. He told me in our last conversation that it was needless for him to form any resolution till the negotiation between Weston and Sir

Harry Cavendish was at an end; the truth of the matter is, that the same dilatoriness with which his Excellency proceeds in all other business attends him in this. I can perceive clearly that he wants to evade giving a positive promise but I am as clearly of opinion (I must beg that you will observe that it is my *opinion* only) that he will comply with your request before he leaves the Government. Notwithstanding the variety of persons who have been named to succeed to the Lord Lieutenancy, everything with respect to that particular remains as unsettled as ever. No other person being nominated, a report prevails that Lord Halifax will return, I believe without any grounds, but pray what is your opinion if that should be the case? Will the Justices forget or forgive this delay in the performance of his promises which they justly consider as almost equivalent to a breach of them. The measure of the 18,000 men has I believe intimidated some persons to whom this employment has been offered. Since I wrote to you last two changes have been made in this plan. The Horse are not to be reduced to Dragoons, and instead of 25 battallions of foot, consisting of 500 of each, thirty-five are to be kept up, consisting only of 300. By these changes you will observe that everything which is frugal is dropped, and everything which is expensive is adopted. There is a great diversity of opinion amongst the lawyers whether the statute of King William was only a temporary regulation, confined to the Army then to be disbanded, or a perpetual constitutional Act. The idea of the increase of the Revenue far beyond the truth, has been propagated not only in Dublin but in London. I wish that you would send me the most particular information with respect both to facts and opinions upon this subject. I have taken some pains, and I flatter myself that I understand the question, so far as my lights go, but, like a true Member of Parliament, I am open to conviction, that is, I know not what part I shall take. I have already explained to you in general my wishes about returning to Ireland. You must imagine that an augmentation of the Army, which will render my office much more profitable, does not make it less desirable. The little character I have acquired I am determined not to throw away; and I am from my constitution more solicitous, both in point of fortune and reputation, to preserve what I have, than to add to it what I have not, and you may believe that neither my friendship for Ventidius, of which you judge rightly, nor my love for Cleopatra, about which you are not altogether mistaken, will ever make me engage in a measure, not which I don't think eligible (for that's the affair of Government in England who prescribe it) but which I don't think practicable, and this I take to be the affair of those who are to carry it into execution. The Primate is the person who has proposed, and who has pledged himself for the success of this measure to English Government. I have had letters from him upon this subject; and I should suppose he would set in a light as advantageous as possible, both the produce of the revenue and the resources of the country; I have already mentioned to you what he says upon the first of these articles, I will now tell you what he says as to the second. His resources are, a saving of the Parliamentary grants; a circumstance which will ingratiate us exceedingly with all the country gentlemen; the advantages which will arise from the better collection of the revenue on the plan of Sir Richard Cox by augmenting the number of Custom House officers, by which a large expense is to be incurred, to be defrayed by a profit which may never accrue; the advantages which he thinks England will give (and which I am sure it will not give) Ireland in trade; and next (if you doubt me, I will enclose you his letter) he thinks the annual running in debt will

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be a good thing. With respect to a land tax he says 'we shall not be forced to this invidious resource *at once*.' This scheme, with a new Stamp Duty, with a new duty on leather, and with an additional excise on beer (if we may judge by this country no popular way of raising money, and if we may judge by Ireland, no very effectual way) form the whole of the expedients he has thought fit to communicate for carrying this measure into execution. I agree with you in thinking *an army* is necessary in Ireland for the Protestant interest; but pray is an army of 18,000 *men* necessary? because if it is, I lament your condition sincerely; you never will have it; if the *paying* for 18,000 men is for the benefit of the Protestant interest this measure is a right one." (*Imperfect, end lost.*)

1763, January 29. Privy Garden.—The Same to the Same.

"I have seen Weston. He told me he had wrote to Waite. I did not perceive that your suspicions of his being out of humour were well grounded. What he insists upon is, that his place should be valued at 750*l.* per annum, which he says it actually produces, that you should purchase the 50*l.* absolutely, and that everything should be finally settled by the 3rd of April. This last condition I obtained from him, that being the day on which my Lord Lieutenant is to relinquish the Government.

"The Examiner mentioned some time since that there were those who were endeavouring to circulate an idea that my returning as Secretary would rather retard than facilitate business. I have lately, and not till lately, found that there is some truth in this idea. It has been conveyed to Rigby that in the last speech I made, I abused all ranks and orders of men, and that being abused was a thing which a country would resent even though it was in a very fine speech. This I think is the sum of their objections with this addition, that I abused King William in order to ingratiate myself with FitzGibbon who is a papist. Whatever is said in this style, I am satisfied, comes from Lord Shannon's friends. Was I to suspect the particular person it would be Bell. Boyle. The strength of that party is much aggravated, and B. Boyle represented as a person who has the most absolute of it. What is insinuated, is that Malone, the Attorney, and the Solicitor are connecting themselves with that set absolutely, and I profess I think it not unlikely. These three gentlemen apprehend, if I return that they will not be the persons who are to govern, and I think it is possible that B. Boyle may bring over a declaration from Lord Boyle that my return will be a reason for his disinclination to the next government. Whether under the circumstance of this measure of the 18,000 men, five regiments of which are immediately to be sent abroad, I shall accept of the Secretaryship, I am very uncertain. I am clear it will be offered to me. Touch the Bishop as soon as you can upon the topic. The idea of B. Boyle's directing the party, and stating himself in that light in England can't be very agreeable to the Bishop. I think I have observed you are of late particularly silent with regard to Perry. I hope most sincerely there is no alienation between you. Cultivate him only a little and you will influence him a great deal. Whatever may be the merits or the success of this measure of the military augmentation it must certainly be prudent to represent it, and especially to those who are coming over to England, as a thing of difficulty. If it fails it will be a defence. If it succeeds, a merit; and the influence of the new Lord Lieutenant may possibly prevail upon Government here to diminish the number proposed. For my own part I am as yet utterly unable to discover by what means this expense is to be defrayed. I am

endeavouring to collect opinions and to procure information. I can meet with no one who will even pretend to suggest a method of making this scheme practicable."

1763, February 24.—The Same to the Same.

"The Army in Ireland is not to be augmented, but will continue at the old number of 12,000. I am much delighted with the thought of seeing you in England, I can't see any objection to this intended expedition. It may possibly create some little jealousy amongst the King's servants especially if I should continue in my present employment. But this you may easily contrive to remove. Nothing is yet to be known with regard to the new Lord Lieutenant."

1763, March 12. Privy Garden.—The Same to the Same.

"If his Excellency has any objection to [your expedition to England] (which by the way I don't believe) it can only be founded upon his intention not to comply with your request and upon his wish therefore that you may not be here in person to solicit it. In my own judgment his disapproving it should be with you a reason for coming. I never was clearer in my opinion upon any point than that your being here cannot be in any particular prejudicial, and that it may be very materially serviceable to you. He has absolutely promised you as you very well know rather against my opinion that you should be of the Privy Council if any other person was appointed. He has given me hopes of the Peerage and of Weston's place in consequence of my solicitations at your desire. It is idle to suppose that he will comply with all these requests, but it is impossible to suppose (at least, I should hope so) that he will comply with none of them. They all affect your interest very essentially, and are worth attending to. The time of your being here will be a very critical one. Though nothing transpires yet with regard to a new Lord Lieutenant, it must be settled by the 3rd of next month. What can't be obtained from his Excellency may, I should think, without difficulty, from his successor. You know how happy I should be to contribute as far as I am able to the accomplishment of your wishes in all their extent. My opinion is, but it is my opinion only, that the Lord Lieutenancy will not be offered to Lord Halifax, and that if it was, he would not accept of it. It is not over-rating my own importance to suppose my sentiments in relation to you will have great weight with those who are to succeed us. Your letter imposes secrecy upon me in terms so very strong, that I do not think myself at liberty to communicate with Weston upon the contents of it. As far as I am capable of judging, it is not within the bounds of possibility for his Excellency to object to your expedition to England. With regard to the other particulars of your letter you may be assured that I have not as yet been refused the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, for it has not been asked. Difficulties I think will occur but I have many and very powerful supporters; as things are at present circumstanced, I have been uniform in my declarations against the augmentation of the Army, in the extent proposed. His Excellency who recommended not 18, but 20,000 to the King; upon stating the case to him, retracted his first proposal and the King was much displeased. His motives for recommending the augmentation, and then retracting that recommendation, I have already told you, were neither of them very liberal. He did the first when he had thought of relinquishing Ireland, and the last when he had thought of returning to it. We have had no difference, except a difference of opinion on this subject; and as it related only to the prosperity of Ireland, you will easily imagine a

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dispute on so trifling a subject, could not be productive of any warmth."

1763, March 26.—The Same to the Same.

"The Alnage being, as you say, your chief object, it is to that I have applied my chief attention. I think I shall succeed for you in this point, but in this point only. Your negotiation with Weston is known in Ireland, and representations have been made against its taking place, by the same persons who oppose my being appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. They say that it is a great injury to Government, to make one of the most able men in the Kingdom, (for when it is to hurt your interest they will subscribe to your ability) and of course one of the most dangerous, totally independent. Our success in what we are each of us pursuing I shall probably communicate to you by the post after next. Sir W. Yorke communicated to me this morning a circumstance which I wonder had not reached your knowledge, or which if you knew, you did not impart to me. I understand he has received a summons from the Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland upon this occasion. A case has occurred in which the 3 Barons of the Exchequer have given three different opinions. It is said therefore that it is necessary the Chancellor of the Exchequer should be called in and sit in judgment. Nothing can be more obvious, than that this unprecedented sort of disagreement is a contrivance to embarrass my pursuit upon one of these suppositions, either that my patent will be drawn up upon the plan of Rigby's, by excepting the judicial part of the office, in which case they would say the suitors in an instance actually existing, would want redress, or upon the more general principle of the impropriety of placing in an employment admitted to be judicial, a person not qualified to judge. Write to me by the return of the packet what you know of this affair, though it is possible that everything will be decided before I can receive your letter. You shall have the earliest notice of everything which is going forward here relative to your interest and to my own. You will, I am persuaded, act for me in Ireland, with ability and affection. There is nothing I long for so much as to sit in judgment in the Court of Exchequer to restore the weight and gravity of the Bench, and to correct the overbeariness of the rising Parliamentary Bar. Walshe's trial, I understand, is again deferred. This seems to be reserved as a sure source of faction against the next Session. Enclosed I send you some papers at the desire of Coleman a friend of mine, and a gentleman with whom, when you was last in England, you dined at Garrick's. Sir H. Echlin is now in Ireland. I shall be much obliged to you if you would give Coleman all the assistance in your power. No Lord Lieutenant is as yet appointed. I know some who have been refused it, and some who have refused it, but I am utterly ignorant who will obtain it. Lord Halifax's return is everything but impossible, and as to my own return, I am just as uncertain as I was the day when I embarked from Ireland."

1763, March 28.—The Same to the Same.

"Since I wrote to you by the last packet, I have had an opportunity of conversing with Weston, who has in some degree explained to me the mystery of my Lord Lieutenant's displeasure with regard to your intended expedition to England. It was not your coming with which he was at all offended, but the purpose for which you proposed to come. Waite was idle enough to write in a letter to Weston, and Weston was idle enough to shew that letter to my Lord Lieutenant 'that the Prime

Serjeant intended to come to England immediately for the purpose of soliciting in person the affair of the alnage.' The idea of being much importuned is at all times disagreeable to him, and it was upon that and that only, he expressed some little dissatisfaction. I have as yet no reason to doubt of your success in this affair. Be assured, I shall rejoice most sincerely when it is accomplished. It will answer every purpose that I can wish. It will be a credit to us that under our Government you are used well, and a security that under no other you will be used ill. When the King's consent has been obtained, I shall prevail on his Excellency to write you a very flourishing letter. I still think that your presence in England, immaterial perhaps as to this one point, would have been extremely serviceable as to the two others. For the purposes of my own pursuit your continuance in Ireland is, I am sure, much more advantageous. I think I will take care to secure the alnage for you in England, do you secure the Chancellorship for me in Ireland. What success I meet with is a little uncertain, but I have no idea of taking it in any other manner than for life. Is it possible that either the Chancellor or the Attorney and Solicitor General after having made no objection to Rigby's patent which is clearly illegal, will hesitate in making out mine, which in the opinion of the servants of the Crown, and of all the lawyers here, is clearly legal. Could the Chancellor be prevailed on not to refer the Patent to the Attorney, which though usual, is not necessary, or would he have spirit to make it out contrary to their opinion. My Lord Lieutenant is much determined upon this point. I have stated to him in the fullest manner the factions which may be formed upon this occasion. He has promised to represent them all to Lord Bute, and he has said in the handsomest and most sanguine manner imaginable that his own credit is at stake, and that if even I would consent to it, no consideration should induce him to give it up. You, I know, will take care to do everything which is possible for me on the spot. I shall be much obliged to Mr. Attorney if he will let me obtain this preferment without clamour but I shall be very well satisfied to be in possession of it, even with clamour. By the manner in which you mention the difference in opinion between the three Barons, I perceive you consider it not as contrivance, but as accident. That an event of this sort, which never happened before should happen just at this particular time, and without any management whatever, I profess is to me utterly inconceivable."

1763, April 7.—The Same to the Same.

"There are great revolutions since I wrote to you by the last Pacquet. Lord Bute resigns the Treasury tomorrow. It is the King's intention that all his affairs shall for the future be conducted by Lord Halifax, Lord Egremont, and Geo. Grenville, the latter of whom is to be appointed First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. He is to be succeeded in the Admiralty by Charles Townshend. Mr. Oswald is to be Vice-Treasurer of Ireland. Mr. Fox and Sir Francis Dashwood are to be created peers. Lord Bute has approved of Lord Halifax's list, so that the King's consent now is only wanting. Contrary to what I wrote you word by your last post, Lord Granby has refused the Lord Lieutenancy. I have for once entrusted the Primate with a secret. Try if you can get it out of him. As far as I am able to conjecture, Lord Northumberland will be Lord Lieutenant, and I shall be Secretary; but so many circumstances may prevent it that I have begged of him, and must beg of you for God's sake not to mention it. You shall hear from me by the next post."

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1763, April 9.—The Same to the Same.

"Bute has informed Lord Halifax that the King will consent both to your request and mine. Lord Granby is to give an answer tomorrow which will be finally final. I am persuaded that what I mentioned to you will take place and that the arrangement for Ireland will be Lord Northumberland." "As the news of my being Chancellor and of my returning as Secretary of State will reach Dublin together with this letter manage to see the Attorney and Solicitor as soon as you can, that I am ready to meet them halfway, that I wish and wish sincerely to act with them and am willing to give them every proof of it in my power. These you will mention as what you know to be my sentiments in general and not as communicated to you on this particular occasion."

1763, April. Dublin.—John Hely Hutchinson to W. Gerard Hamilton.

"Your letter of the 7th mentions that Lord B[ute] had approved, and that the King's consent was only wanting. Your letter of the 9th says Lord B[ute] has assured Lord H[alifax] that the King will consent to your request and mine. You will not wonder then if I was surprised to hear by your last favour that my request was not even laid before the King; however I am glad to find you have been more successful for yourself. I must candidly confess to you, that not only the conclusion, but the whole progress of this affair is somewhat unaccountable to me; the occasion justifies, our friendship requires, and I am persuaded you will therefore excuse my speaking to you upon this subject with plainness and freedom; that I served your Administration zealously and faithfully without the least regard to any party here, is as true, as it is that the consequences to me, will not greatly encourage others to follow an example so uncommon in this country. By this conduct I have raised some powerful enemies. I requested only to be put out of their power, by an exchange without loss to Government, or gain to myself, except the advantage of taking off a mark, which has been invidious to me, and troublesome to Government; to such a favour I thought I might have some pretensions, not from my Lord Lieutenant only, but from your friendly endeavours, independent of his Excellency, whose handsome treatment of me at all times when I had the honour of attending him in person, it would be ingratitude not to acknowledge. If such a moderate unrivalled request is denied and if the Administration which has adopted me sets with so unkindly an aspect towards me, how can I (put yourself in my place and judge for me as if the case was your own) how can I flatter myself with any expectation from the next Administration? Weston has wrote to Waite that our treaty is at an end, desires him to renew the treaty with Cavendish. From my situation this is one of the very few objects, most probably the only one, in which your friendship could serve me, though you were to continue our Secretary for many years, and therefore this disappointment, and some others not necessary to repeat, leaves me no other request to make, but that you will not be at the trouble of mentioning my name to the succeeding Lord Lieutenant, having no grounds for my future hopes (if any I should be weak and vain enough to entertain) but my attachment to His Majesty's service, and the general esteem of the country where I live.

Postscript.—"Since I finished the above I have discovered that the Lord Chancellor had declared difficulties about your Patent. I could not think of letting you suffer by your having placed your confidence in me, and therefore went immediately to him. I found him dressing with an intention, as he mentioned, to come to me about that business; he said

that affair had already made a great noise, and would probably be a topic in the House of Commons; that he would endeavour, if he could, to keep himself out of the scrape, and in confidence desired my opinion as to this point; and as to his conduct, he declared his present intentions, to be, to desire the opinions of the Attorney and Solicitor, and that, whether they signed the patent or not. We read over the Act together. I recapitulated the old Acts, the precedents, especially the late one of Yorke, and that of Rigby, which was much more liable to objections, the English and Irish opinions taken, not from an apprehension of difficulty in the question, but of opposition from the friends of M[alone], that these opinions and precedents ought to leave no doubt in his lordship's mind, and that if he began with doubting the validity of precedents of some centuries, it might be thought in England that the people here had obtained an improper influence over him, especially as he took no opinions in the cases of Rigby and Yorke; he listened with an appearance of confidence, but I could gain no more from him than an intimation that he would declare no opinion till he found out whether the Attorney and Solicitor would sign the patent, and that he would not be governed by the opinions of the Attorney and Solicitor, but would take the opinion of the other principal King's Counsel here. After using every endeavour in my power, I left him to his fears which I could not conquer. I hear the Attorney and Solicitor say that the grant would be one by the Common Law independent of the Act." (*Draft.*)

1763, May 14.—W. Gerard Hamilton to John Hely Hutchinson.

"Weston has been spoke to by Lord N[orthumberland] and everything must now, I think, be adjusted as you can wish. Do you mean an assignment from Weston of his grant, or a new grant. Had not the latter better be delayed, till your services have merited the additional 200*l.*, which you assert, and which I don't contradict, will be in the next Session. You may then perhaps, prefer 3 lives to 31 years. Let me beg of you not to talk of the *Alnage* till is absolutely finished; I have the best reason to suppose it was designed for Malone. I shall defer saying anything upon your letter in answer to that which I sent you, enclosing Lord N[orthumberland's] till we meet. I have today been asked for a seat in Parliament, in the room of Harward, whom I am advised to make a Judge, as he intends to be very violent in opposition next winter. I own I should be concerned if my good friend took this turn, but I should be more concerned, if I made him a Judge merely to prevent it.

I think the report which has been made is the legitimate offspring of the Attorney's *love*. But, I don't suspect my friends, because I happen to be crossed by my *lovers*. Your letter of the 7th has determined me to suspend my resolutions relative to my grant. Had the Attorney not expressly declared to you that he would pass it upon my Lord Lieutenant's order, I would not have taken this step. I should have concluded this was only a trap for further popularity. The refusing the repeated orders of a Lord Lieutenant, will be more meritorious than the resistance to the first. But what he has said to you, I am persuaded he will not retract. I shall delay the order till the next packet. I have begged Lord N[orthumberland] to consider me as out of the case, and to consult the Attorney and Solicitor here upon Tisdale's and Gore's Report. No one reason, you know, is assigned in it; but if there were a million it would not signify; for if Yorke and Norton are not two of the best lawyers in the world, thank God they are two of the most obstinate ones. I have seen a very obliging letter from the Chancellor to Lord Halifax with many very kind expressions towards me, and saying that he should have

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no difficulty if the grant came regularly before him. Be so good as to return my thanks to him, and let him be assured that I will not forget his friendship upon this occasion. The writing to him as things are now circumstanced, would I think, be rather indelicate, and for that reason only I avoid it. To say that I don't take it rather unkind what the Attorney and Solicitor have done, would be rather untrue."

[1763], June 2.—The Same to the Same.

"Both from what you say, and from some other circumstances which have reached my knowledge within these few hours, it is my wish that you would accelerate things with the Attorney and Solicitor. Is it possible to insinuate that the time of my coming to Ireland is postponed, and to prevail on them to write to me? You may declare, much I think to my credit, that as long as my patent was in suspense, you knew I was determined not to negotiate with them, but the moment that affair was at end, that I should be ready to give every reasonable proof of my readiness to act with them. I am persuaded they wish to act in conjunction with the Prime Serjeant, and the Secretary; and if you will exert your usual dexterity, peace might be concluded, and the terms settled, not only before my arrival but before Rigby's. What you say of Lord Shannon, I should think is true; but what you suspect of Kildare, is certainly so. He has lost his power in England, and wishes to regain his popularity in Ireland."

[1763], June 4.—The Same to the Same.

"I have scarce patience to say anything to the Attorney's nonsense about their report not being laid before the King. In the first place the fact is otherwise. The difficulty which had occurred, was stated, and his pleasure taken upon it, not out of respect to Mr. Tisdale and Mr. Gore, but for our own security. Lord Northumberland's letter implies this in two places. It begins and ends with it."

1763, July 15. Hampton Court.—The Same to the Same.

"After much difficulty I have settled with that Jew and infidel Weston. His Judaism appeared in his insisting on 10*l*. for interest upon the 3,000*l*. from Midsummer day to the time Mitchel's draught became payable; and his infidelity by doubting the validity of the draught itself. The grant is to be surrendered, but he still insists upon a recital in the King's letter for the pension, of the consideration upon which it was given him. I have, and shall keep in my possession, his receipt for the 3,000*l*. When the order comes for a new grant to be made out you will not omit writing to Lord Northumberland. I fear that my answer to the letter you propose sending me after the Chancellor rises will not reach Dublin, before you are set out upon your circuit. In the mean time give me leave to tell you, that I think there will not be the least difficulty in satisfying the Attorney's expectations for his brother, nor the Solicitor's for himself, provided he adheres to what he last proposed, and does not insist upon a vacancy being made. If they are willing to embark upon these terms, I wish you would engage with them. Patterson's wishes will, I am persuaded, be complied with, but I profess I don't see at present precisely in what manner. The negociation with Sir Wm. Osborne you may undertake. From some connections in England this is a thing desired."

1763, July 28. Hampton Court.—The Same to the Same.

"Everything is at last adjusted with Weston and he has made a surrender of his grant, which he has entrusted with Sir Robert Wilmot to deliver to my Lord Lieutenant as soon as the pension for the 500*l*.

is placed upon the establishment in Ireland. Your new grant will probably meet you upon your return to Dublin after the circuit.

It is unnecessary for me at present to explain at large to you the reasons for what I shall say in this letter. But I am every day more convinced that the plan we formed of a separate understanding with Lord Shannon is absolutely necessary, and extremely practicable. I have seen Bell. Boyle. You stand very high in his good opinion, at least that is his language to me. He is so firmly rivetted in the idea of an indissoluble connection between me and the Primate, that all the distant hints I could give him to the contrary, had no effect; and I was afraid, upon such a topic to commit myself absolutely, by being explicit. He is extremely irritated at the cold manner in which the Primate recommends his pursuit, after not only the repeated promises, but the voluntary offers which he made him of his assistance. He talks respectfully of my Lord Lieutenant and very kindly of me, but vows revenge against his Grace unless something is done for him before the opening of the Session which is impossible. Would it be a bad thing for us to let my Lord Lieutenant see that his Government, at the very opening of it, was likely to be involved by promises made by the Primate, and by promises which have no relation to Lord Northumberland's administration. If his Grace begins playing tricks, as he certainly will, and against which therefore we must be prepared, this is the very light in which he will endeavour to place us. He will wish to show that while everybody is desirous of supporting my Lord Lieutenant there are many who object to us. If anyone should be prevailed upon, perhaps in the House, to establish a distinction between the Lord Lieutenant and the Secretary, would it be at all difficult to prevail upon Perry and Fitz-Gibbon to do the very reverse, and to say that they were disposed in some degree at least to Government, merely upon account of the Secretary. Lord Tyrone and Lord Boyle are to be made Privy Counsellors immediately. The merit of Lord Boyle's promotion the Primate will endeavour to take to himself, as he is not entitled to it; when you converse with Lord Shannon that impression ought to be removed, and it may be done perhaps as effectually through Dennis. Bell. Boyle leaves England soon. Might not your suggesting to him a closer plan of Union between Lord Boyle and me as a thing that you wished, rather than that I desired, be at once a more effectual and a safer method of proceeding."

1763, July 30. Hampton Court.—The Same to the Same.

"Lord Shannon's disposition, the Solicitor's irresolution, Patterson's interestedness, and the Attorney's determination to irritate others, but not to act himself, together with Sir William's [? Osborne] zeal for the service of Government, in or out of place, afford I think upon the whole no unfavourable prospect. I should follow with pleasure the advice you give me with respect to my Lord Primate, if he would be satisfied with outwitting me, and did not propose what would hurt Government. He mistakes my objections. I am indifferent as to the motives of his recommendation and I consider only the things he recommends. What he particularly alludes to, is his desire that as a *popular act* Sir R. Gore, and Sir Ed. King, may be made peers immediately. Though to be sure nothing can be clearer than that his Grace means to serve his private purposes, and them only, by this promotion, yet that would be disregarded, if it was not evident that such a measure in this period of our administration, would involve us in many difficulties in Ireland and create a horse laugh in England. I profess at the same time that I was much displeased with the letter he wrote to Lord Shannon when I was

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in Ireland calculated entirely to remove an idea which prevailed, which was believed, and which was true, that I had been instrumental in the promotion of my Lord Lieutenant. There may be an appearance of vanity in the declaration, but it is literally fact that by my own personal friends I obtained the Government both for Lord Halifax and Lord Northumberland, as much as I ever procured the alnage for you, or the Chancellorship of the Exchequer for myself. Something of this sort I think it might be proper to put in counter-circulation to what his Grace reports, as there can be no reason why we should not say what is truth to aggravate our importance, since others do what is false to diminish it. The negociation with Lord Shannon you will conduct in the manner which appears most advisable to you upon the spot. When opportunity offers I hope you will do it personally, rather than by instruments. You most certainly judged right in not sending a letter to Dennis. He infallibly would have showed it, and the retracting a proposal of that sort, would have been attended with worse consequences at Castle-Martyr than the communicating can have at Leixlip. There is a particular which I have much at heart, and the conduct of it I must trust entirely to your management, as if it can be brought about, it will take place immediately after our arrival. It will, I should think, be easy for you to convey to each of the Justices separately, an idea how great an obligation I shall consider it, if upon their first interview with my Lord Lieutenant, in which it is usual to explain to him the situation, and the disposition of the country, they would express strongly their approbation of my returning in my present situation, and their opinion of the utility which would arise from it, to his Excellency's Administration. Could this be carried still further? Would Perry and FitzGibbon say the same thing? Would Malone, the Attorney, the Solicitor, and Patterson, as servants of the Crown, (and with whom perhaps by that time I may be friends) declare their particular satisfaction at being able to act in conjunction with me, in carrying on the King's business. I will tell you the use I propose to make of this, and the benefit which I think must arise from it. Lord Northumberland will write a letter to the Secretary of State to be laid before the King, stating the prodigious satisfaction which everybody expresses, (and which nobody but you and one more will feel) upon my returning in the office I now hold. When this is once done, it will be impossible to ascribe any part of the miscarriages of Government to a person whom they just before approved of. If they speak well of me it will be thought, and doubtless very properly, to arise from my merit, and if ill, to proceed from their own fickleness. I really think the accomplishment of this point extremely material, and I wish you would consider, and conduct it. Lord Kildare, I am persuaded, will do his part. I perceive by the newspapers that a printing press is established in Dublin, and that a periodical paper is to be published twice in a week. An undertaking of this sort may possibly turn out very ridiculous, but in such a very inflammable country, if it is conducted without ability, provided it is with abuse, it may do us harm, and cannot possibly serve us. To stop it perhaps may be impossible, to get into the management of it may be more practicable and better. If you think as I do, that it is a thing that should be attended to, and taken early, employ whom you please. Government will be at the expense. As Lucas will be an author, your worship and I shall probably be made honourable mention of. I admire your friend Patterson's merit with Government, and his influence with Jack Gore. If we give him one place, he will prevail upon his friend to take two. I wish very sincerely that they may be both satisfied, and I rejoice most heartily at the pleasure you express

in the possession of the alnage. Be assured, I never had any other idea than that of making our administration in Ireland a common cause with you. The success of this session will contribute much to our establishment, and I think may open to us a prospect of obtaining whatever Ireland can afford. We have a right to look forward into times when old Attornies and paralytic Primates will be utterly forgot."

1763, September 3. St. James Street.—The Same to the Same.

Repeating that he is not only willing but extremely solicitous to cultivate the Attorney General, but submitting whether by repeated offers on his own side without any return on the Attorney's he is not letting himself down too low. "Your Postchaise must be painted green and lined with a plain green cloth. No gentleman appears in any other."

1763, December 30. Limerick.—Edmund Pery to John Hely Hutchinson. Concerning his interview with the Corporation of weavers there on the subject of the Alnage. Their reason for desiring the office was to prevent frauds in the manufacture which discredited their goods and injured them much. They offer to rent the office for the City and County of Limerick and the County of Clare for 35*l*. for one year.

1764, August 5. Privy Garden.—George Stone, Archbishop of Armagh, to John Hely Hutchinson . . . "When Lord Northumberland comes to town on the 18th of this month the Promotion of the Chief Justice will I suppose be made immediately; but I will see Lord Halifax before that time, and concert with him what part he shall take concerning you. I had much conversation about you with the Duke of Bedford. . . . He says that your opposition to him has left no unfavourable impression upon his mind; that there appeared no malignity of principle in it, nor no settled disaffection to the form of government established and necessary to be supported in Ireland; that he is very glad you are in the service of the Government, and hopes you will continue to exert your abilities that way; and he shall always wish that you receive full encouragement from the Government both there and here." "You desired me to speak to Lord Drogheda You may be sure in this case, that he knows himself and his situation too well to imagine that his interposition can be wanted or could properly be employed. You may be sure also how much I wish upon every account both public and private that you and he should be upon the same terms of friendship together that I flatter myself I am with each of you; and it is what he wishes above everything else of the kind. He told me on his first coming to London that he had attempted to see you during his short stay in Dublin, but had been disappointed. I can conceive some shyness, at least no forwardness on your part for the sake of appearances, considering the circumstances of his coming into office. But I hope you will think yourself, as all the world thinks, that you have done everything that decency or even real friendship in another quarter could require from you. Lord Drogheda knows, that you can be of more use to him, than he to you, yet you may be useful in due proportion to each other, and you will find him a man of truth, honour, sense, and spirit." . . . "I want to see you really incorporated in this Castle, while it lasts, and I see no probability of that scene being shifted as yet. As to the general scene of business here, some particular changes may happen, but there is not a man in England who thinks, that by the general force of opposition the King will be constrained to give up his present servants, and his present system; and if any personal changes should

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happen (which are not foreseen) they will be the work of intrigue and not of force."

1765, June 12.—Robert Jephson to John Hely Hutchinson.

"Mr. Hamilton has imposed upon me no very easy task in desiring I should give you something like a history of what has been transacted by the different political parties in the course of this last month.

In order to get rid of the perplexity which is in the thing itself and the obscurity in which it may be further involved by my description, it will, I believe, be necessary to call back to your attention what passed two years ago when Lord Bute resigned the Treasury, and when the administration was devolved on Lord Halifax, Lord Egremont, and Mr. Grenville. They had (as they assert) at that time the strongest assurance given them by His Majesty, that he would never be advised by Lord Bute in the conduct of his government and they had repeated promises from Lord Bute himself, to the same purpose; but finding that all these assurances were disregarded, and that while they enjoyed the name of Ministers and the income of their offices, every preferment which became vacant was disposed of at the desire of Lord Bute, in three months after their appointment they informed His Majesty of their determination to resign, refusing to hold ministerial stations, without some degree, at least, of ministerial influence. This step of the Ministers produced the negotiation at the Queen's house of which you have heard so much, and that negotiation with Mr. Pitt being fruitless, reduced the King to the necessity of desiring Lord Halifax and Mr. Grenville with the addition of the Duke of Bedford, to continue in the offices which they had declared their intention of resigning. To this they consented, but not without imposing new conditions, the promises of Lord Bute's not interfering were renewed and the sincerity of those who made them brought to this test, that his lordship should retire into the country for the whole winter, and this was accordingly complied with.

Since that time there have been two sessions of Parliament. In the first of these the Administration acquired a considerable degree of merit with the Court by the expulsion of Wilkes and by the vigorous measures they pursued in the prosecution of libellers, and this together with the disunion of the opposition seemed to promise them stability, but upon the close of that Session of Parliament, Lord Bute returned to London and resumed his influence at Court. From that time there have been perpetual jealousies between him and the Administration till the introduction of the Regency Bill brought things to an open rupture.

The object of this Bill as it was first planned, and attributed to Lord Bute and Lord Holland, was in case of the King's demise during the minority of his successor, that the nomination of the Regent should be left discretionary in the Crown, that the Crown should likewise have a power of nominating by deed five persons to be of the Council of Regency, in addition to the great officers of state who are named in the Act, and that those who were of the Royal Family should be capable of being made Regents. This Act was not originally digested by the Ministers, but given to them from the King, with directions that they should take the conduct of it through both Houses of Parliament. They did not desire it should pass and yet were afraid to oppose it, and they had therefore recourse to the only expedient which remained, that of perplexing it upon the pretence of difficulties which occurred in the execution. They disliked the discretionary power in the Crown of nominating five Counsellors as they apprehended these would be filled by Lord Bute and his friends, and the Ministers persuaded the King to

give it up, by hinting that his insisting on it would be extremely odious. They were supposed to disapprove of the King's discretionary power of nominating a Regent, lest that nomination should fall on the Princess of Wales. An objection was started by the Duke of Richmond, of which the administration would avail themselves, that the Princess of Wales did not come within the description of the Royal Family and of course would not be capable of being made Regent, and that it might be of the most dangerous consequences to leave a point of this nature doubtful. This point too the administration prevailed on the Crown to give up, and Lord Halifax brought a message from the King, signifying his consent that the Royal Family should be so described as to exclude the Princess of Wales from being capable of being made Regent. But when His Majesty came to consider that he had consented to what was a very severe reflection on the Princess of Wales he was exceedingly dissatisfied with the advice which had been given him and insisted that the Ministers who had been the occasion of excluding the Princess of Wales in the House of Lords should have her included expressly and by name in the Bill when it passed the House of Commons which was accordingly done, but though the injury was repaired, the offence was not forgotten, and this was the occasion of the offers which were made to Mr. Pitt, first through Lord Albemarle and Lord Temple, and afterwards by the Duke of Cumberland. The arrangement first proposed was that Lord Northumberland should be at the head of the Treasury, a condition [to] which Mr. Pitt peremptorily refused to agree, which put an end to that negotiation. The Duke of Cumberland then tried, in conjunction with the Duke of Newcastle, to form an administration without either the friends of Mr. Pitt, or of the Duke of Bedford and Mr. Grenville, but that plan proving impracticable, they had again recourse to Mr. Pitt offering him the disposition of the whole Ministry uncircumscribed with any condition whatsoever. Of these proposals Mr. Pitt had actually accepted, but before the person who carried them had returned to London the Duke of Cumberland prevailed on the King to reinstate the old Administration in their offices, of which, however, they did not accept, till the King had resumed his assurances that he would never again be advised by Lord Bute, and till he had consented to remove Lord Holland and Mr. McKenzie, Lord Bute's brother, the first from the Pay Office, the last from the Privy Seal of Scotland. 'Tis supposed that the Duke of Cumberland's inducement for advising the King to continue the old Administration was his having received information of a reconciliation which has since taken place between Mr. Grenville, Lord Temple, and Mr. Pitt, and from an apprehension that if they were placed in great ministerial offices the whole government of the country would fall into their hands in consequence of their union.

The Duke of Bedford is said to have expostulated with His Majesty with a very extraordinary degree of spirit and freedom. He reminded him that he came into government at His Majesty's repeated solicitation contrary to his own inclinations to the advice of all his friends, and very much to the prejudice of his health, that nothing should have prevailed on him to alter the determination he had first resolved on, but the assurances given him by Lord Bute that he never would interfere in any public business; but solemn and repeated as his lordship's promises were, he knew at the time they were made, how little they were to be relied on, but he blushed to remind His Majesty that even his Royal word had been pledged to confirm what his lordship's busy and meddling temper rendered it impossible for him to adhere to, and concluded with repeating the interdiction against Lord Bute, and insisting on

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the dismissal of his brother and Lord Holland, which the King, though with the utmost reluctance, was compelled to agree to. His Majesty is at present, highly dissatisfied with almost every one of his servants, and their want of popularity, added to the loss of the King's favour to support, will make the present administration but of very short duration."

1765, August or September.—[The Same to the Same.]

"I thought it better to avoid giving you any unnecessary trouble by sending you at the same time such papers as I understood were necessary in order to entitle me to receive Mr. Burke's pension. Till Lord Northumberland's leaving the Government of Ireland, it was uncertain whether his Excellency might not choose to assume the merit of saving so much to the Establishment by sinking it entirely as it would at the same time have answered another purpose no less desirable, that of preventing a person known to be attached to Mr. Hamilton, from receiving any benefit by his kind intentions. No step however has been taken from that quarter, nor is it likely our present Lord Lieutenant will have leisure or inclination to interfere in a matter of so private a nature as the transaction between Mr. Hamilton and Burke. I am sorry to acquaint you there is no probability of a reconciliation between these gentlemen. Mr. Marlay who has been so good [as] to take our letters into his charge is informed of all the particulars of this extraordinary rupture, and will satisfy you better than I am able to do by letter of whatever you may find difficult to reconcile or account for from the imperfect or partial representations which it is most likely have been made of this transaction in Ireland. Mr. Hamilton's telling me he intended to write to you a very long letter made me decline troubling you with my relation of a matter which he is so much more capable of explaining to your satisfaction." . . . "The assignments which Mr. Marlay delivers to you are not exactly the same with that of which you was so obliging to send me a copy, but differ from it as I apprehend in no essential particular. The nature of the case required that the assignment should not take notice of its being made for any pecuniary consideration no such having been paid. As Mr. Burke varied from his original proposal of conveying his pension to me in the first instance and insisted on transferring it to Mr. Colthurst who is Mr. Hamilton's attorney, it was necessary there should be two assignments, both of which you will receive, one from Mr. Burke to Mr. Colthurst and the other from Mr. Colthurst to me." . . . I request you to take whatever steps may be necessary.

1765, September 17. Palmerston. — John Hely Hutchinson to Robert Jephson.

"I wish Mr. Marlay had been so obliging to have left a note that he called upon me about business; the delay of waiting for your answer to his letter might probably have been prevented and I should have been very glad that this affair had been quiet before the meeting of our Parliament. In my last letter to Mr. Hamilton I told him that some of the principal people here talked of resuming this pension, and recommended that precautions may be taken to prevent any attempt of that kind; I now find that a resolution has been taken to bring this matter before the House of Commons soon after our meeting. Everything that I can do, both in the House and out of the House, for prevention and defence shall be done, short of an approbation of the measure, which (notwithstanding my deference to his superior judgment, and my knowledge of the generous sentiments of friendship, which govern his conduct) no possible state of the rupture can justify to my judgment.

If this is the sense of one of the men in the world most partial to him, what must be the opinion of the indifferent, and what the clamour of the prejudiced? I speak only of the assignment from Mr. B[urke] to Mr. H[amilton's] attorney; as to anything done in friendship to you I know no man nor woman either, that would not be pleased with it. I have always professed, and I hope acted, with plainness and candour, and I should condemn myself of an unfriendly reserve, if in an article of importance and delicacy I did not lay before my friend mine and the general sense; and I thought it due to my regards for you, to communicate it to him through your hands. I shall, however, use the same language to my Lord H[ertford] that I did to my Lord N[orthumberland] (for which, by the way, tell Mr. Hamilton his Lordship remembered to forget the small matter of 300 per annum, though two opportunities offered before his exit) that I shall consider any attack upon Mr. H[amilton] as an attack upon myself. I shall also apply to every friend of mine, but I should think a letter from you to Lord S[hannon] would probably make every attempt end in ridicule. I shall only add, that anything relative to pensions is a tempting morsel to opposition, and this is a new step on dangerous ground."

1765, September 26.—Robert Jephson to John Hely Hutchinson.

"I have communicated your letter to Mr. Hamilton from which he concludes the assignments of Mr. Burke's pension, which we took the liberty of sending to you by Mr. Marlay have not yet been delivered into the Treasury. Mr. Hamilton apprehends that this delay may have given Mr. Burke's friends hopes that there might have been some compromise or accommodation between them, which is directly contrary to Mr. Hamilton's determination, and that the threat of bringing this affair into the House of Commons may have some weight with Mr. Hamilton. He desires me to return you his thanks for the solicitude you express, and the pains you are so good to take, in this business, but at the same time, desires me to entreat it, as a favour, that you would not be anxious upon a point, in regard to which he himself is totally indifferent. So far as relates to me, Mr. Hamilton will be concerned if the pension is resumed; but so far as relates to himself he is entirely unconcerned, whether the consideration of this matter comes before the House of Commons or not and what may be the event if it does, and he begs you will be at no trouble to prevent the mentioning of it, or to embarrass yourself with the defence of it, if it is mentioned, for he desires me to repeat to you, that he cannot be in the smallest degree affected by the resumption of the pension, in any other manner than as it takes an income from me, which he wishes I may enjoy; but as to any justification of Mr. Hamilton's conduct, he has not a wish that it should be attempted by anyone. As to what you are so good to offer to say to Lord Hertford, Mr. Hamilton has wrote to you a very long letter about a fortnight since and sent it by a private conveyance, but through the delay of the person who carries it, it probably may not reach you till some time hence; but he requests that no transaction relative to him, may create the smallest difficulty to you. So far for Mr. Hamilton. I must now beg leave, to trouble you with a few words for myself, as I am convinced that nothing but Mr. Hamilton's friendship for me occasioned that part of his conduct which you say is disapproved. It was not once, but fifty times; it was not by one person, but by ten; that Mr. Hamilton desired Mr. Burke should retain the pension which he had procured for him; but Mr. Burke found upon advising with his friends that however inclinable he was to keep the pension himself, it was better for him, after the obligations he had

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received, and the engagements he had entered into, to give it up; and that his whole defence must rest upon this single point. Either then the pension was to be resigned into the hands of Government, and become a saving to the Irish Treasury, for which Mr. Hamilton does not scruple to say he has not the least tenderness, or it was to be employed to make a person's circumstances easy, for whom he is partial enough to declare he has a very sincere regard. He was kind enough to prefer the latter, and though I am sorry there is any person who disapproves of such a friendly determination in Ireland, I am flattered to find that the sense of it here is very different. These two facts, you may depend upon, that Mr. Hamilton has one letter from Mr. Burke in which he offers to resign the pension to any person, and a second in which he declares his mind is altered, and he will transfer it only to Mr. Hamilton's attorney. I think it most probable this alteration of mind proceeded from a desire of still retaining the pension, and that the offer of giving it up might serve instead of the *actual* giving it up, as he concluded Mr. Hamilton might object to the receiving it through this mode of conveyance. Mr. Hamilton had sagacity enough to see through this evasion, and friendship enough for me to disregard it. You know very well that an imperfect narrative of a transaction like this, of some intricacy, is worse than none at all, and that it is impossible within the compass of a letter to relate every circumstance which it might not be difficult to do in person, which can make it perspicuous; but I can, from my own knowledge, assure you that every impartial person I have met with, who has heard it clearly and fully stated, agrees with me in the judgment I have formed upon a perfect acquaintance with every part of the transaction.

"It flattered me very much to find from the obliging manner in which you are so good to offer me your mediation on this occasion, that I have incurred no censure, by being (so far as I am) concerned in this business, and you will not I hope, think it presumption in me, to declare that I have acted at least with disinterestedness, and have been more concerned at the little prospect I can see of any reconciliation between Mr. Hamilton and Burke, than I am pleased at the advantage which may accrue to me at the expense of the latter. Mr. Burke indeed has done me the justice to mention the earnestness and sincerity with which I laboured for an accommodation, and I have no reason to apprehend any judgment which may be passed upon me by persons less partial to me than Mr. Burke, when they are as well informed of my conduct."

1765, November 25. Henry Street, Dublin.—Charles Lucas to [John Hely Hutchinson]. Thanking him "for his extraordinary kind and disinterested interposition in my favour."

1766, September 4. Dublin Castle.—[Thomas Waite, Secretary to the Lords Justices] to ————. *Private*. Had hoped that his correspondent's friendly offices would have carried the point for him, either in the shape of a reversion or a survivorship for life. "It was indifferent to me whether I paid the 1,000*l.* for one or the other. His Excellency might have distributed that sum in his family if he had thought it too much for the old woman, and it is not an unprecedented thing for a Lord Lieutenant to give the sale of an employment to gentlemen who are in attendance upon him. . . . His Excellency might have allotted that sum in payment of your debt. But it seems to be all over at present." Have had three or four letters from Lord Beauchamp and Sir Robert relative to the Merchants' Exchange.

They want near 14,000*l.* for the building, and there is not at this time above 11,000*l.* in the Treasury. . . . "I have an office which if the day consisted of 48 hours would have stomach for them all. I have not time or abilities or inclination to sit down and pump for essays and narratives with not one word of truth in them as my Master Hamilton used to do for Mr. Pery's amusement and to show how well he could write. . . . Miss Marsell of Limerick the famous singer is married to Tenducci as is confidently reported in this town. . . . The news since the packet came in is that Lord Bristol is forthwith to be appointed Lord Lieutenant and Lord Hertford Master of the Horse and that Lord Bristol is to be constantly resident in Ireland. I don't suppose that it can be true."

1766, September 12. Dromoland, co. Clare.—Sir Lucius O'Brien to John Hely Hutchinson. . . . "I am persuaded the end we aim at is the same though different stations and very different talents have led us to use different means for its attainment yet not such as prevent me the honour of co-operating often with you for the public service. Lord Beauchamp seems to think this rather a favourable conjuncture for Ireland. I cannot help thinking it very fortunate that you who understand and love its interests so well should at such a time be present in the great scene of action." Am anxious that the sons of Doctor Lucas should be assisted.

1766, September 17. Belvidere.—Lord Bowes, Lord Chancellor, to John Hely Hutchinson. "Whether Lord T[emple] dictated directed or delivered in conversation the allowed facts in the pamphlet to which your letter refers are questions in which the public is not concerned; the Brothers [Temple and Pitt] must adjust that matter between themselves. They [the public] may (if they please) avail themselves of what is admitted and thence be informed that the late ministerial confusion has arose from their declining the service of their country on personal considerations and it will be difficult to assign any patriotic principles on which their with-holding such assistance could be justified. Enlarge your Litany by joining Patriotism to Politics and from both—deliver us. The plan for residence [of the Lord Lieutenant] is not as yet understood here. Ignorance excites suspicions and thence wild conjectures. Gentlemen are to be rendered insignificant preparatory to an Union—at least they are to be closeted and cajoled to make way for the Land Tax &c. &c. Notwithstanding which I am persuaded those whom it may concern see the advantages which may result from this measure better than we do or it will rest in speculation." Referring to the appointment of Foster as Lord Chief Baron.

1766.—John Hely Hutchinson to the Earl of Chatham.

"Though I am very apprehensive that your Lordship will be surprised at this liberty from a stranger yet his Majesty's Prime Serjeant in Ireland and the representative for the City of Cork, a place so justly and affectionately attached to your Lordship flatters himself that he may meet with forgiveness if he expresses the greatest solicitude when any circumstance has occurred that might possibly have made the least impression on your Lordship's mind to his prejudice. By a letter from Lord H[ertford] I find he has done me the honour to mention my name to your Lordship and to recommend my removal to the King's service in this country. I beg leave to assure your Lordship that this idea, for which I am obliged to Lord H.'s favourable opinion, proceeded from his own suggestion. I never had the vanity to expect that English administration could have really thought my poor assist-

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ance worthy their attention and that from my situation in Ireland I could never have hoped for such a change as could have been an inducement to a reasonable man, though I must at the same time say, that making the smallest part in the system of Lord Chatham would be an object of my most earnest and ambitious pursuit. If my little knowledge of the affairs of Ireland in the conduct of which I have had a principal share in the House of Commons since his Majesty's accession can be thought to deserve a moment of your Lordship's attention I should be very happy to be honoured with an opportunity of laying before your Lordship my sentiments upon the singular and critical circumstances of that Kingdom. I should endeavour to do it faithfully and impartially having no connection with any man or party, and having, since I was called upon to serve the Crown, acted uniformly as the servant of English Government there, which I have always thought the only effectual method of doing real service to that country." (*Draft.*)

1767, January 2. London.—Lord Hertford to John Hely Hutchinson. "Lord Chatham is at the Bath and the Ministers dispersed for the holidays. The East India proprietors at their last meeting have resolved to treat with Government." Is still ignorant whether Lord Bristol has as yet formed any plan either as to men or measures for the government of Ireland.

1767, January 20. London.—Sir William Mayne to John Hely Hutchinson. "I should be madder than the wildest upholsterer were I to pretend to give you an account of the politics of this country, which are either so deep that none can fathom, or so vague and airy that no fixed opinion can be formed of them . . . King Lords and Commons are met, but no business as Lord Chatham is drove back to Bath by a most *unconstitutional* fall of snow, and a *factious* return of his gout, and it is whispered he left London much dissatisfied."

1767, August 3. Parsons Green.—Edmund Burke to John Hely Hutchinson.

"I assure you, I have a very sincere desire, in my present humble situation, to do anything that may be pleasing to you. I should have the same if I had as much power, as your partiality could wish me. But I cannot move the machine, or even grease the wheels. My friends are out of power, and likely to continue so. Lord Rockingham is gone to the Country without office and with dignity. Lord Bristol I could not even know. Lord Townshend I do know too well. His brother has no regard for me and I have no confidence in him. Just so matters stand, and I will not make any parade of my willingness to run your errands, because it would look like that cheap and commonplace way of shewing one's good inclinations, when no service is desired, because no service can be done. I think it very likely that the Chancellor will be appointed from hence. In the conversations which I hear, it is talked of as a sort of maxim of Government. But in the end the accommodation of their own arrangement is the principle they will proceed upon. It was this principle that made Lord Townshend Lord Lieutenant, at least I cannot conceive any other, and have but a moderate opinion of their policy even in that. On Lord Chatham's decline in health and capacity, Lord Rockingham was wished with his friends, to accede to the remains of that administration. He tried to form a plan of strength; but in this attempt he failed, and he was unwilling to form the project of a weak one, or to make a part in such a system. The Duke of Grafton and Mr. Conway who seemed at first very sensible of the deficiencies of their own system, took courage

from the failure of their negotiations, and resolve to all appearance, to hold on that Bute bottom upon which Lord Chatham had left them. As their garrison is very small, it became absolutely necessary that there should be more harmony amongst them than appeared in the last Session. Townshend is become of more consequence; and, if possible to fix his levity, they have made his brother Lord Lieutenant, which I know to have been long his object. Lord Townshend is thought to have a great ascendant over Charles. I imagine this has been their motive; they have wanted agreement within themselves, for I am sure this has given them no strength from without. If they should attempt to enlarge themselves, and to extend their line of debate, they will probably attempt to get Sir Fletcher Norton. If they can compass this the Master of the Rolls [Sir Thomas Sewell] will be thrown upon you; and Oh! Earth lay light on him! for sure no man ever barthened it so much. I think their attempt on Sir Fletcher very likely; because I know they had a negotiation with him last winter. If this should fail, and they think of your side, the consideration of the offices which you have to resign, would, I should think, weigh a great deal with Lord Townshend provided he has any man whom he loves enough for the moment to wish a provision for." (*Imperfect. Beginning lost.*)

1767, August 6.————— Fitzgerald to John Hely Hutchinson.

"I wish you had thought of coming over here directly upon the Chancellor's death. I am persuaded you would have succeeded, and I have little doubt, were you here now, of your being able to bring it about. Lord Bristol has recommended Lord Annaly, but declaring at the same time that he thought that office too great to fall within his department; the object of the Ministry here is to get Norton, for which purpose they would make Sewell Chancellor and Lord de Grey to be Master of the Rolls, but Norton has refused hitherto, and it will probably be difficult to separate him from Grenville; you may, if on the spot, give our new Governor Lord Townshend (who was yesterday declared so in Council) very good reasons for preferring you, which reasons might operate with equal force with the Minister who is to dispose of the place, so that I wish you would if possible come here *as soon as possible*. The spirit of indecision that now prevails, will very probably postpone this business some weeks. Bristol has been superseded at his own desire, and will probably have some other place, or a marquissate. Charles Townshend's wife has got a barony descendible to his issue. There are several Irish peerages. Coloony and Lord Clive, made Earls; Upton and Bishop of Cloyne, Privy Counsellors; Tom FitzGibbon and George Hamilton, King's Counsel; It's known that if Lord Bristol had succeeded for Lord Annaly, he would have recommended John FitzGibbon for the King's Bench."

1767, August .—John Hely Hutchinson to Lord [Townshend]. Urging his claims and qualifications for the vacant Chancellorship. (*Draft.*)

1767, August 27. Audley Square.—Lord Townshend to John Hely Hutchinson. In reply to the last observing that he has had other applications from Ireland and will do justice to all by laying them fairly and fully before the King.

1767, [September].—John Hely Hutchinson to Lord Townshend. Reply to the last. (*Draft.*)

1767, September 12. London.—Lord Hertford to John Hely Hutchinson. "My brother [Hon. Henry Seymour Conway, Secretary

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of State] acquaints me that he did justice to my request in repeating your pretensions to the Great Seal of Ireland. I acquainted you long since that I had taken an early opportunity of doing it myself and my only reason for troubling you at present is to inform you that your commands have been obeyed by me, whatever the success may be." I believe there is no immediate prospect of its being given away. Commissioners will probably be appointed.

1767, October 9, Salthill.—W. Gerard Hamilton to John Hely Hutchinson. I write on my way to Bath. "The Lord Lieutenant is in his own mind persuaded he shall have the seals of Ireland to dispose of, but he at the same time has not had such assurances as will warrant his making a promise of them to any of the competitors on your side of the water. I have met with circumstances which make me doubt whether Tisdale's object is really to be Chancellor, or only to sound his pretensions as high as possible, that they might be bought off as dear as possible. . . . Great pains have been taken to persuade both the Lord Lieutenant and his secretary that you would not be offended at any preference that was shown to Tisdale" on the ground of his age and long services. "Cunninghame has been a principal performer in conveying these impressions. I think I have removed them entirely. . . . The point which I recommend to press, because I found in conversation it had the greatest weight with both the Lord Lieutenant and his secretary was this 'That you desired nothing more than that the Seals should be left open to the close of the session and be given to the person who upon trial should be found most serviceable to the Lord Lieutenant's Government.' . . . Lord Townshend is exceedingly partial to Jephson and wishes to bring him into Parliament. I want to have it done immediately. It will have great weight, if you tell his Excellency that from Jephson's talent, he would probably be of great use to Government in the very next session. I am persuaded he would make some Irish member a peer, for the sake of getting Jephson a seat."

[1767], November 25. Arlington Street.—The Same to the Same. "Rigby speaks of your ability in terms of very strong commendation, and ridicules the idea of any man's supposing that the talents of your antagonists are not in every respect inferior to your own.

"I conclude that Boyle's appointment to the revenue board will have reconciled Tisdale to the Lord Lieutenant. But Rigby assured me that when he left Ireland, the Attorney was more dissatisfied than any man in it. You did not, I take it for granted, intend that I should hint by letter to Lord Townshend, your disapprobation of the manner in which he had conducted himself to you. If there is anything you wish to have said to him, and which you yourself don't choose to say, Jephson, I should think, would execute your commands, both with fidelity and address, And when he left England his partiality to Jephson was so great that nothing would come unacceptable to him through that channel. It is my own opinion, and I think it a well grounded one, that not only you, but that Lord Townshend himself, under-rates his own influence on this side of the water. There is not a doubt but he will be permitted to do everything which he can propose, at least in cases where the English administration have no purpose of their own to answer by interfering. And even this degree of power, circumscribed as it may appear to be, and as it is, must, I should apprehend, be fully sufficient to indulge any wishes you can frame, now the Seals in Ireland are disposed of. That Lord Townshend may, if he pleases, create Mrs. Hutchinson a peeress; change your life for your son's in the reversion; and contrive to pay off

the debt of the Alnage; (which I conclude are your principal objects) I can never bring myself to entertain the smallest doubt. If therefore, he pleads his want of power, with regard to such requests as these, it proves only that he does not mean to gratify you in them, and you must take your measures accordingly. In the many conversations I held with Lord Townshend, I constantly took care to inform him that I could not in any degree be responsible for the part you would take; and I often reminded him that I recommended you to his particular attention, not for your sake, but for his own. If you are to make resistance, remember our error in Lord Northumberland's time, and don't delay it till it is too late. The increase of the army is what, according to my judgment, every man in Ireland ought to oppose. There, if at all, I think you ought to make your stand. A *peace establishment*, for the support of which a kingdom must either lay new taxes, or annually run out, is an absurdity, that no pretended apprehension of danger can defend, or extenuate. An increase of expenses in Ireland must infallibly end in some taxation of a very general, and a very invidious kind. And it must for ever be a source of popularity to have opposed those measures, by which such an odious expedient has been rendered necessary. Upon such a topic you might, I am persuaded, start with infinite advantage to your character, and to your future prospects. I shall conclude, with telling you what, I believe, will surprise you, and what I must beg you would not communicate to anyone. The administration here declare that the Lord Lieutenant had no authority to recommend a law for making the tenure of the judges during good behaviour. I think, however, but I am far from being certain, that the Bill will pass. I can't help suspecting that Lord Hertford may have stated to the Lord Lieutenant something upon the subject of your unreasonableness, which may very possibly have alarmed him. Would not it be worth your while to explain to Lord Townshend what passed between you and that disinterested nobleman. But if you do it, do it personally, and not by the means of Lord F. Campbell."

1768, March 17.—Lord Hertford to John Hely Hutchinson. Thanking him for defending his son Lord Beauchamp. The resolutions of the Lords were extremely unpleasant, giving a disagreeable shade to a very innocent proceeding. When the Clerkship of Parliaments became vacant the first plan of disposing of it not taking effect I wished to give it to a man who had pressed me because he wanted assistance and had a title to my favour, but was restrained because he was my agent. Lord Beauchamp then proposed to obviate the objection by giving the employment to Dr. Gayer, a Lisburn man, making him a reasonable and handsome allowance and disposing of the rest to such persons in Lisburn as were pressing from the necessity of their circumstances. The measure even on this foundation might be indiscreet because it was more likely to be taken up in a servant of either House of Parliament, and that quartering though done every day is not to be justified in argument especially in a House of Parliament. To talk of summoning Lord Beauchamp as a delinquent before Parliament is inconceivable and not to be reconciled with the least degree of moderation candour or equity, and can be ascribed to nothing but the political illwill of some very designing revengeful or ill-intentioned person.

1768, April 7.—The Same to the Same on the same business. Observing that though the opposition in this country go great lengths he has never known an instance where a man ran so great a risk of being

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tried and condemned unheard. "Lord Shelburne, the Secretary of State for the Southern Department, has acquainted the Lord Lieutenant that he has received the resolutions of the House of Lords, an address about the Exchange, an address of thanks for the Octennial Bill from Waterford, &c., &c., and has laid them before the King, telling me that he thought Lord Beauchamp much above receiving any compliment from his pen and that taking no other notice of it than in such an Hodge podge he hoped would be respectful, satisfactory to us, and a sufficient indication of its reception here. The Duke of Grafton has wrote some time ago to Lord Townshend to acquaint his Excellency with his sentiments upon this transaction and what was due in his opinion to a predecessor in office upon the present terms of the Lieutenancy of Ireland. . . . I am concerned as a well-wisher to Ireland to receive the picture you have so ably drawn of its political state, the features are not changed by being beheld at a distance, and if great care and management are not employed the government of that kingdom will soon become impracticable in any hands."

1768.—John Hely Hutchinson to — O'Hara. Replying to the question how he intended to act in the present critical condition of the country. "A virulent spirit of licentiousness has broke out among us, threatening the destruction of all order and subordination; the Limitation Bill, though in my opinion a great acquisition for Ireland has added great weight to the democratical scale and will raise the lever of false popularity higher than before; political contests must increase this evil as one side will ever appeal to the people. Irish administration has been for *some* years past gentle fluctuating timid and relaxed and has frequently acted not as the curb but often as the instrument of faction. There never was a time when the mild executive government of this country required firmness and system more the present, and consequently when every honest man ought to be disposed to give his assistance to strengthen the hands of Government. The situation of affairs in America and the late disturbances in England ought to be strong inducements to the friends of Ireland to exert themselves in supporting the King's measures with all the ability of their country. These are my sentiments; Lord Townshend's manner of treating me might have affected my temper but has not altered my opinion. I was always ready to support an augmentation in a reasonable mode and without inconsistency. I was not nor am I wedded to any particular plan, but offered Lord Townshend my assistance to model that which was proposed in such a manner as would have ensured the success of it without any possible objection on the side of Great Britain; but I was told by his Excellency that he had not the power of varying it any respect, not even in the expressions. That measure being at an end I am also desirous to go on with government as a servant of the Crown unconnected with any party, which I have done uniformly since my being in office, till our military master denied me my rank and reduced me to a subaltern. *There are two other subjects* on which I shall also be explicit. Whether there shall be a resident Lord Lieutenant or not I have no concern, my opinion is for it, and as to the power of the revenue I am indifferent where it shall be placed or how it shall be modelled. If the nobleman and the commoner with whom I acted in the last Session, except in the affair of the 3 months' Money Bill in which I did not concur, should be removed it would not be in my power as a man of honour to continue in office, though I am not under any such engagement." (*Draft.*)

1768, December 14.—George Colman to John Hely Hutchinson.

Thanking him for his attention to his suit. "To use your own allusion you have the critick's *semper ad eventum* for ever before you, and want no spur to hasten the catastrophe."

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1769, January 11.—John Hely Hutchinson to Lord Hertford.

"The subject [of his enclosure] seems to me to have been considered as of greater importance than belongs to it. I was one of the warmest advocates against the rejection and against the reasons assigned, because the assignment of reasons for rejecting bills appeared to me in all cases to be unparliamentary, and when tending to contradict Acts of Parliament unconstitutional, but still it is a question of mere form; the supply is asked from the Commons, the money bill is taken up in their house as part of the supply to be granted by them; their Speaker takes it to the House of Lords and presents it to the Lord Lieutenant as the gift of the Commons who receive thanks from the throne for it as for their benevolence. A protest does not control the right of the Commons to reject, and if they pass it, it is considered by them and accepted by the King as their Act. Whether the bill should originate in the Council or with the Commons appears to me to be mere matter of form. I have nothing to say in defence of departing from the constant course of procedure, and giving offence to the superior without a possibility of serving the inferior country, but it seems to me to be the interest of both kingdoms and particularly of Ireland that the subject should be understood as it really is and not as involving any question of subordination or dependency." (*Draft.*)

1769, May 18.—The Same to the Same. "I have had the misfortune of being altogether mistaken in every conversation that has passed between us [the Lord Lieutenant and himself], and these mistakes have been constantly circulated in this country and have frequently made their way to the other side of the water. Two days before sending for me he declared that he would never do me that honour, and since our last interview, in which I exerted my utmost endeavours to make his Excellency sensible of my services and earnest disposition to promote the success of his Majesty's measures he has talked of me with disregard and ridicule, declares that his representations against me have gone so far that it is not in his power to retract them, and that he expects every moment orders from England to remove Lord S[hanno]n, Mr. P——y [Ponsonby?] and me; whilst it seems the King's servant of the law, who has the most confidential and responsible office [Tisdale A.G.] who, though obliged in the last session with the place of a Commissioner of revenue for his friend, projected the three Months' Money Bill, which I prevented, and the address upon the appointment of a Chancellor which I opposed, is not only exempted from disgrace but remains the object of favour."

"It is seriously to be feared that [the Lord Lieutenant's] ill-placed partialities and ill-founded resentments will greatly and unnecessarily involve and embroil the affairs of this country. He is himself the cause of what he imputes to others, and was in the last, and will be, if continued in the future session, the real and the only obstacle to business; he has given without provocation and taken without cause many offences here, and mixes with business a temper and imagination not the best adapted to the direction of the affairs of a great country." (*Draft.*)

1769, June 22.—The Same to the Same.

"The establishment of some system for the government of Ireland seems to be much wanting and may be accomplished without difficulty

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by a Chief Governor of firmness and of temper and conciliatory manners and if to these circumstances we were so happy to add that he had an interest in common with the gentlemen of the country I think the success would be secure and the administration honourable and easy and happy for both kingdoms." (*Draft*.)

1769, September 25.—W. Gerard Hamilton to John Hely Hutchinson.

"I have hitherto said nothing to you upon the subject of your Secretary, because I had so many reasons for believing he was determined to quit his employment in Ireland, that nothing but his being actually gone there, could have convinced me to the contrary. Upon the first moment of his appointment I took an opportunity of mentioning you to him. I explained how much Lord Townshend had been prejudiced with relation to you, and how much he had suffered for want of your assistance; and I assured him that however Government might go on, (though even that could be but disreputably, without the advantage of your friendship) it was impossible for a Secretary to acquire any degree of personal credit, if you put yourself in direct opposition to him. I offered to stake my judgment upon your zeal, and upon your ability, and my life upon your fidelity in serving him. The answer I received from him was that of an ignorant, conceited coxcomb, who knew neither the interests of Government, nor his own. I have, however, since heard, that from despising the Irish House of Commons, he is now grown ridiculously afraid of it. If I have any judgment, you should pursue one of these two methods, and either of them, I should think, would answer your end effectually. Agree with Government, and support them warmly and uniformly from the opening of the Session to the close of it, not forgetting to preserve more than a mere apparent consistency on the point of the augmentation. But if an accommodation cannot be come to with the Lord Lieutenant, don't do the thing by halves, let your opposition be as determined in that event, as your support would be in the other. If the Session is not to be an advantageous one, let it be a shining one, and in every debate make the Secretary your object. He will for his own sake interest himself in all your wishes, and, I should apprehend, would have weight enough for the accomplishment of them. Upon frequently considering your situation in Ireland, and your great superiority in Parliament, I am persuaded your business is more with the Secretary than the Lord Lieutenant, and that no Session ought to pass over, in which you should not appear to be his best friend, or his most conspicuous enemy. By opposition to Rigby you gained great reputation. By friendship to me you obtained some solid advantage. But by being neither in intimacy, nor in hostility with Lord F. Campbell you did nothing. You was not what you ought always to be, and what your talents entitle you to be, a principal figure in the performance, and from your not being so it was, that in the course of last winter Irish Government depreciated your Parliamentary importance in their letters to England. The first thing a Secretary considers is his own personal appearance. Though you can't make Sir G. Macartney a brilliant character, it is totally and entirely in your power to make him the reverse, which is what he must know, and what I am sure he fears. I mention all this to you in case you should not be able to engage with Government upon terms that are honourable to you, for if you can, I should still think it preferable to opposition."

1769, October 10. London.—Lord Hertford to John Hely Hutchinson. "The mode you have recommended for the augmentation [of the Army] will, I think, from the conversation I have had upon it satisfy on this side the water, if Lord Townshend will adopt it."

1770, January 5.—John Hely Hutchinson to Hugh Lawton. Explaining to his friends in Cork his conduct in the principal transactions of the last Session.

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“I not only voted for, but I planned the whole of the scheme for augmenting the Army upon this establishment, which I consider as a great acquisition to this Kingdom in many respects ; in its defence by keeping 12,000 effective men constantly resident here, unless in times of rebellion and invasion in Great Britain ; in our constitution by voting the additional men for 2 years only ; in our commerce and manufactures by stopping the efflux of our treasure out of the kingdom ; and keeping the pay of 12,000 men, which is 500,000 yearly and upwards in this kingdom. The power of the Crown to send any number of our forces into other countries, and to pay them out of the Irish Treasury, had occasioned a great drain of our specie, and the evil had increased of late years to so great a degree, that from very small beginnings, the sums remitted to troops abroad have exceeded 70,000. I voted also for the three months’ Money Bill, which took its rise in the Council, having supported with a very great majority the very same Bill in the beginning of the last Parliament, conformable to the constant course of precedents in every reign from the [year] 1496 to his present Majesty’s reign inclusive (with a single exception) and having never heard that any prejudice or inconvenience was ever felt, complained of, or even alleged, from any of those precedents. The right of the Commons to reject was unquestionable, the utility or expediency of so doing was the only question, the idea that the passing such a bill would encroach upon the power of the Commons over the purse of the nation is a groundless vulgar notion calculated only to mislead and inflame the minds of the people. I was against lowering the inland excise upon beer and ale because from the opinion of three of the Commissioners of the Revenue and the much experienced Revenue officers, it was likely to occasion a great annual loss to the revenue.” (*Copy*.)

1771, January 1.—John Hely Hutchinson to W. Gerard Hamilton. “An admirer of Junius who knows but one man capable of that brilliancy of stile may be well excused for making a very probable, tho’ it seems not a well founded, conjecture, but be assured he is the last man in the world who would say anything of you that he did not think for your honour ; it is a pretty observation of Voltaire’s that we are not so much deceived by anything as by following probabilities, and if you had not by your assertion convinced me that it was not true I have a thousand arguments that it was the most probable thing in the world. I have used every decorous method to cultivate a connection with the person you mention, but I fear it is too difficult an undertaking. He has some general rules which are useful only to those who can see and apply the exceptions to them ; he has laid it down justly that reserve is one of the most necessary ingredients in the character of a statesman and therefore to his best friends his utmost confidence is chamber talk and he tells them under the strictest injunctions of eternal secrecy less than they may find in Nalsen’s Almanac ; from hence it has generally happened that he asks advice too late, and does not call for the water engine till the house is consumed by the flames. How does it happen that those who most want advice act so differently from those who have an urgent occasion for any other commodity ? There is also another difficulty in our way arising from our Master, whether real or fictitious I have not sufficient sagacity to pronounce, though I suspect the latter. The language held is I am no monarch, I am not responsible for anything, my Master places no confidence in me, I have not the smallest influence.

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He and I set out together in the opposite system with an assurance to me on his part that he would not remain here, if there was not an entire confidence placed in him, of which he promised me the fullest communication. My determined resolution was to follow precisely the plan laid down in your letter. This connexion has disarmed me, and reduced me to a state of insignificance not altogether agreeable to my feelings. It is true they have increased my income but in a manner very disagreeable to me by a salary of 1,000*l.* yearly during pleasure to me as Alnager."

1772, January 14. Arlington Street.—W. Gerard Hamilton to John Hely Hutchinson.

"There are a variety of letters from Ireland which mention that an address will after your recess be moved to compel the residence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The authority from which this intelligence comes induces me to think that some such motion is really intended. The singling out my office, and leaving unnoticed every other non-resident possessor of a sinecure employment (which I understand to be the plan) has something in it so very invidious, that even the attempt will be extremely disagreeable to me, and the success of it, (which, in your present disunited situation, is not impossible) still more so. We have often agreed that the great source of error in politics was refinement in politics (*sic*) and that in speculations of this sort, men oftener erred by going beyond the mark, than by falling short of it. Is it, however, impossible, that Mr. Ponsonby, variable in his politics, but uniform in his wish to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, may have intimated at the Castle, that of all employments mine would be by far the most acceptable to him? In such an event his Excellency might perhaps connive at an address being carried, in hopes of an accommodation taking place, and concluding that I might barter my office more readily if I was reduced to the alternative either of residing in Ireland, or soliciting a favour from the ministry in England. Whatever may be the design, it most certainly shall never be productive of the end proposed. For if such an address was moved and carried, if the Crown approved, and all the non-residents in the interests of the Court looked on with indifference (events not, I think, very likely to happen) I would, infallibly, so circumstanced, come to Ireland; a thing which in itself I should like exceedingly, and which nothing but the manner of my being brought there, could render disagreeable to me.

"What I have to beg of you is that you would favour me with a line by the return of the post; that you would let me know if such a motion is talked of, or really intended, from the best intelligence you can procure; by whom you think it will be made; if in the House of Lords or Commons; and with what probability of success? If such a thing should be in view, the circulating an idea that Ponsonby has an interest in promoting it, may not be without its effect. It is not necessary for me to desire that you would suppress you having heard from me upon this subject, any more than it is to beg you would take the most effectual means of preventing, if possible, so invidious and personal a measure. An amendment surely that the Address might be extended to *all* non-resident possessors of Irish employments, could not, without the grossest partiality, be rejected."

1772, June 10. Hagley.—Lord Lyttelton to John Hely Hutchinson. Thanking him for his exertions in bringing his son-in-law Viscount Valentia's cause to a successful issue.

1772.—John Hely Hutchinson to Lord Lyttelton. Replying to the last.

“Lady A[nnesley’s] testimony was as clear and consistent, attended with all advantages of ease, readiness, recollection, candour, and dignity as any that I have ever heard given, supported in every part of it by circumstances or witness or both and not contradicted by any one witness or any one circumstance, and that in some exhibits acknowledged on all hands to be genuine where the husband had written his name in several different parts of the same page some of these signatures differ far more from others than any of them from the name in the certificate and that by examining that certificate with good glasses it appears next to an impossibility than it should have been a forgery.” (*Draft.*)

1772, August 5. Hagley.—Lord Lyttelton to John Hely Hutchinson. Regretting that he has no opportunity of intercourse with him except by correspondence, and hoping he will visit him at Hagley. Thanking him for drawing an accurate state of Lord Valentia’s case before the Lords of Ireland, but fearing that without a greater change in the circumstances and dispositions of the English House than he sees any reason to hope for at present it will not avail to regain his honours in this kingdom. At present what appears most desirable is the verdict of an Irish jury in favour of his son-in-law’s legitimacy, which would put an end to the claims of Richard Annesley and Lord Mulgrave.

1772, August 6. Magdalen College, Oxford.—Benjamin Wheeler to John Hely Hutchinson. Relating to the entry of the latter’s son, Mr. Wheeler being his tutor; and stating that 200*l.* is a sufficient yearly allowance for a gentleman Commoner. “I suppose in this estimate, that he is a student, and has neither a servant, nor a horse to be maintained. Indeed by a late Statute neither servants nor horses for the future are permitted.”

1772, August 23. Lissanoure.—Sir George Macartney to John Hely Hutchinson.

“I learn that my Lord Harcourt is certainly to be at Holyhead on the 20th of October and my Lord Townshend is to remain in Ireland till he has delivered up the Sword to him in person, it being long since determined to permit no interregnum of Lords Justices. My successor, I hear, is neither to be in Council nor in Parliament, for which resolution I applaud his judgment, and if his example is followed the Secretaryship may again become a desirable object.” . . . Can only conjecture what *is* to pass, and takes it for granted that the *whole* must fall into Hutchinson’s hands.

1772, September 26. Hagley.—Lord Lyttelton to John Hely Hutchinson.

A great crowd of visitors including the French Ambassador, the Danish Minister, and Prince Poniatowski, a nephew of the King of Poland, has delayed my thanking you for your last letter and for your abstract of Lord Valentia’s case. “On a careful perusal of it I think it sufficient to satisfy any impartial man that the certificate was not forged; but whether Lord Camden’s prejudice will suffer his eyes to see the marks of a split pen in the writing I much doubt, and if he is not converted it will not be easy to convert the other Lords, who followed his authority in the judgement they gave, or who had other prejudices equally strong, which I am afraid was the case of a great majority even among those who did not vote. . . . If Lord Mulgrave brings his cause (as I hear he will) before a jury in Ireland, their verdict will weigh much either for or against a Rehearing in our

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House." Am glad that you promise a visit to Hagley. "If, to meet you there, my former guests, Pope and Thomson, could revive, I should think the place more worthy of Mr. Hutchinson's presence, but you must be content with Mrs. Montagu, Mrs. Vesey and Garrick, who, I hope, will be of the party."

1772, October 25.—W. Gerard Hamilton to John Hely Hutchinson.

"I have had much conversation both with Lord Harcourt and Colonel Blaquiere, upon the politics and characters in Ireland. You will easily imagine that in the course of such a discussion, your own importance and our friendship, made it equally impossible that you passed by unobserved. Both the Lord Lieutenant and his Secretary conceive as favourably as you yourself can wish of your talents, your spirit, and your fidelity. They allow that other men may be useful, but seem to consider you alone as necessary to Government. There is however one impression which I can perceive has been made, with great industry and some success; and which I apprehend it should be, under this new Government, your capital and uniform object to remove. While your capacity is admitted by everybody, the exorbitance and unreasonableness of your demands is arraigned on all hands. This is circulated by your enemies, believed by the public, represented to the Ministers and stated to the King. And by circulating this perpetually it is, that some whom you formerly opposed, and others whom you now rival in Ireland, have contrived not only to balance, but to weigh down all your other merits. You will observe, that I don't enter into the justice, or injustice, the truth, or falsehood of this assertion. I mean only to say that this opinion, whether well or ill founded, prevails universally; that in consequence of its doing so, you suffer exceedingly; and that if this impression was once removed, which it might be by Lord Harcourt, it is my full persuasion you would be the most favorite character, and the person the most entrusted by English Government in Ireland. Permit me therefore to recommend, and from my conviction of the propriety of it, even to request that immediately upon Lord Harcourt's landing in Ireland, you would give him the strongest and most unconditional assurance of your support, that though his conduct, and that of his Secretary, should be variable to you (which however, I am persuaded it will not be) yours should be uniform to them, and that you may neither be flattered or offended, as they happen to give or to withhold from you, their insignificant and silly confidence. Let me entreat you to be persuaded that this is not merely the most advisable, but the *only* part you have to take. For I more than believe, I *know*, that any proposition made in your behalf, will be received very coldly by the Ministers, and if granted at all, granted with reluctance in the closet. Lord Halifax, Lord Northumberland, Lord Hertford, and, I believe, Lord Townshend (that is every chief Governor who has been in Ireland since you came into employment) have concurred, by what fatality I know not, in commending your talents, and in finding fault with your unreasonableness. And you can scarce be surprised when a point like this has been enforced through a long line of Lord Lieutenants, and (with the exception of myself alone) through a long succession of Secretaries, that so great a number of evidence, and so much uniformity of testimony should be sufficient to establish any fact and to bear down any character." Apologising for interfering in such a delicate subject and advising him to embark with Lord Harcourt, leaving to him, without stipulation (till the close of the next Session of Parliament) to judge of, represent and reward the very material services he will perform to Government.

1772, December 16. London.—Lord Lyttelton to John Hely Hutchinson.

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Stating the admiration with which he has read the pleadings in Lord Valentia's case, yet not daring to indulge much hope that they will have power to prevail over the strong prepossessions of his adversaries in the House. Could Lord Camden be converted that indeed would encourage the writer to press for a Rehearing.

[1772 or 1773.]—John Hely Hutchinson to Lord Lyttelton. Reply to the last letter. Expecting that the printed trial will be published in a few days when he will send it him. "I hope Lord Camden will think well of it, but I am a place man and consequently must have a high respect for Lord North, and think so favourably of his Lordship's singular discernment that I should prefer his approbation without a vote to Lord Camden's most eloquent affirmative, even though the Common Council of London should assure him it was right, as they once did that he was a man of the strictest integrity, of which, if I do not forget, in his reply he tells them he was now confident as the Common Council of London had assured him of it; though I confess I should have believed it, and so I am persuaded would his Lordship, though that reputable body had never put it to the question." On the back of the same sheet is a draft letter to Mr. Wheeler, his son's tutor at Oxford. (*Draft.*)

1772, December 27.—John Hely Hutchinson to W. Gerard Hamilton. Had deferred answering your letter [of October 25] till I should have conferred with the Lord Lieutenant or his Secretary; "but if I waited longer our correspondence must either entirely cease or be discontinued without limitation. I have visited, levée'd, confabulated, but not conferred, nor have I any reason to expect an attention not shown to others. . . . Your letter has infinitely surprised me; you are one of the few men of the world from whom I could take in good part an address in terms of so much severity; but I consider your letter as a caution to me to guard against the imputations of my enemies, and that you have repeated their suggestions in their own language. Though you desire me to observe that you do not enter into the truth or falsehood, the justice or injustice, of the assertions mentioned in your letter to be universally believed, yet you will not wonder that I cannot silently submit to imputations injurious to my honour and character, and as you have thought it the duty of a friend to communicate to me reports to my prejudice, I hope you will think it a more agreeable exercise of your friendship to vindicate my reputation, and will hear with pleasure that I have every kind of evidence from every Lord Lieutenant whom you have mentioned, in contradiction of the representations, which you have been informed they have made of my unreasonableness and exorbitancy. I have their repeated declarations, their letters, and the whole tenor of their conduct to me, to the contrary. When I waited upon Lord Halifax, at the eve of his departure from this Kingdom, to return him thanks for his favours, his answer was that he should have gone to me to return me thanks for mine. Soon after he left this Government I had the honour of his letters, now in my hands, returning me thanks for my conduct, assuring me of his constant protection and support, and promising to recommend me for a seat at the Council Board if Lord Northumberland did not, and to the end of his life he was uniform in his expressions of kindness and regard for me. With Lord Northumberland I never had a moment's difference, but upon your account. He offered me a salary of 300*l.* yearly to

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a little office in which he had joined my son, which I declined accepting, and he was so pleased with my disinterestedness that he brought me to the Council Board. When he had given up all thoughts of returning to this Kingdom, and at the close of his Administration, I had a very handsome letter from him, lamenting that opportunities did not offer of serving me further; he also stated to the King, in my presence, my services, in terms the most honourable and flattering to me. That Lord Hertford's representations have been in every respect the most favourable to me, I have a thousand proofs; the kindest letters, the most friendly reception, the most honourable declarations, and interposition in my favour on all proper occasions. What representations my short opposition to Lord Townshend might have provoked him to have made, I know not; but I have the best reasons to believe that he has represented to his Majesty's Ministers, that I returned to the service of Government without stipulation, promise, or request, and that during the last three Sessions he stated to the Ministers my services in the strongest terms. During the two last Sessions, the most difficult and laborious in this or perhaps any other country, I received no favour from him, except a deanery of 30*l.* yearly, and scarcely made him any request; I also know that those representations have had the effect I wished for; and that the late and present Ministers have thoroughly understood and approved of my conduct. In the year '70 Lord Townshend had the goodness to obtain for me a salary of 1,000*l.* yearly as alnager; I had not a word with him previously on the subject, and left the amount of this salary (which I accepted of as a compensation for a debt acknowledged to be due to me from Government) to my friend Sir G. Macartney and to his Excellency. I have Lord Townshend's letters acknowledging in the most explicit manner, and with strong professions of esteem and regard, his approbation of my conduct, his sense of my services, and that he was obliged to me; he has assured me without any application on my part, that it was his intention to represent and recommend me to his successor, as the person most capable of doing the King's business in the House of Commons, and also to make a personal request to Lord Harcourt to oblige me in an instance, which Lord Townshend had offered and intended, but did not accomplish; but the latter I declined as ungenerous to the late and embarrassing to the present Chief Governor. I took the liberty of calling upon him to exculpate me to Lord Harcourt from the misrepresentations of my conduct stated in your letter, which he promised me to do in the fullest manner. I cannot conclude the account of my intercourse with Lord Lieutenants without affirming solemnly that I never entered into a stipulation with any one of them; the invitation to me by Lord Halifax to come into the King's service on terms proposed by himself does not deserve that name.

As to secretaries, I will stake my life upon it, that Lord Beauchamp, Lord Fred. Campbell, and Sir George Macartney will contradict those representations you have been informed they have made so highly to my discredit; to suppose those noblemen and gentlemen to have made those representations, would be more unjust to them than injurious to me. To enable me to serve Government I have been obliged to give up all trials at bar and elsewhere, and the whole of my chamber practice, and I can truly state myself in those articles to have been an annual loser of so much a greater annual sum than I have ever gained by Government, till Lord Townshend obtained for me the salary I have mentioned. From '61 to '70 I stood precisely in the same situation as to emoluments under Government in which Lord Halifax had placed me in

the beginning of His Majesty's reign, and would cheerfully give up that salary on being reimbursed the sum of 4,900*l.* which the office of alnage has cost me from first to last, and of which by the money paid, and the salary of 500*l.* yearly given up, I made, in every respect but the tenure, a very disadvantageous bargain, but this has been accident, and I am not less obliged to you for your friendship.

I have been for eleven years the most active person in the service of Government, in every place, and upon every occasion, with one exception of the first proposal of an augmentation; for this single act of opposition I sufficiently atoned by forming the present plan to which almost all parties agreed; I have never during that time, obtained any office or promotion of value or consequence for any friend, and may safely affirm that no man who has stood foremost in the service of administration for such a length of time, has been more useful, and less troublesome to Government. I remain in the same inconsiderable office in which I set out, and to which no duty or responsibility is annexed, and I have acted as if I filled the first and most responsible office in the State. During that time I have declined repeatedly the situation of a Chief Judge, having been told that my services in the House of Commons would be more acceptable. I find by your letter I must have been among some persons the subject of malignity and defamation at the time when I best deserved favour and confidence; and why? because my forward and active zeal in the public service have made me the object of hatred and envy; the scandal which the leaders of opposition had long propagated against me knowing it to be false, administration will not I hope, take on their credit and believe to be true; after the labour of many years with my health injured, my spirits broken, my profession neglected, my fortune by that neglect, impaired, and all to support His Majesty's Government in this country, to be told that every man, Lord Lieutenant and secretaries (with but one exception) to whom I have devoted my time that might have been so much more profitably employed, and for whom I have strained every little talent I possess, united in representations to bear down my character, is so monstrous, that if I believed it, I would for ever renounce all connections with administration. Though disappointed by the late Lord Lieutenant, I have not complained to him or his successor. I have expressed no discontent, highly sensible of having been distinguished by the reversionary grant of a great office; whilst I remain in the most respectful silence, the most perfect resignation, not to say indifference, about political matters, I little expected to hear any suggestions of my unreasonableness and exorbitancy, and to be suspected for stipulating schemes which I have at all times, thought highly dishonourable in a servant of the Crown." (*Draft, with two different beginnings, and fair copy.*)

1772, December 31. Portman Square.—Lord Townshend to John Hely Hutchinson.

"I executed your commission with my Lord Harcourt with that punctuality and attention with which I have ever dealt with you. If his Excellency had wanted any information of your unrivalled abilities and uncommon capacity to undertake and sustain the business of Parliament, they would have received every additional recommendation from me. He views Mr. Hamilton's description in the most proper light, from what passed I am confident he wished for nothing more than the most confidential intercourse with you, and I shall always be happy, from the high esteem I bear you, and my wishes for your prosperity and that of your family, to hear that no one stands in a higher light in the King's service. I shall not parade about the moments I

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have seized, both on this and the other side, to do you the fullest justice, however Mr. Hamilton's next letter may represent it, from his Cabinet Intelligence. Make good use of the present occasion and your own time of life by placing the fullest confidence in Lord Harcourt, and the King's goodness here in consequence of it, this is my advice to you. Whatever be the event, believe me it is sincere. I hear your late sudden correspondent has been at my door, my equipages were all shattered. I have not yet been able to return the visit. I wish I could send you some news from hence, but all is dull and the town thin. The opposition seeming hitherto (the Dukes Richmond, Devonshire and Portland excepted), poor souls who can do no harm! to have left the nation entirely to this wicked Ministry. Scarce any attendance in either House. Lord Temple goes only to the opera, Lord Chatham not come up, and doubted if he should, whether he may not agree with Government, or at least differ with opposition upon the East India business, which seems to be the only difficulty of this Session, and a very great one; even Burke, the mouthpiece of the party, was reduced to a mere speech of entertainment on that serious subject. In the City the patriots are all quarrelling, and turning their arms or rather quills against each, and the whole nation seems surfeited with political disquisitions. The little prospect of the political market and the season have thinned the town beyond anything I ever saw. I presume by this time you are acquainted in Dublin, that Sir Wm. Osborne not taking his seat, has opened a vacancy, which is, I believe, filled up by Mr. Townsend, so that Lord Shannon seems again a part of Government, I presume not by Mr. Ponsonby's recommendation. I hope this will give strength and stability to Lord Harcourt's Government."

1773, January 13.—John Hely Hutchinson to Lord Townshend. In reply to his letter of December 31, which he calls "not unworthy the feelings of a man to whom his Majesty has given a name superior to all titles by calling him the best natured man in the world. Your Lordship's goodness has removed the taste of Hamilton's wormwood which he calls friendship and expects it should be swallowed without a wry face." . . . "By the accession of Lord Shannon to the administration your Lordship has the honour of completing a plan of the greatest difficulty and importance, and the Government of Lord Harcourt seems to be placed on the surest foundations." (*Draft.*)

1773, January 21. Charles Street, Berkeley Square.—Sir George Macartney to John Hely Hutchinson.

"I believe you will find on enquiry that no man ever spoke more warmly for his friends than I have done. With what effect I know not, for I have very little credit with Lord North, and I am not likely to have more. Sure I am that no Secretary ever served Government with greater fidelity to the trust than I did, and no Secretary ever received so little thanks for it. I have seen his Lordship but twice since my arrival here, and possibly may never see him again. He is without doubt a very able Minister, and the best qualified for his station of any man in this kingdom, but he appears to me totally void of feeling, and rather to underrate than justly value political services, which is a very discouraging thing to those who do them. He has had a wonderful tide of success, and there does not now seem anything likely to interrupt it; opposition is growing ridiculous and contemptible, and 'tis now said, though I don't know on what grounds, that after this Session Lord Rockingham will give it up. On what footing the Government of

Ireland stands, I do not know, but I should think that Lord Harcourt must be entrusted with as much power as his predecessor; if he is not, he will not be responsible for any miscarriage that may happen. I told you in a former letter that my opinion was that *you* might take the lead; my opinion is still so, and that they must make it easy to you. As to F[lood] I declared my sentiments of him long since, which were to get him if possible, but not to suffer him to conduct. His abilities are verbal, and his management last Session injudicious to the last degree. Sure, never was opposition upon such good ground as last Session, and never opposition was so ill conducted, or made so little of it. I observe here that the law servants of the Crown complain loudly that they are not so well rewarded as their brethren in Ireland. Formerly indeed they did not take a great part in Parliament, but now they figure in every debate as regularly as you do, which draws the comparison nearer than it was formerly. By what I hear from Irish people here, Lord Harcourt has not yet spoken confidentially to anybody. Colonel Blaquiere seemed to me when he left this, to be perfectly disposed to put everything into your hands. You don't mention him in your letter. How do you stand together? I thought him a lively sensible man and likely to do very well with a little of your advice and assistance."

1773, February 2. —W. Gerard Hamilton to John Hely Hutchinson. Thanking him on his own behalf and Lord Temple's for his great civility and attention to the latter's nephews during their short stay in Ireland. "Whenever the time comes in which you will converse freely either with the Lord Lieutenant or his secretary you will know from their relation of what I said in regard both to your conduct and character how unnecessary it was, as far as I am concerned, to enter into a defence of yourself in either of these particulars. . . . You are mistaken entirely as to Lord Halifax. I speak with Positiveness only what I know with certainty. But I am inclined to think that Lord Hertford and Lord Beauchamp have both at times from what I have lately heard represented your conduct in a very favourable light. Much pains were taken in the course of last summer, and are again renewed this winter (for what purpose and for what motives you will not be at a loss to conjecture) to represent the business of the Chancery in Ireland from the incapacity of the Court to be in such an arrear as to occasion great dissatisfaction, and to create a necessity of there being some Judge Assistant appointed in that Department of the Law." . . .

[1773.]—John Hely Hutchinson to W. Gerard Hamilton.

In answer to last letter. "It is impossible you should have known how grating the recommendation of general implicit engagement to a Lord Lieutenant must have been to me at the moment when I received your former letter. Lord Harcourt has mentioned to me the effects of your friendly interposition in my favour; he has said nothing of business, but many civil things of my parts. This I consider as a prudent woman ought to do the address of a gentleman, who tells her she is confoundedly handsome. . . . I have not heard a word from the Secretary about business or my friend Hamilton or anything else. I cannot divest my mind of a suspicion that the severity of language was not your own, but that, in explaining the sentiments, you hitched into the style of another. The total neglect of T[isda]ll, Malone and me, and the displacing of . . . incline me to suspect that F[lood?] is intended to be taken in; I have no objection to it upon terms the most advantageous to him, if he is not

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placed in a superior situation to me, which would make it impracticable for me to go on in my present office. I am ready to co-operate with every man. A strong, but I hope a false, report which prevails here, makes me intreat you most earnestly not to co-operate in the only scheme which can probably distract my progress in this country. I should not make any request to you to your prejudice, but this I am confident will not be so. . . . There is no consideration on earth that could tempt me to unhorse you and place your rival and enemy in your saddle. Do not consider these as the sentiments of envy or malignity. . . . Other situations equally advantageous may be found for him without injury to my little rank and figure in this country." I request you in any case never to mention I had written on the subject. "In answer to your question about the Chancellor . . . he does his business very ably and expeditiously and to the general satisfaction of suitors and practisers in this country where he is much respected and a very popular character, and is in his private and public deportment a most worthy, honest and amiable man. . . . However we have made him a better Chancellor than we found him, and he has improved his feet by training. There was an arrear, but incurred for the most part during the vacancy, and he discharged the whole and heard every cause that was ready and every motion in the sittings after last Trinity Term. There is no incapacity in him but very much the reverse, nor any dissatisfaction unless in some of us who wish for his place. Thus far disinterestedly and impartially—but as to what you say of a Judge Assistant consider my sentiments as those of an interested man. All the business of a most litigious country goes into Chancery, the Exchequer is *Vox et præterea nihil*—that is a place only for talking and for lawyers and attorneys to get money in it; the whole then falls on the Chancellor's shoulders, the business is too great for the strongest man in body and mind that ever existed to dispatch allowing reasonable vacations and with a strict attention to the avocations of the House of Lords, the Privy Council, the Cabinet, the public accounts. Lifford is a very pretty Atlas, but I want to be his Hercules, and to take the heaven now and then upon my back, but he thinks his own strong enough for all these purposes. The Lady Lifford is young and handsome." (*Draft.*)

1773, February 13. Portman Square.—Lord Townshend to John Hely Hutchinson.

"The late strange transaction with Lord Bellamont has confined me during its preparation and its catastrophe so much to my house, as I thought it right neither to go near the King nor mix with the world, and besides to admit but few to my house, that I am really one of the most uninformed persons in the world, I believe I am the only hermit except Rousseau that ever resided in this part of London, and I am sure from Lord Bellamont's narrative that I no more sought this misfortune than Pangloss did any one of his. I can therefore send you no news. The affair of the East India Company, the Caribbs and the opera, were all suspended for my duel in Marybone Fields, and, whilst the cause of the City and the 45th Regiment gives way to it at Dublin, we in return here are engaged with the last advices from Ireland of the taste Mr. Bagnal has been pleased to take of the new Secretary. In this situation of affairs, I have nothing to write you worthy your acceptance of a public nature, and therefore shall apologize for the insipidness of this letter by at least seven packets directed to you with Dr. Sheabear's answer to the celebrated Cadogan, which I would not have sent had you not abjured or at least qualified his system with some ingredients

of your own. When you read Lord Bellamont's message, exclusive of his facts and progressions, you will, I believe, agree with me that the good-natured Lord Charlemont makes *his last* and a very good push to send me to the Tower. 'Tis still amazing to me that the two seconds, after having told Lord Ligonier that they esteemed the matter settled to the honour of both and nothing in Lord Townshend's character but what was perfectly honourable, should sign such a narrative. They afterwards tried every persuasion to divert Lord Bellamont from insisting upon it and laboured at another, which (for reasons best known to themselves) contained the word commission from Lord Ligonier, which I also esteemed inadmissible and wrote a conclusive challenge to Lord Bellamont, but more of this bye and bye when Lord Bellamont is better, for however, I am assured the world is satisfied on this head it shall [have] *its full* though *cool* explanation. My only dread I declare has been to involve Lord Ligonier as a principal, which would have been terrible. It is in the papers that it is expected between him and Lord Ancram. I am just returned and find it is not so, but no more of these extravagancies. Pray tell Malone and Lord Annaly that wicked Mack. sent the other day to Lord Ligonier, read all her papers to him, told him as a friend to me, he ought to prevent her publishing that Malone ought to have fought me. I have also Captain Osborne and Major Wrixon on my hands, one brandishing his cudgel, the other reading his memorials in every coffee house. I just met your friend Hamilton in the Park. He asked me to dinner which I fought off—a thing you know they say I can easily do. I have just heard from the Provost [Right Honourable Francis Andrews] from Alicante, who is extremely well. . . . When you [have] laughed at Cadogan with Shebbear pray laugh at them both with Jephson. . . . We look here upon Lord Shannon as a friend to the King's Government. An arrangement is talked of for Mr. Dennis. This has reached my ears from Ireland, for I have not seen this fortnight the face of a minister or ministerial man. Pray send me word how our friend Lill looks on these reports. The attorney I'm sure continues to enjoy the best table in the world, and the most social hours after it. Has Flood reconnoitred the Castle again, or settled a good back hand with Sir William [Osborne?] across the Court for the next in hopes of governing the Kingdom of Ireland in the year 1780?"

1773, July. — John Hely Hutchinson to Sir John Blaquiere. Thanking him for his attention during his illness. Shall be happy to see him at Palmerston, and give him his best advice for his Majesty's service, and also give him his example as a caution against too anxious solicitude in such business. (*Draft.*)

1773, December 26. Dublin Castle.—Sir John Blaquiere to John Hely Hutchinson. Acknowledging his paper of observations which is a fresh proof both of his ability and of his attachment to the King's service, which Lord Harcourt will take every occasion of doing justice to.

1774, February 25. Portnan Square.—Lord Townshend to John Hely Hutchinson.

"I am not at all surprised that your accuracy and explanation you gave to the accounts during my government should have abashed the Newenham's or Mayne or Maxwell; but for the control of an undiscerning or vindictive party, I am particularly obliged to you. I am exceedingly glad your friend Mr. Hamilton had no occasion for a like exertion of your friendship. The joint efforts of Lord Mount

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Morris and Lord Irnham (and how the former could breathe the same air as the latter I can't conceive) required no great efforts to defeat them. I think the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland may be esteemed to govern under no inauspicious star, who finds the Prime Serjeant at the right hand of his Secretary, a Lord Shannon to divide with him and Lord Irnham at the head of the patriots; by the bye, what a steady and effectual support Lord Shannon has given; how seldom did I find leaders and friends who boasted followings so cordial and punctual. I must own that I thought the two great points of Lord Harcourt's success this Session, were the superiority in materials and debate which you could so admirably furnish, and the accession of such a corps as the Earl has brought; put these out of the question and see what inconclusive fortuitous dripping supplies a Lord Lieutenant was to exist upon. It was like a large garrison, that without springs or cisterns was to live on rain water. You have now by your conduct and zeal given Government a force and energy it never had before. I daresay from Lord Harcourt's regard to justice I shall find little opportunity to touch upon the deciding powers and events of this Session. I find the consequence of those I mentioned is fully known and estimated here. It will be my utmost gratification and triumph to see them rewarded, as it is now my happiness to see them supporting firmly and deciding for administration. I am also very happy to hear Blaquiére so much commended by all; he is a pleasant and firm man, and also pretty able. As to firmness, what shall we say to what passed in our House the other day upon literary property. You will have it, I dare say from better hands than mine. After a most able and well-delivered opinion of De Grey's, Lord Camden opened one of the most ingenious attacks on Lord Mansfield's opinion I ever heard, taking, however, De Grey's judicial speech as his principal ground, and then went into all his fairy field, natural right, the intellectual regions of unlimited superiority, and many dazzling metaphors and conceits which captivate the many who cannot attend to the argument; however, very guardedly and decently pointed all the time at Lord Mansfield. After a long pause, the whole House looking at Lord Mansfield, or rather for him, the Chancellor rose, and after stating his arguments (principally historical upon former Acts hereupon) he laid his whole decision upon the opinion of Lord Mansfield's Court, and then disclaiming or rather, in a more modern term, reprobating the sentence in point of law, he proposed reversing his own decree. During all this time Lord Mansfield seemed to all appearance to be forming an oration with his eyebrows and thumbs; that exploded character Lord Lyttleton then arose to make a very puerile set performance; after this a pause. A Bishop then read a speech which half the house at least thought was prayers. Lord Effingham then made a strange speech in favour of the liberty of the press, upon the Duke of Gloucester's nodding to him which was as much to the purpose, as a Russian grenadier's dancing a ballet in the opera of Artaxerxes; and still Lord Mansfield silent! All the world was amazed; especially as the two Judges in his Court had maintained their opinion. I was not amazed, I will not say why, but only thought that if this man had learnt to have faced his enemy in the House of Commons as you have done, it would not so have happened. Charles Fox is of another stamp. He defies, corrects, and drives Ministers into minorities, in order to uphold Government. He came very civilly to the Minister's ear to talk cordially the affair over, and was dismissed a day or two afterwards, having previously been foremost in punishing printers, having now a prosecution against one for abominable imputations with his Aunt Sarah, and some circumstances

of pecuniary chicanery with private property of Miss Pelham (I mean specie the rest is of an old coin). He was at Court today determined the King should speak to him, who only asked him if he was out today. I think he might have returned a good answer, which he failed—'No, but I was yesterday thanks to your Majesty'—or somewhat like it; but I observe my two sheets almost filled. I can tell you nothing about America as yet. It is generally believed something manly must be done. Temple follows the fate of Franklin. Wedderburn's was an able dissection. I don't think you could have done better yourself. You hear of course our Ministry are very strong, and I believe united. The opposition are depressed and despondent, except something very unexpected arises. Our Mawbey benumbs us on this side, as your Maxwell does on yours; the only difference is, who shall have Sir William Mayne." Lady Townshend "ought to be full as well satisfied with your pen as with Sir Joshua's pencil."

1774, March 16. London.—The Same to the Same.

"We are at this hour pausing upon the weak efforts of the mad Republican mob at Boston, although those who deserted the existence of the British Government, to tamper with so serious an experiment as American Independence, hang their heads and repent, and although the general sense of this country seems to be awakened at the crisis. We are at present forming a blockade of their harbour till they submit, possibly it may not be judiciously drawn, and Boston may still have useful ports, if they don't take care. Judge what the triumph will be, should this be the case, however I trust our ministers will be better Geographers. The next measure expected is our alteration of the Boston Charter, and reducing them to that constitution they *have so often requested*, which I hope our Ministers know, but all this if well executed will not recover what Lord Chatham's declaration, and Lord Rockingham's faction abandoned. The blow is given and it needs no further contentions here to rend the fabric of the British Empire. America has given with our own unnatural sons the first wound. Abler and more gallant relations have a right to claim the same exemptions and the British Empire is tottering from its very foundations. I do not know a rational and firm mind that does not judge the evil inevitable. We have reports that the Bostonians have sworn two of their Judges to relinquish their salaries and that the third refuses and will be persecuted somehow or other. Apropos to judges' salaries, we hear that the Chancellor has figured in a minority with Lord Irnham and the Duke of Leinster? I am heartily glad, to hear the firmness of your support no less than your abilities, so universally acknowledged here. Allow me to say that you are just where you ought to be, and will, I hope, be where you wish to be. I hear they now begin to complain of Blaquiere's hauteur. We know very well that means in other words he is firm."

1774, May 9. London.—James Benson to John Hely Hutchinson. Mentioning that on visiting Ireland he found that the circulation of foreign gold coin was stopped, and it was refused at the Custom House, and arguing that great inconvenience will be caused by not allowing it to circulate by weight, Ireland having no mint, and the exportation of guineas from Great Britain being prohibited under heavy penalties. The Irish Bill for removal of the Custom House will not be returned and the Salmon Fishery Bill will probably share its fate. Col. Blaquiere has made many serious enemies by it "who exclaim loudly against this flagrant attack on private property merely to try an experiment." Your

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friend Lord 'Townshend is in very high favour, the successful administration of the present Lord Lieutenant being in great measure attributed to his manœuvres. The Bedford people are supposed to have more influence than ever they had, of which the very extraordinary favour lately done for Mr. Cornwall is a proof. I advise you to come to London in July it being highly necessary for the interests of your family that you should be better acquainted with Lord North, "who is likely to have a Pelhamite Period of the Government of this Country."

1774, July 2. Londonderry.—Frederick Hervey, Bishop of Derry, to John Hely Hutchinson. Congratulating him on his appointment as Provost, "as of all the countries I have visited I know of none in the remotest corner of Europe that stands so much in need of a liberal education. I feel the same satisfaction in our new Provost, as a keen sportsman does at the dawn of day after a long winter night. The superiority of his talents and the extensiveness of his views, his prominence in this country, and his zeal, as well as his interest, to serve a community in which he holds so considerable a property, and of which he has so long been a principal leader, must make every good citizen rejoice at seeing his sphere enlarged when his talents could no longer be so. It is now about twelve or fourteen hundred years since the youth of all Europe has been entrusted only to the care of the pedants and bigots of each nation; and the result has been what might naturally be expected, a total want of useful knowledge and of real religion. The education of Greece and Rome seems to have been the true foundation of all those superior virtues and talents which distinguished the great men of those countries, but I have never read of any of their children being sent to the college of Augurs to learn the rights of citizens or of mankind. Great lawyers, great generals, and eminent philosophers allowed young men to attend them, and stimulated the rising generation, as much by precept, as by example, to emulate their ancestors. The sciences were taught by the philosophers, and the priests were limited to the temples of their gods, the only precincts in which our modern priests are not to be seen. Might I venture to hint to you one circumstance, which, though mentioned by almost every theorist in education, has been omitted by all practitioners; it is the study of agriculture. The country clergyman who has little to do, and the country gentleman who has nothing, would by having early principles of this excellent science instilled into him, find great resources in himself, and supply considerable ones to his poor neighbours. The purest Roman authors have written on this subject, and some excellent French ones, and the general principles of agriculture seem to be common to all climates. 'Tis a pity likewise that mechanical powers are not more extensively studied that our country squires and country clergy might be the better able to remove the gross ignorance of our country farmers. Should you be able to establish a point of this sort, it would even in our time, advance the culture of this country above a century, for all the implements of husbandry are so ignorantly constructed that the works of husbandry are made doubly expensive. But what shall I say to you of the young candidates for orders, who after ten years passed at school and four at the University, offer themselves for ordination, with as little knowledge of their profession, as if they expected a full conveyance of it by the imposition of hands. The only country in Europe that has not a *relative education* is His Majesty's dominions. Here at the age of twenty-one a man has his profession to choose and to learn; he is equally fit for all and for none. The world is all before him where to choose his way. Abroad there are *seminaries* for young

ecclesiastics, particular schools, tutors, and halls, for lawyers and physicians, academies for the military and at Padua there is a professor of botany and agriculture in which he makes annual experiments of various manures, and different sorts of tillage. The parochial clergy abroad, notwithstanding they have no competitors, nor any spurs from a dissenting ministry, are great adepts in all the speculative and technical parts of their profession but here there are many candidates for orders who scarce understand, and many who sign the articles, and subscribe our Canons, without understanding the one, or having ever read the other. But I hope for better times."

1774, July 9. Portman Square.—Lord Townshend to John Hely Hutchinson. Congratulating him on his being appointed Provost of Trinity College.

1774.—John Hely Hutchinson to [the Archbishop of Armagh (?)]. "His Majesty's letter appointing me Provost of Trinity College came over yesterday . . . it is my determined purpose to make the duty of that arduous and important place the principal object of my life." Excusing himself for having become a candidate in succession to the late Provost for the treasurership of Erasmus Smith's Schools in ignorance that his correspondent had said he would accept it. (*Draft.*)

1774, November 10.—Sir John Blaquiere to John Hely Hutchinson. "What would you have from a man who is following business at the cart's tail, or, who to avoid it made a journey upon the gallop of at least 1,500 miles *pour se tranquilliser* and to vegetate upon goats' whey and innocence in the mountains of Switzerland. . . . I cannot have a doubt about your proceedings in the College, or the advantages that establishment must derive from your labours. . . . Let me tell you your Excellency's! appointment was not cordially represented here. The Church meek and humble as we know it were alarmed for the morals as well as the piety of the rising generation."

1775, January 20. Westminster.—Edmund Burke to John Hely Hutchinson.

"I received the printed paper relative to your conduct as provost, sent, I flatter myself, by your directions. I am extremely obliged to you for this fresh mark of your friendly and polite attention, though perhaps nobody wanted it, in this instance, less than I did. I hope I do not too easily give credit to any sort of charge against those who honour me with their friendship. I must have strong proofs indeed, before I condemn them, and as I am not called upon to be their Judge, much less their prosecutor, I do not search for that kind of evidence with any industry, or listen to it with any pleasure. You have given lustre to every situation where you were placed, and I make no doubt, that you would distinguish yourself in that of Provost, by very signal services to the University. I consider the pamphlet I received, not as a vindication of your conduct, which I am sure, with me, it did not want, but as the means of enabling me to enter into the detail of what I had presumed before, in the general idea I had formed of your conduct, from my knowledge of your character. Indeed, I never entertained the least doubt that you would seek and find reputation everywhere. But when you had chosen academic ground, I was greatly apprehensive that your choice would produce far more benefit to the education of youth, than repose and tranquility to your own mind. It seemed to me impossible, that the animosities and emulation which must ever attend the great and conspicuous part you have acted in public life, should not

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follow you into your learned retreat where they would be more permanently felt, and would of course greatly disquiet a man of your tender and exquisite sensibility. None of your friends wished you with more sincerity every object which could contribute to your own real satisfaction. But I could not prevail on myself to wish you joy of your choice of this new way of life. Though highly honourable in itself, I could not consider it as promotion to you, and most certainly I could not congratulate you on what I knew must infallibly bring on you, as it has done, much anxiety and uneasiness. I had always thought that this office is best suited to a man of the ecclesiastical gown, and a mere academic. I am not altered in my opinion by the present exception, for every layman, and every man of business is not an Hutchinson. However since you are in that walk, I sincerely recommend you to proceed in your own great line of public service with less anxiety about vulgar judgments, and do not be ashamed to cultivate yourself Philosophy within those walls where you are to teach it to others, *aeque neglectum pueris senibusque nocebit*. Yesterday we had a great debate in the House of Lords. Lord Chatham made a motion for recalling the troops from Boston. It was done without concert to our friends; and Lord Chatham's friends say without any concert whatsoever. The minority was only eighteen, as no measures had been taken for an attendance. The worst circumstance in the debate was Lord Suffolk's declaration that Ministry had determined against conciliation in the present state of things, and for maintaining the late Act of Parliament with regard to the Colonies. Perhaps it is some, to us unknown, but certain information which inspires the Ministry with its present confidence after so many disappointments."

1775, January 25. Portman Square.—Lord Townshend to John Hely Hutchinson.

"Having this day received from my friend Lees an account of your duel with Mr. Doyle or Doyne, I cannot help congratulating you and your family upon that matter and heartily wish it may prevent any further solicitude on your part for your son and of the worthy Mrs. Hutchinson for her whole family. I had indeed heard of this affair before from His Majesty, who spoke of it to me immediately upon my coming into his closet and with that surprise and concern which was natural to so dignified and humane a mind, at such treatment. A transaction, between a man of your rank, estimation, and time of life, and such a character as Mr. — I forget his name and have not a *Freeman's Journal* by me—I say that even in the Country of patriotic chivalry this transaction must appear outrageous, at least I am sure it can be looked upon by no man here than as a desperate attempt to support the most shameless conduct on the one part, and a generous anticipation of a son's personal hazard on the other. Whose cause was the best, reason and nature will determine. Mankind here having been pretty well informed of the grossness of the abuse which hath been directed against you, and the situation of your son, and moreover being pretty well apprized that amongst other qualifications for public station, the gladiatorial is one of the most essential in your country, are brought to believe that Mr. H—n has met a Mr. D—. I observe some efforts of opposition at Cork. I heartily wish they may be as I suppose with any junction with my friend Lord Shannon ineffectual and frivolous. It gives me great satisfaction, nay the warmest imaginable, to see his lordship and his friends so properly attended to by Government. A firm and intelligible friend is always a great acquisition to Government. He is certainly one of the most powerful interests, both in point of number and

conduct, that the Crown can attach in either Kingdom; much strength and stability to Government may be dated from that period and at this, especially, when one of the most important questions is contended for, that perhaps ever engaged these realms since the Revolution and Hanover Succession. It is such as has made me more than once, especially when I have heard the pitiful orators in the House of Commons, and indeed our own, wish I could import your talents into either, for indeed we want such orators at this important crisis, as can mix sound reason with florid composition, and constitutional Law with theoretical embellishments. In short we have the law of nature and of God set up against the compact by Charters, the letter of the constitution and the precedents of all former times, and a powerful orator has no more to do than to assume the part of a powerful lover. Rhapsody, professions, attitude, extravagance, without plan, contract, title-deeds, or common sense, consistency or good faith, all is to yield to the beautiful enthusiasm or rather delirium he raises. Let me assure however, that, in spite of these new political lights or new livers, we have, unless I am much mistaken, a sturdy administration who will not easily resign the essential constitutional superintendence of the British nation to those who so insolently expect it. The Americans may be reduced to adhere to their own resolves, as well as our restrictive laws in their trade, and the uproar they expect they have raised here equally the same. If we do part with our trade, let Ireland have it first, they best deserve it. And though we get the better, much may be done for you."

1775, May 22.—Thomas Wilson to John Hely Hutchinson. Describing the MSS. of the late Bishop Morris bequeathed to the College Library by the late Doctor Lawson, consisting of nine volumes quarto, one containing a comedy entitled *The Flatterer* and two others two copies of *David*, a Tragedy. In the remaining six the entire Iliad and Odyssey are done into English.

1775, September 1.—General Vallancey to John Hely Hutchinson.

"The great number of youths who enter the army in this kingdom and proceed on service before they have time or opportunity to qualify themselves for the military profession has long caused it to be wished that a proper military Academy was established in this Metropolis. You are daily taking steps to qualify the Students of this University for the various walks of life they are to pursue after having finished their classical studies. As many of these young men enter the military service it appears to me desirable that some establishment was made in the University for the study of the military profession." Pointing out the natural advantages of Dublin for such a purpose, and offering his services if the Provost approves of his proposal.

1775, September 6. Knocklofty.—John Hely Hutchinson to Hon. John Ponsonby.

"I would have supported you in the chair to the utmost of my power against all mankind, but upon your leaving it I was the first man who recommended Mr. Pery one of my oldest friends and nearest neighbours as a proper person to be Speaker. That circumstance, his conduct since his appointment and my declarations of good will for him since that time and long before I had any idea of your wishing for the chair again do not leave me at liberty to assist you in opposition to him." (*Draft*).

1775, September 29. Eton.—Mrs. Davies to Mrs. Hutchinson upon the sudden removal of her son Francis from the school. Dr. Davies hopes that the Provost did not find his son on examination as much

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neglected as he suspected. His sudden and unexpected departure prevented any abuse or neglect being rectified.

1775, September.—Dr. Leland, Fellow of Trinity College, to John Hely Hutchinson. Thanking him on his behalf and Mrs. Leland's for a dispensation permitting him to retain his Fellowship though married.

1775, October 3. Dublin Castle.—Charles Jenkinson to John Hely Hutchinson. Thanking him for the diploma of the degree of LL.D. just conferred by the University on him, and expressing his acknowledgments to Mr. Hutchinson for the many civilities he has received from him and his regret at leaving Ireland.

1775, October 25. London.—The Same to the Same.

"I own I felt concern when I was first informed that you had not given your vote against the amendment that was proposed in your House of Commons on the first day of the Session, as I was apprehensive of the ill use which Faction and Malice would make of such an event. I knew indeed enough of your sentiments to be sure that your conduct on this occasion could not be owing to any opinion you entertained in favour of the American cause, and was disposed therefore to impute it to a circumstance of which I was not then sufficiently informed, though to say the truth I had some suspicion of it. I am happy now to learn from yourself that I was not mistaken in my conjecture, and to be able to remove every improper impression by assigning the true cause in every quarter where it is of any importance. I have done so already, and it gives great pleasure to hear that a gentleman of your abilities and importance is disposed to take an active part in supporting every proper measure which the Government of Ireland shall think fit to take for suppressing the rebellion in America. I agree with you in thinking that no man in his senses can scruple to call it a Rebellion, and if the King's authority is not on this occasion to be supported, there is an end of the British Empire. During a course of two centuries, Great Britain has planted and fought and conquered to no purpose, except for the establishment of a number of little independent States, each of which will be unable to defend itself from the weakest enemy, and cannot in justice claim or expect the protection of Great Britain, while it rejects the only terms which can entitle the one to ask, or the other to give it. . . . Our Parliament meets tomorrow. In both Houses there will probably be long days, warm debates, but very small minorities."

1775, November 11. Trinity College.—John Hely Hutchinson to the Lord Lieutenant. After stating that "your Excellency found me on your coming to this country in possession of great offices under the Crown acquired by long and faithful services to my Sovereign during the whole course of his reign; it is a consolation to me for the very great loss I sustained by giving up those offices, that they were the means of accommodating your Excellency's Administration, and that your Excellency and his Majesty thought me worthy of my present important though most arduous and responsible situation; to which I certainly have not been led by any motive of avarice or ambition. On my appointment to this office, I found the most wicked and dangerous combination formed to oppose me in the performance of my duty; the most virulent libels against me were posted on the gates and read publicly in the Hall of this College; the most malignant arts were incessantly practised to traduce my private and public character; the most infamous falsehoods were daily propagated against me, my wife and children; the peace of a once happy family was destroyed, my son's life and my own were endangered in

consequence of those disturbances; and yet the most violent of my adversaries confessed that they had no objection to me as a man, or to my conduct as Provost, but the avowed reason of their opposition to me was that Government had taken a servant of the Crown out of a ministerial line and put him at the head of this Society; and it was therefore their intention to make the Government of this place impracticable in my hands, and to drive me from the station where his Majesty had placed me; with this view every gentleman in this place who was suspected of the crime of treating the Provost with respect, was libelled and vilified without any regard to truth or decency," he refers to the support he had received from Drs. Leland and Dabzac, and how he had procured dispensations permitting them to retain their Fellowships though married, the rule being laid down that this favour should be extended only to Seniors and not to Juniors. He has heard therefore with the greatest alarm and distress that the Lord Lieutenant is now considering to recommend for similar dispensations four or five of the Juniors without any application from himself. Such a measure would be ruinous to the learning morals and good order of the Society; they depend principally on the care that Fellows take of their pupils, and this requires almost their whole time and attention, and is not compatible with domestic connections and the care of a family. "If Fellows are taught to look up to the head of the College for whatever favours they may expect from the Crown during their continuance here, it will be an useful instrument in the *Government* of a Society difficult to be *governed* at all times, and infinitely more so since the limitation of Parliaments. If Fellows obtain their favours from others, in opposition to the sentiments of the Provost, it will encourage a spirit of electioneering that has already disturbed the tranquillity of a Society which without tranquillity can never flourish, and if marriage dispensations shall be given indiscriminately every Fellow will make haste to marry at the eve of a general election." Objects to the proposal of a general dispensation accompanied by a new Statute strictly enjoining celibacy for the future. If he fails as Provost the kingdom will remember by whom he was placed there. Repudiates the thought of turning the edge of the Statute against any of the gentlemen who were already married. (*Draft.* 15 pages.)

1775, December 11. London.—Charles Jenkinson to John Hely Hutchinson. Had obtained at your request leave of absence for the Rev. Mr. Whitty till next May, that he might give you his vote and interest at the approaching election. Should it not take place before May will apply for further leave for Mr. Whitty. Astonished "that the Government of Ireland have deserted a business which they were engaged to support by every promise and obligation that can be laid on men of honour."

Have just come from the House of Commons where the last bill of importance has been passed by 112 to 16.

1776, March 6.—The Same to the Same. Apologising for having been unable through illness to make him any return during his visit to London for the great favours he had received from him in Dublin. "The executive Government are providing as fast as possible the force that is to be sent to America and Parliament has just voted all the supply that will be wanted, so that nothing remains to be done there except the want of money should require that some new tax should be levied. If this should be thought necessary, the session will be prolonged thereby till after Easter."

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[1776, Spring.]—John Hely Hutchinson to [the Lord Lieutenant]. “During my absence in England a wicked conspiracy was formed against me within these walls.” A scholar who had been deprived for 3 months by the Board in August after acquiescing for 6 months presented a Petition to the Visitors on February 6th. “On the same day a pamphlet was published with caricature prints containing the most infamous falsehoods against me and charging me as a man and as Provost with every crime that malignity could invent, this was sent to the Visitors and I have felt the effects of it in the Proceedings on the Appeal which were of a most extraordinary nature.” Describing the proceedings, objecting that he had been treated not as a judge, a party, or a witness but as a culprit, and pointing out that the Visitors sitting on Appeal from the Board had no power to administer an oath. “Mr. Tisdall who is supposed to have planned the whole proceedings attended during the two days’ hearing.” (*Draft.*)

1776, March 26. London.—Lord Hertford to John Hely Hutchinson. “Lord Donegal has no objection to Mr. Yelverton’s being a candidate for the University of Dublin. Your letter is distinct and leaves no doubt or jealousy upon his Lordship’s mind with respect to his final acceptance of the seat for Carrickfergus which he intends for him.” Will show your last letters and the Abstract of part of the College Statutes “to some of your friends here that they may be better enabled to judge of the violences which have prevailed and are still subsisting in your College.”

1776, May 21.—Charles Jenkinson to John Hely Hutchinson. Congratulating him notwithstanding all the efforts against his interest on his son’s return for the University at the head of the Poll. As the contest is over in a manner so honourable to the Provost, hoping that he and the gentlemen of the College will now be allowed to enjoy a little tranquillity. Will convey the news of Mr. Malone’s death where you wish it to be known, and that an opportunity thereby offers of complying with the request you made when in England, fearing however it will not have the desired effect. “The Order for carrying a measure of this sort into execution must pass through a channel, which I fear is very adverse to your pretensions.” Otherwise “I would very gladly speak to Lord Weymouth in your favour, but I am confident from what I know already that I should not only fail of success, but that your adversaries would be thereby apprised of your object, and have it more in their power to obstruct it.” I do not doubt that in the end you will obtain the rank you desire when the anger that subsists at present is a little subsided. No one yet named to succeed Lord Harcourt; I believe that Lord North wishes he could be prevailed to stay a little longer.

1776, June 10. Jermyn Street.—General Sir John Irvine to John Hely Hutchinson. Am greatly concerned at your having nearly failed at your election in Cork. Cannot understand the policy of Government in not protecting and assisting its principal servants and supporters. “I congratulate you on the good news which came this morning from Quebec; the siege of that town was raised on the 6th of May. The rebels were to be attacked by 1,200 men (they being above 3,000) but they chose to retreat leaving 20 pieces of cannon, their petards, scaling ladders, and everything behind them. They have evacuated Montreal, and they say will make their stand at Ticonderoga. General Burgoyne was in the river St. Lawrence with his army and very near Quebec on the 17th ult.”

1776, June 17. London.—James Benson to John Hely Hutchinson. Dined the day before at Mistley, where was Lord Weymouth and a good deal of company. From what I heard I apprehend that no successor was yet fixed for Lord Harcourt. I think it not unlikely that the old method of government by Lords Justices may be resumed, but not immediately. Lord Rochford would go if he might be at liberty to return in the old fashioned way. I urge you to come over as at St. James' there seemed to be a good deal of difference in opinion about Irish Politics. The very long list of intended Peers not relished.

1776, September 1. — William Wyndham Grenville to [Francis] Hely Hutchinson. "You are a very shabby fellow (as we used to say at Eton) and a great blackguard and you bully me because you know you may (my friendship being unmoveable) you don't dare fight your match no more you do, but you know that I can't help myself. So much for joke, but in earnest you ought to have some compassion on the Irish Sea which I execrate continually as till I hear from you I am resolved to believe that all your letters are drowned in their passage. It is a long time to talk of, but I don't despair of seeing you this time twelvemonth in Ireland, as you won't let me do it in England. I do not know but that all the time you may have forgotten me, if so I can only say that I cannot return it, as your agreeable company &c. &c. &c. will still press on my mind and make me wish that I could once more see you and *longos fando consumere soles*. This is not the language of compliment, but that of an heart sincerely devoted to your service.

"This is written on the day of slaughter *Cal. Mens. Cruent.* or the bloody month in English Sept^r the 1st 1776."

1776, December 5. Trinity College, Dublin.—John Hely Hutchinson to the Earl of Buckinghamshire. Congratulating him on his appointment and promising that he and his friends will do everything in his power that may contribute to the honour and success of his administration. (*Draft.*)

1776, December 12. — Earl of Buckinghamshire to John Hely Hutchinson. Reply to the last. Acknowledging his congratulations and thanking him for the assurances of that support which must be essential to the Government of Ireland.

Same date. Brussels.—Frederic Harvey, Bishop of Derry, to John Hely Hutchinson.

"My disappointment with the College is more than compensated by the obliging testimony you have given of your friendship to me and which though not quite so profitable to my building, is much more honourable to the builder. Lord Abercorn and Lord Donegal, the other two large patrons in my diocese, have not proved quite as obdurate as your collegiate Hydra; the one has contributed 100*l.* the other one hundred guineas, without expressing the least reluctance to co-operate in patronizing the infant arts in our Hibernian Scythia. Fortunately for my spire, they did not think themselves restrained either by marriage settlements, or by family entails, from disposing of their revenue for public purposes equally honourable to themselves and profitable to the country."

1777, February 6.—Duke of Chandos to John Hely Hutchinson. Desiring his assistance in the approaching trial of his cause. Will be content with such attendance as his health permits.

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1777, May 16.—Lord Hertford to John Hely Hutchinson. To obtain a *Nolle prosequi* is out of my power. The ministers or the Lord Lieutenant are the persons from whom such an application must come to give it weight with the Crown.

1777, July 3. Nuneham.—Lord Harecourt to John Hely Hutchinson. Regretting to hear “that the unfortunate affair that has already given you great uneasiness still continues to be pursued with so much warmth and animosity after the offers that have been made to give every reasonable satisfaction to the offended party.” Cannot presume to say how far it may in the power of Government to interpose. My present situation puts it out of my power to do you any substantial service, but I express my disapprobation of “the unrelenting perseverance that has appeared in the prosecution of the awkward business, which seems to indicate a design of carrying matters to much greater lengths than some people may yet be willing to own.”

1777, July 25. Trinity College.—John Hely Hutchinson to Welbore Ellis. Am not surprised at the failure of my request for a *Nolle Prosequi*. “It is a savage war that is waged against me; it is fortunate for me that I live in a country where the Stiletto is not used. One Duigenan Mr. Tisdall’s friend has published against me and the majority of the Senior Fellows a pamphlet with his name prefixed,” which I request you to read. “Its virulence shows the spirit of the party from which it moves; and yet three Fellows were found at our Board who refused to concur in a resolution to prosecute the author.” “This infamous production has raised a general revolution here, it shows the friction and discord which has arisen from the appointment of a Provost who is not a Fellow and the necessity of repressing this opposition to the royal authority.” I enclose a copy of a paper sent to the Lord Lieutenant enclosing some regulations made since my appointment, by which it will appear I have at least endeavoured to do my duty. “These conflicts of Mr. T[isdall’s] own raising have seriously affected his health, and his friends begin to talk with more moderation, but I have no doubt of his going all possible lengths.” I earnestly request protection after the trial in any attempts that may be made to carry their persecution beyond the legal limitation, and I enclose the statute on which Mr. T[isdall] has founded his threats of a complaint to the Visitors and some observations on it. “The Attorney General does not nominally prosecute; it is in the name of the Master of the Crown Office.” (*Copy*.)

1777, September 5. London.—Lord Hertford to John Hely Hutchinson. Declining the proposal “to put me at the head of a seminary of learning which you are improving by attention and great capacity.” Am sorry to hear that you are still so persecuted.

1777, September 26. Kilkenny.—Rev. John Forsayeth, Fellow of Trinity College, to John Hely Hutchinson.

“Last night’s post brought us an account of the Attorney [General Tisdall’s] death on the 11th instant at Spa. . . . I congratulate you on your new accession of rank and fortune [as Secretary of State] and on what is infinitely more valuable, the prospect you now have of enjoying them in peace and tranquillity. I hope that there will no longer be any reason for Mrs. Hutchinson’s thinking of Bristol or any other place than Kneeklofty or Palmerston. I have had too much to feel for her and well know that there are cases no skill of a Physician can reach.

Providence has been pleased to remove the grand cause of her indisposition."

[1777 or 8.]—"Observations on a Pamphlet entitled '*Lachrimæ Academiæ*,' " which was by Dr. Duigenan and contained a violent attack on the Provost John Hely Hutchinson, for which a criminal information was then pending. The MS. was revised and corrected by the Provost himself.

1778, March 23.—Welbore Ellis to John Hely Hutchinson. After referring to the extraordinary persecution Hutchinson has undergone, "The late extraordinary notification of the French Ambassadors will have been, I suppose, communicated to the Parliament of Ireland before this will reach your hands. The secret had been well kept in France, and the declaration seems to have been timed so as to affect the payment of the subscription on the Loan, but it failed of that effect, for though it produced some agitation the deposit however was made. The new levies are very near complete and the recruiting for the augmented establishment of the old Corps have been so successful, that we have now above 19,000 Rank and File exclusive of the new Corps and exclusive of Invalids, which with the new Corps will form an army of above 30,000 men. The Militia is to be called out, so that in a short time we shall be in a state of defence and able to afford protection to Ireland, if the storm should point that way. France is going to form an army of observation on the Rhine, the war between Prussia and Austria being now certain, as the Court of Vienna is determined to support her late treaty with the Palatine."

1778, July 9. London.—Sir W. Chambers to John Hely Hutchinson. Declining to undertake the work which the Provost and Seniors of Trinity College had requested him to undertake, as the incorrect and insufficient measurements sent him from time to time made it impossible for him to work with any precision, and the delays in sending even these prevented him from employing the few hours of leisure he had upon the business and now the works of the Crown leave him not a moment, so that he cannot possibly find time to do the designs required.

1778, October 12. Tunbridge Wells.—Alexander Wedderburn to John Hely Hutchinson. Am persuaded that "it must be the inclination of Government to quiet those disturbances that had unfortunately arisen between the late Mr. Tisdall and him. It is so obviously the part of Government to endeavour to secure the repose so necessary to your station and character, that if I had the honour (which has not fallen to my lot) of corresponding with the Lord Lieutenant or his secretary I am sure I could use no topic that must not have occurred to them." I suggest that without their interference the matter might be very easily settled by an application to the Attorney General for a *Nolle prosequi*. Have never known any direction given by Government on such an occasion, and should not be very well satisfied to receive one, nor rely on it for justification. In a case like Hutchinson's should think myself bound to stop the prosecution, unless I chose to take it upon myself. There is no middle course, for I would never allow it to be carried on by a third party after the death of the person on whose behalf the information was granted. The nature of the prosecution makes it unfit for the Attorney General to adopt it, and I can see no alternative between that and putting a stop to it. I agree that the Court which granted the information has no power to reverse its own act, but I think

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that by giving time to plead, and adjourning the business till an application could be made to the Attorney General, it might declare that the business should proceed no further. As to the other prosecutions now depending "against your adversary" cannot discover any ground for entering a *Nolle Prosequi*. Not much force in the argument that because a man is not allowed to prosecute for an offence supposed to be done to another, he should not therefore be prosecuted for an offence committed by himself. Rejecting the application to the Attorney General, I advise it should be directed "to you and that you should make it your own act." By all I have heard of the Irish Attorney General no man is more likely to sustain the credit of his office.

1778, November 29. Trinity College. — John Hely Hutchinson to the Earl of Buckinghamshire. "From the obliging stile of your Excellency's letter, from the promise of Sir John Heron that his Majesty should be acquainted with the constant support I had given to the measures of Government during the last session and from your Excellency's kind acceptance of my services at the conclusion of it I must flatter myself that I have not through any fault of mine been deprived of the favour which I have had the honour of receiving from your Excellency." Unconnected with any party in many different administrations and in many difficult conjunctures I have always steadily and uniformly supported the measures of the Government, and I hope therefore that the countenance and support of Government will not be withdrawn from an old and faithful servant of the King. (*Copy*.)

1778, December 11. London. — Lord Hertford to John Hely Hutchinson. Had inquired yesterday about what would probably be done about the Archbishopric of Dublin. "My intelligence of the prospect of an early vacancy was no news, for I was told by a person well acquainted that the event was announced in form and the succession to the see strongly and positively recommended by Lord Buckingham. . . . Lord North's wishes, I have reason to know, do not correspond with Lord Buckingham's recommendation in this instance. It will however I think take place; Lord North is too much used to give way under these circumstances, and Dr. Fowler will, I suppose, succeed. He was a tutor to the present Mr. Brand, and seemed to have as little interest as any man on the Bench; his removal to Ireland was for the sake of serving Dr. Young with the English preferment he then held in the Church of Westminster. The cause of Lord Buckingham's recommendation is supposed here to be the patronage of Lord George Germaine to whom Lord Buckingham is thought to owe the power of making it as Lord Lieutenant. . . . If you please to send over two copies of the work and refutation you propose to publish to myself and to Mr. Walpole, we will take care to put them into the hands where you wish them to go. . . . A strange political event has happened here within these few days; Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser has carried to the Admiralty a formal charge against Admiral Keppel for not having done his duty in the late affair between our fleet and that of France in the bay. It consists of several articles, and some of them I understand are of a capital nature."

1779, February 1. Mount Rivers. — Matthias Hendley to John Hely Hutchinson. Always heard from my mother and yours that they were descended from the Sackville family, our great grandfather Matthias Earbery being married in England to the Lady Rebecca Sackville of the Duke of Dorset's House . . . "your mother and mine, being granddaughters to Lady Rebecca."

1779, February 19.—Charles Agar, Bishop of Cloyne, to John Hely Hutchinson. Praising the Classical Examination lately instituted at the University, and suggesting that no person be allowed to enter under sixteen, he had almost said seventeen, which would oblige them to remain at school till they attained such knowledge of the Greek and Latin Classics as would leave their tutors nothing more to do than to correct and improve their taste.

On enquiry you will find that boys generally remain at Westminster, Eton and Winchester till seventeen. One thing more seems wanting to make Irish education as perfect as you wish, the neglect of both Prose and Verse Composition in schools. The only mode of correcting this is by placing at the head of one or two Irish schools men who have been educated at one of the great English schools and who are of approved taste in classical learning.

1779, July 14. Gatton Park.—William Mayne, Lord Newhaven, to John Hely Hutchinson. Am glad you have given your sentiments at large to Government on the unhappy state of Ireland. "We agree perfectly that anything short of taking off all restraints on our commerce will but patch up a sore that will be always ailing. I understand your opinions at large are now before his Majesty. . . . When they have had his perusal they will remain with ministers to be garbled just as may suit their purpose, and in that mangled state will meet our deliberations next sessions." Therefore I wish to know as much of them as you think proper in order to be prepared to do you justice should anything be misstated or misapplied. "We are all preparing here to meet an invasion from France, but we are in greater danger from the disunion of our Councils than that. You see a little variation in the Admiralty &c., but a much greater arrangement was to have been made at the same time, but that is reserved for the Dog days. It was to have consisted of Chief Justice De Grey, Wedderburn, and Norton going to the Upper House, Cornwall to the Chair, Lord Carlisle to Lord Talbot's place, and Lord Hillsborough to be Secretary of State, thus are we scrambling for honours and emoluments at the moment the State is sinking."

1779, August 19. Knocklofty.—John Hely Hutchinson to the Bishop of Cloyne.

"The enclosed paragraph inserted in the *Hibernian Journal* of the 17th will shew your Lordship what incessant pains are taken to keep up a factious spirit in our college, and upon what presumption it is that those pains are taken. The visitant of the Duke of Gloucester is one of the lowest of the profession of the law, and is now under a prosecution for a libel, which in Westminster Hall would doubtless end in the pillory. The moment the information was granted against him he declared his intention of waiting upon his Royal Highness. His intention is to prefer a new libel against me. I hope his Royal Highness will think it just to let me have a copy of any paper which this fellow shall present relative to me, to enable me to prosecute him in Westminster Hall, for the visitors, as he well knows, have no jurisdiction over him for such offences. I should be much obliged to your Lordship if you could obtain that favour for me. His pretence is to make a representation of the state of the College, but his real intention to endeavour to shield himself from a prosecution and information granted by the King's Bench against him, and to make an impression to my prejudice. His Royal Highness has no original jurisdiction when absent from Ireland, but has the power only of approving or

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disapproving. Your Lordship's kind interference with Mr. Salter (?) is a great favour to me, as I have reason to apprehend that some ill offices have been done me with His Royal Highness. The appeal at the end of two years and four months remains undetermined, and the present doubt whether the Chancellor is to be resorted to in appeals for his approbation or not, makes it uncertain in what hands the power of appeal is finally lodged, and consequently the Provost and the Board know not what decree they are to obey and yet must obey at their peril. Nothing has mortified me so much, in all the illtreatment that I have received since I have the misfortune to be at the head of a college, as the having anything to do with such a man as D[ui]genan]. If his character was as well known in England as it is in this Kingdom, I should not be apprehensive of his malignity. A full republication of his libels was ready for the press, and is now before the Archbishop of Dublin, but the printing was prevented by Mr. Radcliffe, one of the College Counsel, who thought our appeal to the public might prevent the Court of King's Bench from granting [an information]. I am very desirous to lay the answer before His Royal Highness, but I cannot take so much liberty without having his permission. Will your Lordship do me the favour to mention to Mr. Ellis a word or two upon a subject in which he has been so good heretofore to give me his protection. The Court of King's Bench seemed disposed not to allow Duigenan to carry on the late Attorney General's informations against me. Mr. Dunning has given his opinion that they ought not; he and Mr. Wallace in the strongest terms declared their opinions that the Attorney General ought to enter a *nolle prosequi*, because the prosecution appears now to be malicious, and of this opinion are our Attorney and Chancellor; but I have some reason to believe that Government would be disposed to grant a *nolle prosequi* at the same time on the informations against Duigenan; a strange way this of supporting an old servant of the Crown, and the head of a University, especially as Sir Richard Heron has lately assured me that his Excellency would inform Lord Weymouth, by a letter to be laid before His Majesty, that my sons and I had uniformly supported His Majesty's Government during the session, for which his Excellency returned me thanks at the close of it." (*Draft.*)

1779, September 8. Kilkenny.—William Newcome, Bishop of Ossory, to John Hely Hutchinson.

"I am well informed that the Bishop of Waterford's life is despaired of by his physicians; and this day I have taken the liberty to solicit my Lord Lieutenant by letter that I may be appointed to that see. It is true that there are some great objections to this preferment; as it is a double see the expense of admission will be above 400*l.*, and there is a burthen on the house of about 2,200*l.* to be paid in two years. The situation is likewise uncomfortable, and the patronage slender. But it would enable me in time to make a moderate provision for a large family, which hitherto I have been totally unable to do. I therefore overlook the circumstance of changing a pleasant situation for an unpleasant one, and wish to be a little richer, though at the expense of convenience and happiness. The Bishop of Elphin during an incumbency of 10 years, received on an average 2,200*l.* a year from this See, exclusive of the house and demesne, moderately valued at 200*l.* a year more. Mr. Mason can vouch for this valuation. But his Lordship justifying it to his own mind, by principles inadmissible in the judgment of every generous man with whom I have conversed, to receive 2,500*l.* in fines at leaving this place, a fortnight after his name was

in the Gazette, and with very considerable abatements of what he had before demanded, the value of the See has of course fallen short to me, and the yearly receipt of it has not exceeded 2,000*l*. I need not mention to you its desirableness in every circumstance but that of income." I request you to use your influence in my favour.

Postscript.—"The Bishop of Dromore assured me last Session of Parliament, that he would not accept of Waterford, so that Dr. Hotham, and whoever is to be the next Bishop, can I think, be my only opponents. Now I have been fourteen years on the bench, in the two lowest Sees; accepted of this See at Lord Harcourt's desire, after having refused it for three days; supported an interest in this borough at a great expense, for a year before the last General Election; absolutely preserved the borough by making forty new freemen in the midst of the greatest obloquy and newspaper abuse (for our majority on the poll was only 19), and returned two members recommended by Government, after a well-contested opposition, headed by Mr. Ponsonby, in favour of Mr. Mossom, a popular candidate, and a native of this place."

1779, December 2.—Welbore Ellis to John Hely Hutchinson. Thanking him for his three letters describing the state of affairs in Ireland. They and those of many others represent a sad scene but not altogether unexpected, very alarming but not surprising. Am surprised a little at one thing in the first letter, "That the Speaker refused to put the previous question which a friend of yours, Mr. Mason, had proposed, but was obliged to withdraw." Do not know how the Speaker could refuse to put it, if insisted on, if withdrawn there was an end of it. . . . "It seems to me scarce a matter of doubt whether Mr. Grattan's resolution that it was inexpedient to grant new taxes which was agreed to by the House will not put it out of the power of the House in *this session* to grant any new tax, though Great Britain should gratify all your present wishes." Do not pretend to be so wise as to see my way clearly out of all this confusion, and doubt whether some of those who have promoted and some who have connived at it may not be in the same situation. I feel and lament all this most sincerely, but am not sufficiently informed to form a correct judgment either on men or things. I verily believe "that there is a sincere desire to concur here as far as *ought* to content Ireland, but who is so great or so wise as to be able to say what *will* content Ireland in her present disposition and circumstances. Let the men of families and property reflect before it be too late on the consequences of a rupture."

1779, December 16.—The Same to the Same.

"I have the satisfaction to congratulate with you upon the three propositions which Lord North moved in the Committee which were received with a general assent, and an acquiescence declared on the part of opposition, without approbation or condemnation. The first is to repeal all the Acts and parts of Acts which prohibit, or lay any restraints on the exportation of any woollen manufactures of Ireland from thence to any part of the world except to Great Britain. The second is to repeal the Act prohibiting the exportation of glass manufactured in Ireland, and the third is to allow Ireland to import directly any of the goods and produce of the English Colonies and plantations in America under the same restrictions, regulations, and duties as they are imported into Great Britain. This last you see is conditional if the Irish Parliament shall impose the like duties and enact the like regulations. The two first propositions he intends to put into one bill, and

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endeavour to have that passed with all convenient speed. The third will require more time as it is more complex, and possibly may require some conference with some men of business from your side of the water to settle with correctness. It seems to me that these concessions ought to satisfy Ireland; they certainly exceed what I have understood the wishes of Ireland to have been some short time past from some who were warm friends of the Trade of Ireland. If these concessions made with so much good humour on this side are not received with as much good humour on the other, and if they do not produce the most serious exertions on the part of all the principal persons of property in Ireland, to restore order and the usual regular subordination to Government, it will evidently show that the cry for trade was but a pretence, and that mischief was designed from the beginning. This I cannot believe, that men of considerable property, and who have children, can wish or intend confusion. If any are uneasy at the lengths which have been run, and see how near we have got to the precipice, [they] will, I should hope, seize with pleasure this opportunity of disentangling themselves with honour from engagements which might have hurried them further than they intended. I find that our countrymen here are well pleased. I hope that they will communicate their good humour, and I already see, or think I see, disappointment in the countenances of those who I believed wished the continuation of ill-humour in Ireland. I have reason to believe that neither Bristol, Liverpool, or Scotland will give any opposition to these Bills; however there are some busy spirits at work to try to raise some ferment.

"We have more than once seen Oppositions come over to Government; it was reserved to these days to see the experiment tried of a Government going over to Opposition which, as you justly observe, has been the case in Ireland, but I do not think that the good effects of that experiment will induce any one to repeat it.

"Poor Sir Richard [Heron], it is said, struggles hard to get out of the harness; some think that it had been better for him and his chief if he had never been put into it."

1779, December 18.—John Hely Hutchinson to his Constituents of Cork.

"It gives me the greatest pleasure to inform you of the important news which has arrived this day; that Lord North's propositions in favour of this Kingdom have received the approbation of the British House of Commons, without one dissentient voice. Those resolutions, when passed into law, will give this Kingdom the free exportation of all its manufactures (if anyone will then continue under restraint it has escaped my observation) and the direct importation of all produce and manufactures from the British Colonies in America, and in the West Indies, and the British Settlement on the Coast of Africa with the same freedom and to the same extent that Great Britain enjoys it, and also the exportation of every article of manufacture to those countries. When it is considered what vast expenses Great Britain is subject to, in paying and supplying troops in those parts of the Empire, and in the fleets which she employs for the preservation of commerce with those countries and that the full advantage is proposed to be given to Ireland, without bearing any part of those great burthens, there is no man who must not acknowledge the high value of the obligation. By letters from England from persons in great station there, I have the best reason to believe that everything in favour of the commerce of this country is intended to be granted in the most generous and honourable manner. The consequences to the whole kingdom, and to the city of Cork

in particular, will be in time, invaluable; those who had spirit to complain of the injuries offered to our trade and manufactures will be the foremost, I doubt not, to acknowledge and applaud, when they shall find that ample redress has been given. Be assured, this is the language of my heart; though not having the honour of being connected with any of His Majesty's Ministers, I must do them justice, and therefore must say that we are highly indebted to them for carrying into execution the gracious purposes of our Sovereign for the prosperity of this kingdom, particularly to our present Chief Governor, to whose representations of the state and circumstances of this Country I have the strongest reason to believe, the present great prospects now opening to our view, are in a great measure to be ascribed.

"I know not what can be reasonably asked for the encouragement of the commerce and manufactures of Ireland that is not now in a course of being obtained." (*Draft.*)

1779, December 29.—Lord Hertford to John Hely Hutchinson. Acknowledging his letter with copies of the last letter and of the resolutions of the House of Commons. I rejoice in the unanimity or spirit of the Irish Parliament, believing they were necessary to prevent the people at large from taking the law into their own hands. Here "we have done all we can to relieve Ireland and we have overcome prejudices of such long standing and such deep root that I am surprised at our success. Sir R. Walpole would have been stoned for naming what we have carried without a dissentient voice in either house, I do not say, a dissentient heart, but the circumstances were favourable, Ireland has many friends, the opportunity was well taken and well supported, and you cannot have a better proof of the sincerity of our Leaders than the Bill we have passed unanimously to give you a free and equal trade in wool and glass, for which the King went in person to the House, as he told me, to show regard to his Irish subjects."

1780, January 4. Welbore Ellis to John Hely Hutchinson. "We begin the year with better omens in all parts, but in no part do I feel the alteration more sensibly than I do that in our country, and am therefore most anxious that it might be improved to the best advantage. I see an active and mischievous spirit at work; and I cannot repose in confidence upon the present appearance of a calm." I congratulate you on resuming your proper position, that of leading and not being led by the City of Cork.

1780, January 22. London.—Lord Hertford to John Hely Hutchinson.

Acknowledging his attention in sending him "one of the very best pamphlets I ever read," asking why the author's name is to be concealed, and praising the knowledge, judgment, and affection for both kingdoms it shows . . . "Our great men here are very apprehensive that difficulties of a most serious and alarming nature may still arise between the two kingdoms. From what they read in print they argue that though they have done, and are doing everything they can to promote the commercial benefits of Ireland, yet they fear from thence that questions of such a nature may be brought into Parliament and such resolutions taken in regard to Constitutional points as may unhinge the whole and divide the interests of the two kingdoms."

1780, February 5.—Charles Jenkinson to John Hely Hutchinson. Am always glad to be of use to any of your family, and Captain Hutchinson's standing fairly entitles him to the favour asked, but there is no present

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intention of raising any more new corps in Great Britain. I feel great satisfaction that "the measures we had taken in favour of Ireland were so universally approved by the Parliament and people. We are proceeding to perfect the work. Some things that were said on your side the water have contributed, I believe, to shut up the mouths of opposition on this subject, so that we meet with no trouble in Parliament, and our traders and manufacturers act on this occasion a liberal and handsome part by not showing the least dissatisfaction."

1780, May 16. London.—Lord Hertford to John Hely Hutchinson. Cannot see any great benefit from the delay of the Mutiny Bill. "It seems to be rather loading the English Ministers without relieving the Irish ones. The bill seems to have had the countenance of all the leading men in the House of Commons who spoke, and therefore its passage through it is not to be doubted. The measure has been long talked of and much apprehended by the English Ministers; therefore new instructions seemed unnecessary." Cannot say what the fate of the Bill will be when it comes to England. "Great complaint is privately offered to us who are connected with that country about it; my private wishes are that the Bill may be a transcript of the English Act and that there may either be no preamble or such a one as will not meet with objection here. The kingdoms may yet both be happy and great if they continue in union, but if they divide they will probably be both undone. England is not likely ever to assert or assume the title of binding Ireland by the Acts of her own Parliament, and yet a relinquishment of the claim will I am perfectly persuaded not be obtained even at this moment of its difficulties and weakness."

1780, May 26. London.—The Same to the Same. Acknowledging his distinct and exact account of what passed in the Irish House of Commons with regard to the duties to be imposed on refined sugars imported from England, and asking him to excuse his having laid it before Lord North, as he could not see a state of the matter better or more judiciously drawn, and fearing the matter is a difficult and delicate one to settle between the two kingdoms, as according to his information it does not appear here in the same light as in Ireland. "Whether upon reconsideration and from the unwillingness of refusing any thing to Ireland that can promote her commercial interests any change of sentiment may be adopted I cannot say, but at present, I believe, the ministers do not think they should be safe in adopting the measure with such high duties. It has been said 'Lay it before Parliament' but I hope no such idea will be seriously entertained. The Parliaments of the two kingdoms upon seeing the matter in a different light might make the difficulty still greater and more serious, and as an experiment is to be tried temper, moderation, and good intentions on both sides may at last hit on some medium which may be amicably received. In the meantime I am grieved to see new difficulties arising and to be apprehended every day. The two kingdoms cannot subsist in a state of prosperity without each other, the difficulties of adjusting all their interests will I see be very great. I therefore as an individual concerned in and for both will confess that I wish an Union between them could be made."

1780, June 12. London.—The Same to the Same.

"I have been honoured with your letter upon the three great points most immediately in view between Ireland and this kingdom and I have laid it before Lord North presuming you would not disapprove it, as it may contribute to the general good and benefit of both, by informing his lordship and the other members of English Administration with

the state and circumstance of the different matters in agitation. Your two former letters upon the Sugars and the Mutiny Bill were well received. The latter I believe contributed more to give satisfaction upon the subject than any information which had been laid before them. I was likewise particularly pleased with the power you had given me of stating your sentiments and conduct in a just light, because through ignorance and ill-intention you had been reproached here as having taken a very different line. I do not mean by Government or by Ministers, but by common report and in common conversation and communicated to me as matter of surprise. The observations you have sent me upon the Mutiny Bill flatter me particularly, as they prove that the idea which at first occurred to me upon the occasion from common sense, and in common prudence, is fully justified by acts of the Irish Legislature by precedents and by practice. We have had, as you will have seen from the common prints, a most melancholy, a most dangerous, and a most disgraceful scene exhibited in this town. Popery and religion were said to be the cause, and I suppose they might be the motive, with which the people were misled, but I cannot help suspecting that it has a political foundation, and has been supported and encouraged by foreign enemies. Peace and tranquillity are at present restored by the vigour of the measures taken, and the universal opinion of that necessity. Lord George Gordon, the principal mover, is in the Tower, and many persons concerned taken into custody. The Commission to try the latter is, I hear, to issue this week; the trial for the former must I suppose wait the meeting of the Commons as he is a member of that House. Two popish chapels have been destroyed at the Bath, but all is again quiet there, and we hear of no disturbance elsewhere."

1780, July 13.—Lord Hillsborough to John Hely Hutchinson. Informing him that his son Mr. Hely Hutchinson delivered to him his freedom of the City of Cork in a very elegant Gold Box that morning, and thanking him for his share in obtaining it for him.

1780, July 20. Palmerston.—John Hely Hutchinson to Lord Hillsborough. Reply to the last. (*Copy.*)

1780, August 20.—John Hely Hutchinson to Lord Hertford. "The affairs of this Country are in a very critical situation and ought to be laid open to its real friends." I forward a newspaper with some paragraphs marked "plainly calculated to disturb the minds of the people, and two of those paragraphs expressly inviting them to a rising. The time of meeting being in the evening is very improper for assembling a great concourse of people, many of whom will be inflamed by misrepresentation, and many probably intoxicated by liquor. Allow me to say the reins of Government in this country require a steady hand." I apologise for troubling you "with a paper in which there is anything of mine inserted. It contains an imperfect and incorrect account of an attempt to promote his Majesty's service on an occasion of some importance and hazard, though without any application to me from the Administration of the Country." (*Copy.*)

1780, August 29. Thames Ditton.—Lord Hertford to John Hely Hutchinson. Acknowledging his account of the resolution of the Irish House of Commons to prosecute the author and publisher of the advertisement sent in a former letter. If they had not "I should have concluded that they had lost all dignity or respect for their own

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influence. The advertisement is an appeal to the new military forces to annihilate the present constitution and to take the government of the kingdom into their own hands."

1780, September 5.—John Hely Hutchinson to Lord North. After apologising for troubling him in a personal matter. . . .

"Lord Buckinghamshire has since the rising of Parliament expressed great hostility against me. I am not conscious of having deserved His Excellency's displeasure. Representing a trading city, I concurred with most of His Excellency's friends in voting against his Secretary on some questions calculated to obtain commercial advantages for this Kingdom; the consequences have been honourable to His Majesty's Government and highly advantageous to both Kingdoms. After the magistrates of Ireland had refused to execute the British Military Act, I thought in common with many of His Excellency's particular friends, and with all the principal men of this country, that an Irish Act was necessary for His Majesty's Army in Ireland, and for the preservation of the public tranquillity; some amendments proposed by me in the House of Commons made the Bill less exceptionable; and my support of the perpetual Act proved the principles upon which I had acted. In all other matters I supported His Excellency's Administration against the proposed alteration of Poyning's Act and the declaratory resolutions. In fact, before the last Session I never divided from His Excellency's Secretary, and repeatedly received in both Sessions His Excellency's thanks for my conduct. The avowed cause of his displeasure is my having left town before the rising of Parliament on the 2nd of September. I did not set out till the 26th of August, and had previously communicated my intentions to Sir Richard Heron, and desired to know whether any more business remained to be done in the House of Commons, which he answered in the negative. If he had expressed any wish for my continuing longer in town, I should certainly have remained till the rising of Parliament, though I was called to the country by public as well as private business. It was known the address would have been unanimous, the principal opposing members having seceded, and I assisted at the last act of business, which was the preparing resolutions against the improper publications on the subject of the Sugar and Mutiny Bills. Those resolutions I had the good fortune to settle to the satisfaction of His Excellency and of a large meeting of Lords and Commons, at the Castle on the 21st of August, and afterwards assisted in carrying them through the House of Commons. I may venture to say that no man in this Kingdom has given stronger proofs of attachment to His Majesty's service than myself, and if in the performance of my duty I was obliged to oppose a great nobleman, [the Duke of Leinster] with whom his Excellency is principally connected in this country, and who made it a point to exclude me from His Excellency's councils, it would be a hard lot if a resentment which I had earned in His Majesty's service, should operate to deprive me of His Majesty's favour." (*Draft.*)

Same date. — The Same to Lord Hertford. On the same subject and of the same purport. Observing "In respect of office his resentment can do me no injury but as to a provision for my family of 1,000*l.* yearly, which I hold determinable at His Majesty's pleasure, and which in the grant of it is mentioned to be made in consideration of surrendering a term for years in the office of Albager, now one of the first offices in this country, and a little place which my son possesses, and which was given to him to induce me to surrender the principal Secretaryship." (*Draft.*)

1780, September 6 and 7.—The Same to Welbore Ellis and Charles Jenkinson. On the same subject and of the same purport. (*Drafts.*) [There is also a recent copy of a letter to Lord Hillsborough on the same subject, the original of which is now missing.]

1780, September. Cork.—The Same to Lord Hillsborough [a second letter].

“The difficulties of the last session arose from the want of conduct immediately after the perplexities of the first day. I earnestly recommended to Lord Buckinghamshire that some administration should be formed and proposed to take any rank in it that he thought proper, and in the Christmas recess, when questions of magnitude were expected to be agitated at our next meeting, I repeated the same offer by Mr. Connolly, but received at both times an ambiguous answer. I was frequently omitted at the meetings of the King’s servants but bore no resentment, and attended whenever” I was summoned. Considered “this neglect as the act of the Secretary, and determined that no animosity of his should prevent me from doing my duty as one of the King’s servants whenever he allowed me the opportunity. My situation is singular; since the close of the session I have been the object of the most virulent libels for my conduct in support of Government, and Sir Richard Heron himself informed me that the late violent threats published in our prints by some of the volunteer scribes were particularly levelled against me. . . . The citizens of Cork are, as they certainly ought to be, thoroughly contented and highly sensible of the advantages and favours they have obtained, and consider all ideas of non-importation agreements as impolitic, selfish and ungrateful.” (*Draft or copy.*)

1780, September 19. Addiscombe Place.—Charles Jenkinson to John Hely Hutchinson. Have no reason to suppose that any information to your disadvantage has been transmitted, and will do all in my power to remove any ill impression that may be attempted.

1780, [September 26]. Paultons, near Romsey, Hampshire.—Welbore Ellis to John Hely Hutchinson. Have received your reasons for such part of your political conduct as you conceived the Lord Lieutenant to have been displeased with. I assure you that, as you wish, I will mention these reasons when it may be proper and of use, but shall probably remain where I write from till the next Session. Therefore I advise you to come and tell your own story, for there were more persons than the Lord Lieutenant who did not understand and therefore were not satisfied with some parts of it. Lord B[uckingha]m’s being displeased will furnish a very sufficient handle to enter as deeply into the matter as you think fit. The Archbishop [of Cashel] is now here with his lady.

1780, October 10.—John Hely Hutchinson to Welbore Ellis. After acknowledging his letter of September 26, and observing that allowances should be made for the extraordinary difficulties of the times and the particular embarrassments of his situation—

“Administration thought it necessary to yield in some several instances; the free trade and the votes against new taxes, for a Mutiny Bill and for recommitting the Sugar Bill, in all of which I concurred, were concessions made in the House by Lord Buckinghamshire’s minister, Mr. Foster, and the short Money Bill was his Excellency’s own. Shewing more regard in the duration of the Bill to the public creditors than to the support of Government, appeared to me to be a distinction useless to the creditors, and not honourable to the Crown. I do not recollect an

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instance where I differed in principle from Administration, though a regard to consistency of conduct sometimes obliged me to differ in the mode. I assisted Administration in whatever regarded the Supply, the prerogative of the Crown, the Revenue, the commerce, the constitution and tranquillity of the Country, and in the last particular I might have claimed some merit under an administration not unfairly disposed to me. I took two journeys to Cork and obtained from the Corporation, merchants, and Grand Jury there, the strongest addresses of thanks to His Majesty and to the Lord Lieutenant, for which I had his Excellency's thanks. At the last Assizes there I exerted myself successfully to prevent non-importation agreements, and to reconcile the minds of the citizens to the perpetual Mutiny Act. I thought indeed it was not just that Cork should follow the example of Dublin in attributing all the merit to His Excellency, and passing over such of His Majesty's Ministers as from their departments had taken the lead in the British Houses of Parliament for the service of Ireland, but by this conduct I find I had not paid my court to His Excellency. I profess no attachment to a Chief Governor who could proscribe one of the King's principal servants, and then one of the warmest supporters of Administration, at the request of a noble Duke then the strongest in opposition to it; but in attachment to His Majesty's Government and in the uniform support of it, I will not yield to any man, and I hope I shall be judged not by the representations of our Lord Lieutenant, or by the animosity of a particular Secretary, but by the tenor of my conduct during the whole course of His Majesty's reign." (*Draft.*)

1780, October 17.—John Hely Hutchinson to Lord Hillsborough. Am preparing to start for London the moment I can shake off a fit of the gout. I hope to be allowed an opportunity of explaining any part of my conduct that may have been misunderstood. (*Copy.*)

1780, November 4.—John Hely Hutchinson to Lord Hertford. "By authority from Lord Buckinghamshire I have been informed that he had in the same letter complained of Mr. F[oster] and me for having voted in some ministerial questions against his administration and that this was one cause of the difficulties of his Excellency's administration. Nothing can be more unjust to me. I will not in my own defence arraign any other man. Mr. F[oster] was frequently absent during the two sessions; in both Government had my assistance in the principal questions. His Excellency through the same channel has acknowledged his assurance to me in November last, that whatever letter he wrote to be laid before His Majesty relative to the Provost, the Provost himself should dictate. Connecting this declaration with his thanks to me in the latter end of April for my support against the alteration of P[oyning's] law, his Secretary's eulogium in the latter end of August on my speech in support of the perpetual bill for regulating the army, and with his calling upon me afterwards in confidence to settle the resolutions against the printers, I think I have some cause to complain of uncandid as well as unjust treatment. As to the difficulties of his administration, if I live and am admitted to state facts I will demonstrate that they were all of his own creating." (*Draft.*)

1780, November 8.—Welbore Ellis to John Hely Hutchinson. Assuring him he has lost no time in using the instructions with which he had furnished him in the most effectual manner, being able to tell him in confidence that he is fully persuaded that nothing disagreeable is intended against him or his on this side of the water, and that he is quite safe from

any supposed marks of resentment. As the Lord Lieutenant sets out the first week of next month, suggesting that it may deserve his consideration whether he should come out of the kingdom just as he enters it.

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1780, November 15. Charles Street.—Edmund Burke to John Hely Hutchinson. "This will be delivered to you by my kinsman and friend Mr. John Bourke," who has been involved in a very troublesome business, I supplicate for him your powerful protection. "I shall be happy to hear from my friend that you do not forget your antient partial goodness to me."

1780, December.—John Hely Hutchinson to William Eden. Apologising for being prevented by gout from welcoming him to Ireland, and desiring him to make his apologies to the Lord Lieutenant for not attending him on his arrival, and assuring him of his desire to promote whatever may contribute to the honour and success of his Excellency's administration. (*Copy*.)

1780, December 23. Dublin Castle.—William Eden to John Hely Hutchinson. Reply to the last. Am sufficiently informed of the importance of your support to the Government and am most cordially disposed to cultivate and merit the favourable opinion you are pleased to express.

[1781], October 12, 5 p.m. Dublin Castle.—Lord Loughborough to John Hely Hutchinson. At the moment of departure expressing his thanks and gratitude to the University of Dublin for the honorary degree it has conferred on him.

1781, November 9.—The Same to the Same. "I found an opportunity of stating to Lord North what you desired me to explain to him when I had the pleasure of breakfasting with you, and I had the satisfaction of observing that he was pleased with that mark of your attention to him, and happy to understand how much you were disposed to give your powerful assistance to the conducting of the public business." I regret leaving Ireland. "The social cheerfulness which prevails in your country had revived the same disposition in my mind."

1781, November 10.—The Same to the Same. Acknowledging his letter enclosing the testimonium of his degree. "The first account I had of the debate on the Portugal trade was from Lord North, who repeated the substance of his letters from the Castle, in which the distinguished share you took in support of Government was mentioned in very handsome terms. I thought it material that you should know this, as the omission by the newswriter seemed to have struck you. I know by experience that papers supposed to be under direction are only so to a certain degree, and that the particular prejudice of the composer is not always sacrificed to his interest."

1781, December 25.—Lord Hertford to John Hely Hutchinson. "Whatever danger may attend Barbadoes and the other West India Islands there is no account of the former being taken. If such a report has any foundation the capture must have been made before De Grasse could arrive there for the account to be transmitted."

1782, January 8. London.—The Same to the Same. Suggesting "that whenever the disposal of the Great Seal of Ireland is made and [it is] removed from the present hands and put into others, the administration of Ireland will have the principal influence in doing it. Mr. Eden knows

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this country very well, and must be informed whenever such a plan is even secretly in agitation, and his connections here are powerful." I advise you to mention the subject to him, recommending this with more conviction having occasion to think that "the representation of the political campaign of the winter 1780 was unfavourable to you, and that it may require more than the efforts of your best private friends on this side the water to remove entirely any impression which such accounts may have made, and for which Mr. Eden's testimony, with the active part you have taken this winter, would be the most effectual means."

1782, February 23. London.—The Same to the Same. Believing that there is not on this side the water any present intention of removing the Great Seal of Ireland from its present possessor. "You will see in the public prints that my brother made a motion yesterday in the House of Commons to address the Crown to put an end to the American War. The motion was debated till past three this morning, and then negatived by a majority of only one voice. The pressure of that war and the ill success of it induce even the friends of administration to leave them on that point. The size of the minority upon this occasion may lessen the business of the gentleman of whom you speak and the world think respectfully."

1782, March 1. London.—The Same to the Same. "The state of public affairs or at least their appearance and prospect is much changed since I wrote by a motion of my brother's for negociation with America which has been carried . . . by a majority of nineteen against the sense of the Ministry. The idea is pretty general that it will change the Ministers. Of whom the next Ministry will be composed, supposing the change, is not so easy to say. The minority, in this instance become the majority, are of too discordant principles to form one easily, supposing the Crown to be passive. My own idle opinion, for such it may be, will more probably throw power into the hands of the Chancellor and some of Lord Carlisle's friends."

1782, April 29.—The Same to the Same.

"The ultimatum of Ireland will, I imagine, be accepted here, and perhaps without a dissentient voice. Mr. Grattan will not suppose it arises from any particular party of men or from a particular predilection for Irish liberty and interests in this country, but from a fear of Irish numbers, which in the present state of this kingdom, have persuaded everybody that acquiescence is necessary.

"I hope a prudent and moderate use will be made in Ireland of our present powers, that they may be permanent and make a better and more sufficient compensation for the hardships it has hitherto undergone.

"Lord Talbot's wand, which is now vacated by death will I fancy, be put into Lord Gower's, the father-in-law's, hands if Lord Carlisle does not take it, and the gold key, which Lord Ashburnham vacates by resignation, be put upon Lord Weymouth's pocket to please the Chancellor."

1782, June 5.—Lord Loughborough to John Hely Hutchinson.

"It is not very surprising to me, nor very mortifying, to find that upon a very gross representation I have been the object of a good deal of abuse on your side of the Channel. Had I opposed the claims of Ireland because I deemed them inconsistent with the interests of Great Britain, I ought to have been entitled to the applause instead of the

abuse of those persons who think a partial affection for their own country the perfection of virtue. But the truth is, that I never yet have met with an instance which I could assume to myself the merit of preferring my own country to yours, because I have not yet learnt that their interests were opposite.

"I have troubled you with a better account of the debate in the House of Lords than I believe had reached Ireland, when I was recommended to the civility of the good people who made a Pope of me in their rejoicings for what I very sincerely wish you and those I value may find a more beneficial change in your situation than I believe it will prove. As an unworthy member of the University I put myself under your protection, as an old and sincere friend of yours I wish to put into your hands the means of justifying me against a reproach which will give you more pain than myself, and by comparison with the debates of your House in the present Session I have the satisfaction to think that my opinions will neither appear extravagant nor hostile to Ireland. I have not yet learnt to respect so much their majesties, the people, as to entertain any great anxiety to accommodate my opinions to their fancy; but I should be very sorry to lose any part of that regard which yourself, and some other very respectable persons in Ireland, have done me the honour to express for me in a manner that convinces me it is not one of the opinions of the day."

1782, June 8.—General Fitzpatrick to John Hely Hutchinson. Had told him the day before that Government did not intend to take any part in the Revenue Officers' Bill, but now informing him that on further consideration it was thought that such conduct might be considered a covered mode of defeating a measure of which they really approve, and that therefore Government intend to support it.

1782, June 25–26. July 6.—Resolutions passed at meetings of the inhabitants of Clonmell for enforcing their rights to the freedom of the corporation, and also by the Clonmell Independent Corps of Volunteers—Colonel John Bagwell presiding—thanking David Walshe, Esq., for his services as a senator.

1782, July 5. Thames Ditton.—Lord Hertford to John Hely Hutchinson "The event of Lord Rockingham's death has of course reached Ireland; the political consequences of it are at present likely to be pretty extensive. . . . Lord Shelburne is to have the Treasury, Mr. Fox resigned yesterday upon its being known. The ostensible reasons given for it are three—That he had been overruled by the Cabinet against declaring America independent, the dissolution of Parliament, and giving the Treasury to the Duke of Portland. The Cavendishes it is said will go out, and Lord Keppel, in consequence of which it is probable you will again change your Viceroy, the Duke of Grafton and Lord Camden stay in, as does my brother, as long as he approves the measures of administration, the Duke of Richmond, it is likewise said, will continue to hold the Ordnance, but not attend the Cabinet. Mr. W. Pitt, second son of the late Lord Chatham, is to be Chancellor of the Exchequer or Secretary of State. The resolutions of yesterday have not been further communicated to me. . . . Thus much and especially as it is likely to affect the administration of Ireland, I thought you would be curious to hear."

1782, August 20. Dublin Castle.—General Fitzpatrick to John Hely Hutchinson. Have laid before the Lord Lieutenant your letters relative to a relaxation of the embargo on provisions shipped at Cork,

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as far as regards their exportation to the Neutral Islands in the West Indies. The reasons you so forcibly urge have great weight with his Grace, and as far as he is at present informed he sees no objection to the measure. In consequence of your representation he will therefore, as soon as his health permits, transmit to his Majesty's Ministers, with whom of course the decision will rest, "a state of the case together with your arguments in favour of extending to the neutral ports of America, that liberty which has been already granted of exporting provisions to those of Europe."

Same date. Phoenix Park.—The Same to the Same. I need hardly add anything to the ostensible letter enclosed as it literally contains the Duke of Portland's sentiments on the subject. "He is in truth in general no friend to the system of embargoes, and I confess, as it strikes me, I should think an embargo should never be resorted to, but as a temporary expedient, to prevent the equipment of expeditions, which administration may have gained intelligence of and which an embargo properly and seasonably adopted may often frustrate. How Ministers in England will see this question I cannot at all judge, the public in general are certainly always revolted against the idea of furnishing the means of war to our enemies though I believe upon many occasions it is not bad policy, where it tends to increase the trade, and consequently the riches of the country. At all events . . . I flatter myself your constituents at Cork will see that their interests have been attended to, and that your influence with administration here has been so far successfully exerted in their favour as to procure a recommendation of the proposed means to the other side of the water, which was everything they had in their power to do."

1782, August 23. London.—Lord Hertford to John Hely Hutchinson. Cannot at present follow your advice. Am so circumstanced that without personal objection either to the Duke of Portland or Lord Temple, I cannot at present ask anything which could be accompanied with the appearance of favour from either of them. I ask you to send the enclosed letter of excuse to the Linen Board, and when you meet the gentlemen there to express that situated as my property is in the Linen country of Ireland I should be sorry that my name should not continue on the List of Trustees, but that I cannot desire it if they think it would be a prejudice to the regulations they think proper to establish.

1782, September 11.—The Duke of Portland to John Hely Hutchinson. "I should be very sorry to have occasioned you a moment's uneasiness on any account and particularly so on that of Dr. Wilson. . . . The whole of my difficulty consisted in the manner of taking the Archbishop's [of Tuam] assent, and the more I consider it the more disinclined I feel to press for that mode of assurance, which you stated his having given on his appointment to the Bishopric of Ferns. No written agreement can bind the Archbishop's successors and he is so justly entitled to my confidence that I conceive my best security would consist in showing him that he possessed it without reserve." The augmentation required 30 additional Second Lieutenants, whom the Admiralty wished to appoint from young gentlemen of Ireland. Had thought I made this known generally, and much regret I had remained ignorant of your wishes. "By a letter yesterday from Lord Shelburne I find that the substance of the letter from Cork respecting the embargo is *under consideration*."

1782, September 30. Phoenix Park.—The Duke of Portland to John Hely Hutchinson. Thanking him for congratulations on his recovery. "With reference to the mark which the Corporation of the City of Cork has been pleased to give me of their good opinion, I have no other wish than to consult your convenience and that of Mr. Solicitor-General in receiving it. I am satisfied that it is to your favourable representation of my intentions that I owe this testimony of approbation."

1782, October 6.—Lord Chief Justice Patterson to John Hely Hutchinson. Relating to the school at Ennis, which had fallen into a very bad state in consequence of the incapacity of the Master and his quarrels with his ushers. It is mentioned that Boarders' fees were 20 guineas a year.

1782, November 5. Dublin Castle.—William Wyndham Grenville to John Hely Hutchinson. Forwarding the following intelligence dated Paris October 24, which has been received though not officially by ministers and is believed authentic.

"On the 10th inst. in the evening Lord Howe's fleet was descried off the entrance of the Straits and the following day it made its appearance opposite the Bay and began detaching into the place the victuallers and transports destined for the relief of it. During this time the combined fleets which had been riding at single anchor from the moment his Lordship had been heard of upon the Coast in order to go out and attack him, were prevented from getting under weigh by a strong gale at the S.W. which afterwards freshened to a violent storm and besides driving on shore the greatest part of the chebees and gun boats and all the small craft which were laying under Algeziras did infinite damage to the fleet itself, and in particular forced on shore no fewer than four capital ships. Of these the *St. Michael*, a Spanish 74 (which it seems had got under weigh in order to avoid the effects of the gale and was afterwards stranded near Europa Point) is totally lost, and another of them, the *Majestueux* of 110 guns, reckoned the finest ship in the French Navy had received irreparable damage. This gale had lasted all the 11th and during the greatest part of the 12th notwithstanding which Lord Howe, who seems to have weathered it out very happily under the African coast kept sending in continually during both these days his victuallers and transports under cover of a frigate or two which effectually protected them from the attack of the gun boats that ventured out against them and the number of these vessels which he [sent] in is acknowledged to have been so great that though perhaps all those he had with him may not have found means to disembark their lading, the place is without doubt to all intents and purposes completely relieved. On the 13th the weather having cleared up and the wind shifted to the N.W. the whole of the combined fleets had got under weigh from Algeziras to the amount of 45 sail of the line, and in the evening of the same day were seen stretching into the Mediterranean with their line of battle formed, and at no great distance from His Majesty's fleet, so that an action must, it is thought infallibly have taken place the following day."

1782, November 15. Dublin Castle.—William Wyndham Grenville to John Hely Hutchinson. Have laid before the Lord Lieutenant your letter about the Cork Embargo. His Excellency is concerned that you are not satisfied of the necessity of a measure which appeared to him the only method of preventing the alarming consequences of an unlimited exportation of grain when the crops are universally allowed to have failed

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in *many parts* of the kingdom, and when it is utterly impossible that "we should derive any supply for the poor from other markets, where England bids against us with a larger price and a diminished freight and insurance. . . . It was easy and obvious to have obtained the sort of accounts which you now mention. Such a measure would certainly have spread the alarm further, and increased that artificial scarcity you apprehend so much." I do not see what additional knowledge would have been thereby gained as they must have related almost exclusively to prices. His Excellency "is at a loss to imagine to what expedient you allude, when you state one to have been proposed by you, which would have prevented the export and would possibly have produced a supply from abroad and would not have interfered except in its operation with any law. . . . The only two ideas on the subject which he recollects to have been thrown out by you in your conversation were a bounty on importation or a refusal to pay the bounty on exportation. Both were most attentively and accurately considered and we are persuaded that both would have proved ineffectual. The Lord Lieutenant is strongly sensible of your disposition to promote the Honour and support of his administration."

1783, March 15. Waterford.—William Newcome, Bishop of Waterford, to John Hely Hutchinson. Answering his inquiries about Dr. Adams, Master of Pembroke College, Oxford, who has published "a very able answer to Mr. Hume's Essay on Miracles."

1783, March 19. London.—Lord Hertford to John Hely Hutchinson. Have not troubled you "with the late history of the political follies and distractions of this country; you have seen them constantly in the common newspapers for the disgrace of Great Britain. A ministry is now seriously forming, and I understand today so far advanced that the Cabinet Ministers may probably kiss hands on Friday. It will consist of Lord North, Mr. Fox and their respective friends. The Duke of Portland will have the Treasury, and the Great Seal will in some way or other be in Lord Loughborough's hands."

1783, March 24. London.—The Same to the Same.

"After having sent you the outline of a Ministry which all the world said and thought in a manner settled, it becomes me to acquaint you, that last night's declaration has changed the whole. The Duke of Portland received a letter late last night from the King, to tell him that all negotiation and intention of employing him was at an end and completely over. Instead therefore of Lord North and Mr. Fox and their several friends, it is supposed Mr. Pitt will be announced today, in the House of Commons, as the new Minister, and it is generally believed that the negotiations which have been so long carrying on were not intended to take place, but that this plan has been for some time, perhaps for the whole of the negotiations privately, agreed. Thus the last Ministry is continued, with Mr. Pitt, instead of Lord Shelburne, for its leader, and the House of Commons will, I suppose, by their voice determine the length of its continuance in office and power."

1783, May 27. London.—John Hely Hutchinson to his wife. "I had a conference of two hours with Mr. Windham, but nothing either decisive or satisfactory, but yesterday Hamilton, who has shown the warmest attachment to my interest, had a long conference with Lord Northington, and brought him very nearly to a positive promise that he would do for Richard, what Lord Carlisle intended on the first vacancy, and would also do what the Duke of Portland recommended. Lord

Northington promised to send to me, but has not since done so. Hamilton at first told me these engagements were absolute, but afterwards stated that Lord Northington had only said he thought them reasonable, and that he, Hamilton, had no doubt of their being most certainly performed. Perhaps this might have been to prevent his being quoted, or from his sanguine wishes [he] had at first stated too strongly. Lord North sent me a message by Col. Nune that he would be glad to see me. Lord Hillsborough and Mr. Ellis were here yesterday. Lord Nugent has been uniformly very civil to me. I was yesterday at the House of Commons and heard a great debate between Fox and Pitt, in which the latter had a decided superiority, and is the greatest speaker I have ever heard. The K[ing] inimical to the present Ministry; their majority supposed not more than 30, and their duration precarious. I believe our Parliament will be dissolved in July. The principal confidence will be in Grattan, if he is disposed to support. They wish to have Flood, and Grattan and Yelverton agree in that wish, which is a great object with Lord Charlemont. I have been trying what could be done for Kitt [his son Christopher]. . . . I spoke to Burke who did not answer kindly in that or anything, though with professions of affection. I shall try Lord Hertford and Ellis. It is an useful sort of discernment to distinguish friends from acquaintances, but experience only of the individuals can effect it. . . . No cordiality from the Duke of Portland. Connolly has been very warm and friendly and earnestly wishes that I should have the principal confidence, but I do not wish for it. I desire only to attain reasonable objects, and that no uncommon exertions should be expected from me. I have not seen Mrs. Siddons and have been twice disappointed. . . . I believe I told you Lord Northington sets out on Friday. Hamilton gives me a very good account of his understanding and manner of talking upon business. . . . I met Agmondesham Vesey at dinner at Lord Derby's. . . . I believe it is fixed that Burgoyne should be at the head of the Staff of Lieutenant Generals here, and as such to have the command of the Army, and Cuninghame to have the command in chief in Ireland."

1783, October 22. Paultons.—Welbore Ellis to John Hely Hutchinson. Congratulating him on his wife being created a Baroness.

1784, July 27. Hill Street.—William Windham to John Hely Hutchinson.

Expressing the satisfaction he has received from his very judicious speech and thanking him for sending a copy of it. "What formidable accounts we receive here of the disturbances and outrages on your side of the water! I hope and flatter myself that they are less alarming in reality than in appearance; and that the excess of the evil will be the means of effecting its cure. When all the higher orders of people shall see to what fatal violences matters are likely to be carried, they will perhaps firmly unite against the mischief, and stop the progress of it altogether."

1784, August 27. Phoenix Park.—Thomas Orde to John Hely Hutchinson. *Private*. Had not ascertained if Hutchinson had examined Hill as to his having printed the former edition of the pamphlet. I find that Mr. Seward had very generally circulated it. Hill said the entire impression of 200 copies should be given up, but this does not contradict what I hear positively asserted, that the first edition was also printed at the College Press. It would be certainly material to know this, as in that case the publication would be indisputable. I wish to know, if any caution was

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given to Hill not to inform Seward of what passed at the Board, and whether the inquiry and other proceedings were confined to the offence against the College without any mention of the information or interference of Government. I hope no account of these transactions has yet reached the publisher Seward. "You will observe (which I mention very confidentially) that these pamphlets have been given away gratis, that Mr. Seward could not afford to do this,—and in short that I am certain of dangerous machinations in very dangerous quarters."

1784, September [mis-dated August], 16. Phoenix Park.—The Same to the Same. *Private.*

"I profit by the kind indulgence you allowed me of addressing any question to your consideration respecting the trade and commerce of this kingdom particularly in their relation to those of Great Britain. The principal point, which for the purpose of a final adjustment between the two countries on these subjects, will require an early decision, is the construction of the Navigation Act, and the supposed pretension on the part of Ireland, to an equal benefit under it. It would be more than unnecessary for me to point out to you the circumstance of its acceptance here, or the usage of its interpretation, which is called unreasonable, as well as partial; but I should be extremely sensible of the advantage to be derived from the confidential communication of your sentiments upon this important subject, as well in regard to the *justice* of the constructive claim, as to the *effect* which the future extension of its operation upon a principle of commercialequality to Ireland might have on the situation of Great Britain. I will not apologise for this intrusion, to which you had already had the goodness to allow an opening, and shall therefore only repeat my wishes for the information I solicit. In some of the late conversations which I had the honour to hold with you on the subject of official arrangement, especially in regard to the office of the Master of the Rolls, and to the vacant seat of the Revenue Board, I had at least the satisfaction of receiving your assurance that you would readily make known to me your resolution upon any suggestion or proposition, which might be made to you on the part of Government, and you were indeed, according to my apprehension at the time, very explicit upon the terms, on which you would *not* be induced to consent to the resignation of your offices of Keeper of the Privy Seal and Secretary of State. As however it is very desirable to have the matter perfectly understood between us, and it is of importance towards a final decision of any treaty we might seek to conclude with Mr. Rigby for the resumption of his employment, to know very exactly your disposition to an accommodation of exchanges, I venture to trouble you, in a confidential manner, with this application for our future guidance in this business. Whether it would be agreeable to you, in case the opening could be effectually made on one side, to accept the office of Master of the Rolls under the present circumstances of its emolument, without any other alteration or addition than what might arise from any increase of business, and [you] would, upon the appointment to it, give up to the disposal of Government, the offices you now hold of Keeper of the Privy Seal and of Secretary of State? I would only add as a possible means of giving more facility to this arrangement, the supposition of a disposal in favour of your son of the vacant seat at the Revenue Board. I accompany this plain question with no apology after the explanation, which has passed between us on the subject of mutual openness of communication. The Lord Lieutenant intends appointing Mr. Preston his private Chaplain and a Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge,

to the Bishopric of Killala and I suggest that the College should confer the degree of D.D. upon him.

1784, September 19. Knocklofty.—John Hely Hutchinson to Thomas Orde. Reply to last letter. . . . With respect to the Navigation Act had no doubt “that, considering the 49th rule would follow the book of rates annexed to the Irish Act of the 14th and 15th of Charles the 2nd c. 9, for settling the subsidy of poundage together with the Irish Act of the 21st and 22nd of his present Majesty for extending certain of the provisions contained in an Act entitled an Act confirming all the Statutes made in England, either the English Navigation Act is of no force in this kingdom, or that Ireland is entitled to an equal benefit under it, and that if the law was otherwise that good faith and sound policy requires it should be made so.” In reply to your further question I do not pretend to be competent to give an opinion; but according to my apprehension “the effects of what you state as an extension would not be prejudicial to Great Britain. The situation of Ireland as to the American trade is more advantageous than that of Great Britain, but Great Britain has many other advantages . . . that generally preponderate on the other side; the great and wealthy ports in that country have always enjoyed a far greater proportion of that trade than other ports though more advantageously situated for carrying it on, the same would probably happen between Great Britain and Ireland, and this would be found one of the many instances in which Britain has been apprehensive of a rivalry, and experience ensued (?) that there was no foundation for such an apprehension.” As to official arrangements I regret you should have had the trouble of proposing the very terms on which I had expressly stated I would not resign the Privy Seal and the Secretaryship. “I then declared that making my son a Commissioner of the Revenue would be no inducement to me to accept of that office, and that it was impossible for any man to do the duty of the Rolls and Provostship with reputation; and that I should never accept of the Rolls as it then stood. This is a direct answer to what you justly call a plain question, which however unites these three propositions, and I should fail in candour, if I did not express my mortification in having a difficult and laborious office proposed for my consideration with emoluments inferior to those of the lowest puisne judge’s office and that on condition of surrendering two great offices of perfect ease and much superior dignity and of at least equal emoluments; while I consider . . . that an appointment with such emoluments would degrade the dignity of an official Master of the Rolls and injure that reputation which I wished to maintain, it gives me concern that you should have suggested it.” Had never desired the office or requested any addition to its emoluments being thoroughly content with my present situation. As to Mr. H[utchinson] I flatter myself that he has some claims from his own character for promotion from the Board of Accounts after eight years’ constant and laborious attendance there to the Board of Revenue, and I consider Government are already pledged to it. Should wound my son’s feelings and think “myself unworthy of such a son, and that I dishonoured him and myself by purchasing for him an official promotion . . . by the sacrifice of my rank, my case and my reputation. His being a Commissioner would be a facility in future arrangements, if any should be proposed worth my serious attention.” Will do all I can for Mr. Preston. (*Draft.*)

1784, October 3. Phoenix Park.—Thomas Orde to John Hely Hutchinson. *Private.* Apologising for his delay in answering the last on the ground of the severe pressure of business brought upon him not

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only by matters of real importance but also by objects calculated only to distress but of unavoidable attention, and thanking him for his communication about the Navigation Act, being very glad to find that he apprehends no prejudice to Great Britain from the acceptance of it most favourable to Ireland. I still consider however that much may be urged on the Law and certainly a great deal on the Custom in favour of the interpretation urged by Great Britain. The regulation of the duties on the trade between the two Countries must be the next subject for discussion, and I will be truly sensible of any assistance you can give towards a favourable adjustment of this intricate question. "We have however a very necessary attention to pay all the while to the internal state of the country, wherein discontent and disturbances have been studiously fomented and maintained for the very purpose perhaps of impeding a liberal accommodation of all difficulties. I hope that I may venture to inform you of an improvement to our prospects in that respect from what has happened in several counties, but particularly here at the very source of the mischief. We have now put in circulation an address to His Majesty, of which the enclosed is a copy, hoping with very good reason to obtain the signatures of the majority of the real freemen and freeholders of the City. Government must naturally be very anxious to succeed in a measure so interesting to the whole community, but nothing can in reality be done unless gentlemen of property and consideration, who are certainly more exposed to danger than even Government itself, will stand forward in their own defence, and encourage the accession of the well-disposed among the lower orders. Little particular managements for the support of individual interests or objects should not in such times be put in competition with the necessary defence of the laws and the constitution. Wherever gentlemen have fairly maintained throughout that good ground, they have succeeded in the prevention of dangerous resolutions or indecent petitions. My Lord Lieutenant was under the unpleasant necessity of marking his disapprobation in some instances, as Dublin, Tipperary, &c., &c. The disaffected take encouragement and vigour from the indifference or absence of the principal gentlemen upon questions of this kind. Notwithstanding however these drawbacks to the accomplishment of our hopes in favour of the re-establishment of good order and of obedience to the laws, we may certainly venture to consider the designs of the malcontents as in a great degree defeated." Am concerned that the question respecting official arrangements should have appeared at all mortifying to you as no such motive was conceived or such effect apprehended.

1784, October 7. Knocklofty.—John Hely Hutchinson to Thomas Orde. Reply to last. While wishing every success to any proposition intended to promote his Majesty's service, I doubt the propriety and am convinced of the inexpediency and inefficacy of the present measure. I agree that little particular managements for the support of individual interests or objects should not in such times, or indeed at any time, be put in competition with the defence of the laws and constitution. "Nothing could have been more improper than the addresses from Dublin and Tipperary. My Lord Lieutenant judged perfectly right in expressing his disapprobation in the strongest terms. His Grace was pleased in your absence to ask my opinion on his answer to the Dublin address. I should have given the same advice as to [the] Cork, and as to that from this County; where such an address as was sent from Limerick might have been carried, but the gentlemen, who had the direction, would listen to nothing but an adjournment, a very proper mode, if it could have been carried; the impracticability of this

was mentioned, the attempt gave offence, and some of the principal gentlemen finding they could be of no use withdrew. There does not live a man more adverse to these violent and tumultuous proceedings than myself, and I do not find anyone of my family who is not of the same way of thinking; but gentlemen who have characters to maintain can justify their conduct on principles very foreign from indifference, when they decline committing themselves in public proceedings not plainly agreeable on either side to their judgment. It gives me great pleasure to hear from you that you consider the design of the malcontents as in a great degree defeated; I wish they may be so altogether, and that we may have a little tranquillity and good humour, which are of more value than all those infatuated men are disturbing themselves and the world about." Referring to his opinion on the Navigation Laws and offering any assistance he can with regard to the regulation of the trade between the two countries. "If the re-establishment of the judicial functions of the Master of the Rolls would be of great public utility in the administration of justice, the re-establishment of the office is worth a great deal to the country; if it would not, it is worth nothing." (*Draft.*)

1784, December 5 and —.—Dr. Henry Ussher to John Hely Hutchinson. Relating to the salary of his Professorship of Astronomy.

1785, January 8. Dublin Castle.—Thomas Orde to John Hely Hutchinson. Acknowledging his letter enclosing the resolutions of the Corporation of Cork, thanking him for his kindness, and requesting him to communicate to them the satisfaction he entertains at being thought worthy of so honourable a testimony from a Corporation of such rank and respectability in this kingdom.

1785, March 22. Cork.—Lord Riversdale to John Hely Hutchinson. You have doubtless heard of the meeting held in consequence of your letter, which was very numerous and unanimous in their approbation of the Bill, which everyone here considers as tending to the advantage and relief of the creditors.

1785, July 6. Phoenix Park.—Thomas Orde to John Hely Hutchinson. *Private.* Am truly mortified, at the difficulties "which you think remain in our way towards the accomplishment of our great object—the commercial settlement of Ireland upon fair and equitable principles. I had ventured to persuade myself, that everything objectionable was done away. If it is not by what has been now offered in explanation, I am hopeless of success from any endeavour to conciliate, and must only trust to the possibility of showing that every engagement ought not to be one side, and that none are required on either, which are not fair and reasonable, and especially those expected of this country, which are in effect only adoptions of the *conditional permanency* demanded in the other. I never before heard of objections to the *principle* of the 4th, 5th, 8th, or other resolutions, and I am therefore at a loss to conceive why that principle of following—by enacting similar laws or imposing equal duties, &c. may not be properly *recited* here. The English bill will make it the condition of the compact, and may not the Irish bill admit the principle and immediately enact any thing,—which according to that principle is not *now* law in Ireland. Ireland will hereafter be no otherwise obliged to follow, &c.—than as she may think it worth while to follow the condition of keeping the benefit of the compact, which Great Britain ensures to her on that condition; and she can hardly expect to keep them whether she follows the condition or not. After all however I am very sensible of my

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ignorance, which, joined to my confidence that everything is intended fairly and honourably on the part of the British Government may blind my judgement on this business." Shall send as soon as it is completed a confidential copy of the secret paper received from Mr. B[eresford].

1785, June 29. London.—John Beresford to Thomas Orde. The copy referred to in the last letter, marked *Secret*. "Having stated to Mr. Pitt several objections which have been made to various parts of the Irish Propositions as they now stand before the House of Lords and having also desired some explanations of such parts of them as appeared to me to want explanation I now sit down to lay before you the result." This is given in the form of one or more Questions on each of the Resolutions with Mr. Pitt's answers, and extends over 10 pages. Here and there are marginal notes by Hutchinson. The following seem to be the most important. On the Second Resolution. "*Question*. I desired to know whether in this bargain between the two countries it was intended that the provision which Ireland was to give under this Resolution should be considered as given for the advantages she was to derive from the Acts now to be passed or for what? *Answer*. It is given for making permanent that which is insecure at present, and for adding that which is now granted. And in explanation of the first part of this answer he said that he considered Great Britain at present as at liberty to put an end to the present indulgences she grants to Ireland in trading to her Colonies, but that after this compact nothing but a breach of faith on one side or the other could." On the Twentieth Resolution. "*Question*. Why were the words contained in the eleventh Resolution of the Irish Parliament omitted, viz.: 'in each year of peace wherein the Annual revenue shall equal the annual expenses, and in each year of war without regard to such equality.' *Answer*. The Clause sent over by Mr. Orde contains the explanation of this and is not objected to. *Question*. I objected to the words *permanent provision* if they meant a perpetual Revenue Bill. *Answer*. They certainly meant so, as far as relates to the perpetual Revenue. This last question we talked over for a very considerable time, and I have strong hopes, that we shall get rid of this embarrassment. If it depended solely upon Mr. Pitt, or on him and Mr. Rose I should have no doubt of grating rid of it, but how far certain people in the Cabinet may adhere to this idea I cannot say, but I think I have so perfectly persuaded Mr. Pitt of the folly of it and the impossibility of carrying it, if ever so right, that they will not insist on it." (See *Correspondence of Rt. Hon. John Beresford*, i. 280.)

1785, August 7. Beconsfield.—Edmund Burke to John Hely Hutchinson. A letter of introduction to be delivered by Mr. Staunton, who is praised highly. "I would have him know that one of the ablest and best-natured men in Ireland is pleased to honour me with his friendship. I hope he will not find that I have deceived him in the account I have given him of your partiality to me."

1785, September 20. London.—George Dempster to John Hely Hutchinson. Thanking him for his opinion on the Case of the East India Company's ship the *Ganges*, which had been seized. (See *Correspondence of Rt. Hon. John Beresford*, i. 262.)

1785, October 3. Cork.—William Lumley to Richard Hely Hutchinson, afterwards first Earl of Donoughmore. Is informed that a requisition will be handed tomorrow to the Sheriffs to convene a meeting, the principal

object being to take into consideration the Secretary's [John Hely Hutchinson] conduct, first in not sending an answer to the *Sheriffs* to the last address or instructions from the Freemen, Freeholders, and inhabitants of the City, secondly in not sending them an answer to the address signed by them and the late Grand Jury, and thirdly the very cavalier answer which appeared in Knight's paper to the said address. As he and Mr. Sadlier were sworn in [Sheriffs] that day he will be able to keep off the meeting till the return of Post.

1785, October 6. Custom House, Dublin.—Richard Hely Hutchinson to John Hely Hutchinson. Enclosing the last. "This sort of proceeding is not at all unexpected by me, and you must, I think, yourself have expected that an angry party and an interested one too would not have struck to any reasoning however just without a struggle."

1785, October 7. Dublin.—The Same to the Same.

"I hear of nothing but panegyric from all quarters on the subject of your answer to the address of the Cork jury. It has done you already very great service with one side of the question, and I dare say it will do credit with all men on both sides, who are capable of judging or of thinking coolly. On Monday my Lord Lieutenant talks of setting out on his southern tour. He sleeps the first night at Sir John Parnell's, who did not hear a word of his intentions till Sunday, and is buying doors and doorcases, sashes, &c., &c. ever since for the very worst Inn, as he assures us, in the whole kingdom. The next night they sleep at Mr. Pery's at Limerick, so that they don't call at Cork till on their return from Killarney. They don't expect them, as I understand, at Castlemartyr for this fortnight to come. I shall see Mr. Hamilton tomorrow officially, and also his Grace, and I shall express to Mr. Hamilton the situation of my mother's health and our great concern, though from the route he takes, I don't think he has any idea of calling at Knocklofty, which would be much out of the way between Castlemartyr and Curraghmore."

1785, October 10. Addiscombe Place.—Charles Jenkinson to John Hely Hutchinson. Thanking him for copies of his letter to the Sheriffs and Grand Jury of the City of Cork. Am happy to find that "a person of your importance, and one whom I have the honour to call my friend has expressed himself with so much freedom and spirit on a subject of so great consequence to the welfare of Great Britain and Ireland." On the back is a draft of Hutchinson's reply. . . . "The desire of the Duke of Rutland and the hope of doing some good has induced me to advance a step further and to give my reasons." Have directed the few pages in which they are contained to be sent to you. "Prejudices are very strong and very general; and neither the advocate nor the argument will be fairly heard on this side of the Channel. In my opinion every British object might have been obtained, and all Irish clamour prevented, but the gentlemen of this country who were consulted in the original formation of this scheme, I presume, thought otherwise. I was not one of them."

1785, October 11. Dublin.—Richard Hely Hutchinson to John Hely Hutchinson. The Duke and Duchess had set out. He does not intend to go to Cork, unless he is invited as he understands Lord Townshend and all Lord Lieutenants who have gone near Cork have had invitations. Have explained very fully to Mr. Hamilton the uncertain situation of Cork, and our wishes that every compliment should be paid. "I have written as strongly as I was able to both the

Sheriffs of Cork and to the mayor [Mr. Franklin] and to our friends Mr. Laneton and Izod and to Tim. Forrest, in order to procure an invitation and a deputation and I have offered to go down to assist in showing their Graces the City of Cork.

1785, October 12. Dublin.—The Same to the Same. Had called on Mr. Hamilton and read him letters from Mr. Izod and Mr. Lumley giving the event of the Council [of the Cork Corporation]. Mr. Hamilton does not know where the Duke will be at any given time, but is certain he intended going directly from Killarney to Castle Martyr, and in case of an invitation thence to Cork. I think it unnecessary for me to go to Cork myself. As the Duke through Mr. Hamilton had expressed his wish that your letter to the Mayor of Cork should be published, I have given directions to Mr. Byrne to print it.

[1785, October] 13, Thursday.—Lord Shannon to John Hely Hutchinson. Thanking him for his answer to the factions who composed the Cork Grand Jury.

1785, October 14. Cork.—Kevan Izod to [John Hely Hutchinson].

“If there was not a smack of politics in the business an entertainment to the Lord Lieutenant from this Corporation would be ridiculous. But for this City to entertain her Grace would be ridiculous in the extreme. You know this City; what ladies have we here calculated for such an employment? Her Grace must fix her residence at Castlemartyr, or at some of the great houses in the neighbourhood, for there is neither place nor person here fit to entertain her, nor even to invite her, for the Mayor has no wife, and if he had, I would not wish to place our women in so ridiculous a situation. The reason I say so much about her Grace is, that Mr. Hutchinson is anxious that she also should be invited, but I really do not know how such a matter could be accomplished without turning her Grace to a man, or changing the whole Corporation into females. I believe you will be invited, but the inveteracy of some men is so violent, that I do not know whether a mob might not be hired to insult. If Lady Donoughmore would come here and flaunt away with her Grace, it might be something.”

1785, October 15. Cork.—The Same to the Same. . . . “The order for entertaining the Lord Lieutenant passed the Court of D’Oyer Hundred without opposition, and the Sheriff is set out for Limerick to cross on his Grace there with the invitation. His Grace will not be accommodated with as elegant lodgings as I could wish, but how her Grace can be accommodated is past my finding out.” . . .

1785, October 16. Cork.—The Same to the Same. “This County’s meeting I think resolved to abide by the Constitution and commerce as settled in 1779 and 1783. How the Act for giving up the importation of tea from India interferes with either of these periods I know not; but if it applies to either the remark might be useful, though I think no remark will be useful that operates against the present clamour.”

1785, October 20. Dublin.—Richard Hely Hutchinson to John Hely Hutchinson. Have not yet decided on going to Cork. I think that our absence from Cork cannot “possibly weigh against us in the Duke’s mind, as he will see from Mr. Izod’s letters, and from those likewise of the Mayor and of both the Sheriffs which are transmitted to him at my desire by Mr. Hamilton that the invita-

tion has been entirely at our instance." Will however go if you desire it. Referring to the printing of your letter to the Mayor.

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[1785], Monday night, [October 31]. Cork.—Thomas Forrest to Lady Donoughmore.

"As Mr. Hutchinson and the Colonel are gone to dine with the Duke, to the Merchants' Entertainment; he desired I would inform your ladyship, that everything went on here to the utmost of his wishes; he and the Colonel dined with the Duke and Duchess at their lodgings yesterday. He did not go to Kingsale, he went only half the way to convey them, and returned to dine with Mr. Izod. Every other day since their Graces came, he and the Colonel was with them. They go to the Assembly where the Duchess is to meet them at half past 10 o'clock; they go to see the harbour tomorrow, and the Duke goes from thence to Lord Shannon's; he will also go to Lord Mountcashel's, and Mr. Hutchinson thinks he will call at Knocklofty, but he does not know whether to breakfast, dinner, or supper, he asked if he should stop at Clonmel, he will have a certainty this night of his route, and he will write to you tomorrow and give you the certainty of everything; however it will not be for a week to come if he should. A great body of the Merchants attended this day, and came in their carriages and saw Kellet and Dr. Naly knighted, and the Duke was in great good humour and told Mr. Hutchinson he never was in a place he liked so well, spoke in the most affable manner to every one of the Merchants; after that ceremony was over, he went to the Review. Mr. Geo. Gould lent his carriages to her Grace, and after the review was over, the Duke and Mr. Hutchinson returned to Benson's cellars, (where they were expected) saw the beef salting and barrelling, and ate a fine beef steak and drank some porter. He was very much delighted, and said he never ate a finer beef steak in his life."

1785, November 2. Castle Martyr.—The Duke of Rutland to John Hely Hutchinson. As some pressing business makes a Council necessary asking him to meet him at Lismore on Saturday the 5th. "My visit to Cork was everything I could wish. It answered admirably."

1785, November 7. Dorset Street, Salisbury Square, London.—William Woodfall to John Hely Hutchinson. Acknowledging his packet from Knocklofty which he took to Green Street, Kentish Town, in order to read it with more attention than the interruptions of his business in town permit. Am persuaded that when "reason shall resume her reign and clamour no longer deprive men of their senses and their candour, the arguments will have their due weight and consequence. . . . When I visited Dublin I came in a peculiar character, and having assumed it I was determined rigidly to adhere to it. My view was to lose sight of every private political partiality and to procure for the public, as well as I was able, an impartial account of the language of Parliament on one of the most important topics with regard to the general interests of the empire, that ever came under parliamentary discussion." I trust that I did my duty, "but the prescribed limits of my public object did not deprive me of my feelings as an individual, and, if I am not mistaken egregiously, the day must come when the people of Ireland will be sensible that though the *glorious* minority (as they term them), were actuated by the purest and best of all motives they misunderstood the tendency of the Bill (either from not having sufficiently examined it, or from having been so far blinded by prejudice or misled by clamour that they would not take the pains to examine it fully), and that if they had not they would not have found it a bad bargain for their

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country. . . . Shall forthwith communicate your printed letters to the Public through the medium of the *Morning Chronicle*, and shall at all times think myself highly honoured by being considered by you as a public character so far distinct from the general class of Newspaper Editors and Printers that I am not altogether unworthy of private confidence, and am ever more ambitious by proving myself a friend to truth and reason than to gain either fame or fortune at the expense of other men's reputations."

1785, November 15.—Memorial signed by John Anderson, John Cotter, and George Newsom on behalf of the Merchants of the City of Cork, to Commissioner [Richard Hely] Hutchinson requesting him to lay before the Board [of Revenue] a grievance namely "The importation of Swedish herrings into the Isle of Man and the re-export of the same at very low prices, so as to be carried thence to Market into the British Carribee Islands," in order to have an inquiry, and to apply a remedy. Appended are extracts from three letters of their Liverpool correspondents on the subject.

1785, November 30. London.—Sir John Skynner, Lord Chief Baron, to John Hely Hutchinson. After explaining the delay in replying to his letter, stating that he has made inquiries about the tenure of the Secondaries and finds they are considered to have a life interest in their appointments not determinable on the death of the Remembrancer.

1785, December 9. Tallaght Castle.—Robert Fowler, Archbishop of Dublin, to John Hely Hutchinson. Approving of the postponement of the election of the new Professors.

1785, December 26. Phoenix Park.—Thomas Orde to John Hely Hutchinson. Acknowledging his letter and the accompanying papers on the subject of education, which is really interesting to the Lord Lieutenant as well as himself. I am inclined to think the general system proposed is good.

1786, March 10. Grayfield, Ballinrobe.—Darby Murphy to John Daniel. After describing how he had recovered 36 pieces of ash and oak and 19 pieces of smaller timber that had been stolen, and caused them to be brought "to the Quay of Cong on the 29th of September last and ordered two men to watch the said timber until sold by Public Cant, but a large number of people unknown arrived in boats who landed at said Quay about the hour of 12 or 1 o'clock at night, who instantly attacked the two men left to guard the timber with a shower of stones and with the most horrid threats obliged said two men to make off in order to save their lives upon which the timber was carried away by said unknown people." Have been unable to discover either any of these people or any of the timber.

1786, April 7.—John Hely Hutchinson to Richard Hely Hutchinson. Am glad "that the Lord Lieutenant's answer is likely to be satisfactory to our Roman Catholic friends. I was very angry when I wrote to my friend Forrest recollecting twenty-seven years constant and important services on the one side without any return but their joining my opponent at the last election for Cork on the other, and while I was a daily advocate at the Castle for a written answer and the kindest that could be written, to be told, because I could not dictate the time when the King's Representative was to give his answer that the Roman Catholics considered me as having treated them with disrespect would have determined me to have explicitly desired that our corre-

spondence should have been for ever at an end, if I had not considered the expressions as proceeding from my friend's solicitude lest they should consider it in that light and not from any communication which he was directed by them to make to me. If I should be mistaken in this you should express in my name the resentment which I feel at such captious ingratitude." The circumstances, under which his two bills, the police bill, and the bill in favour of the clergy with regard to tithe were withdrawn, are described at considerable length.

1786, April 17.—Lord Lucan to John Hely Hutchinson. Hearing that a plan was in agitation about the schools throughout the kingdom, and that it was suggested by him, he puts forward the claims to endowment of the school he had established at Castlebar. He pays the master 20*l.* a year, and believes there are about 30 boys at it.

1786, October 31. Seafeld.—John Pomeroy to John Hely Hutchinson.

"I had very little doubt, and have as yet but very little, that you are by this time, or will, before business begins here, be an English Privy Councillor. At the time the Speaker and Mr. Beresford were in England, and called to that Board, it seemed to be the opinion of every one, that all those gentlemen, who held high offices in this country, should likewise be appointed to that Board, in consequence, how could you be left out? it is impossible. The Chancellor of the Exchequer I heard, and thought was to be one, and even our Attorney General, till my friend Mornington, who was in Ireland a fortnight ago, told me to the contrary, that FitzGibbon could not be one, as the Attorney General of England was not at that Board; but there could be no doubt but you must be of it. These were my reasons for the supposition I mentioned to you. I wish the point was of more real use to you than it ever can be, as I think it must fall into your mouth. Do you recollect Foster, when he was chairman of the Committee of Supply in Lord Buckinghamshire's time; when Heron sent to him from the Council Chamber to speak to him about some Bill, he declined coming, but sent for answer, that they knew how to have him there; he was shortly after appointed. You ask me about the meeting of Parliament, certainly I hear not till the usual time, some Tuesday from the 15th to the 22nd or 23rd of January."

1786, November 1. Tallaght Castle.—Robert Fowler, Archbishop of Dublin, to John Hely Hutchinson. Thanking him for his solicitations in favour of Mr. Thompson.

1786, November 6. — John Pomeroy to John Hely Hutchinson. "Since I last wrote Parnell has been appointed [to the English Privy Council]. You seem to think it extraordinary that not a word has been mentioned on that subject to you either from England or from Dublin. I differ from you. . . . We both by experience know that Government favours, emoluments, or honours are seldom obtained without some degree of application. I have not the slightest doubt on your mentioning to the Lord Lieutenant or Mr. Orde that your station entitles you to the honour lately conferred on the other gentlemen and that you expect it, that it will of course follow."

[1786, November 8.]—John Hely Hutchinson to [Thomas Orde]. Asking him to lay before the Lord Lieutenant his request to be appointed a Privy Councillor of Great Britain, three of his Majesty's servants in Ireland having been so appointed, two of whom are of inferior rank to

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the Secretary of State. After referring to his services and especially to his exertions on commercial subjects particularly in support of the late commercial bill, he flatters himself that he may not be thought incapable of giving some little assistance at the Committee of Privy Council lately instituted in Great Britain for the investigation of commercial subjects, and promises never to fail to attend whenever his services there should be thought useful.

1786, November 11. Mallow.—Rev. W. King to John Hely Hutchinson. “The indulgence with which you listened to the sufferings of the distressed clergy of this province during your stay in Mallow, encourages me to trouble you again on the same subject. We were in hopes that a sense of our undeserved wrongs would have procured such protection for the established Church as would have suppressed the tumults we have been long exposed to, and prevented my troubling you with a repetition of our injuries. The seeming zeal with which Lord Luttrell engaged in our cause, and the effectual redress he so liberally promised us, suspended for a while the unjust attacks on our property and gave us temporary, deceitful hopes; but the expedition with which he ran through the country, made his threats no longer regarded than while he was present, and his disappointing us in his promised return convinces people that he thought his return would be to no purpose, in consequence of which our disturbances are renewed with as much violence as ever and the strength of the insurgents increases in proportion as the efforts of Government prove ineffectual. Such magistrates also as were most active in our cause, decline stirring in defence of those whom all the world seems now to desert, and the clergy themselves, desponding at the general combination against them, have ceased uttering complaints to which no one pays any attention. This, Sir, is a very different account from what some late publications would insinuate, which were intended not to inform but to mislead; and when our tumults are represented as being suppressed, we lie under the imputation of being querulous, but the attacks renewed against us these few days justify our clamours, and though they should never be attended to, cannot be considered as ill founded. I doubt not but your correspondents at Cork have informed you of the tumults that prevail in that neighbourhood at this present, to which I could add an account of such violences lately committed about me, as reflect highly on the police of any civilized country, the consequence of which is that we cannot set a tithe even at the low reduced price to which Lord Luttrell has confined us, a reduction which will remain as a precedent for succeeding years, without relieving us in the present one. That Government is well apprized of these proceedings we cannot doubt, but that it should suffer them to proceed to a length so ruinous to our property is hard to be accounted for. If, as is generally supposed, it be in order to succeed in a favourite scheme that cannot otherwise be compassed, the clergy have seldom opposed its measures, and might even now perhaps co-operate as far as their means would admit, but that two years’ income of their well-earned substance should be sacrificed on this occasion, is more, we trust, than Government will admit, and therefore we look up to it for redress.”

1786, November 11. Beconsfield.—Edmund Burke to John Hely Hutchinson.

“I received your most friendly and obliging letter just as I was preparing to set sail from Dublin. My excursion to Ireland was to give me the only opportunity I should perhaps ever have of shewing to my son something of the Country from whence he originated, and to

make him a little known there. You may easily judge that in this view, the object I had most at heart was that he should see those few whose partiality to me I must reckon among the most flattering circumstances of my life. He was extremely desirous of entering into my views and of being again presented to you. We were therefore at your door among the earliest visits we paid in Dublin. We were mortified at your absence, though from the time of year we had no great reason to indulge ourselves in any very sanguine hopes of the pleasure of meeting you in town. If we could have allowed ourselves a longer stay in Ireland, and could go to the Southward, I assure you that our first inducement would be that of passing a day or two at Knocklofty, a place with whose beauty I remember to have been struck very early in my life, but which I should see again with a much more affecting interest than any beauty of situation could possibly give it. My son and I are infinitely sensible of yours and Mr. Hutchinson's kindness to us, and I hope you will do that justice to our sentiments of gratitude and friendship to you both, as to be persuaded that it was with a very sincere regret we left Ireland without seeing you both and Lady Donamore and the rest of a family in which your goodness has given us a sensible concern. We are not without some hope that chance may indemnify us in England for our loss in Ireland, and that we may have it in our power to see you in these woods."

1786, November 22. Dublin.—Wensley Bond, Dean of Ross, to John Hely Hutchinson. Had enclosed to Mr. [R. H.] Hutchinson the resolutions of a meeting of several clergymen at Doctor Hales' Chambers. They met yesterday after an adjournment to receive through Doctor Law the answers of the Archbishops and Bishops to these resolutions. The answers of the Archbishops of Tuam and Cashel, and the Bishops of Limerick and Killaloe were read. The first said he intended to assemble and confer with his clergy. The other three objected to this as disadvantageous to the interests of the clergy, and the bishop of Killaloe as also being unconstitutional. The Archbishop of Dublin verbally expressed doubts as to the propriety of a standing Committee or of deputies. The bishop of Clonfert thought such a committee would be exposed to various influences during the sitting of Parliament, and would tend to divide the clergy and hurt their cause. The bishop of Killaloe said he could not answer without conferring with the other bishops. Had heard the bishop of Clonfert speak on the subject, who thought that in the first instance the sufferers in tithes through the late commotions should be redressed by Parliament either out of the Treasury or by a barony or parish tax. This idea I had before heard was an idea of yours. The meeting gave up the *mode* originally proposed, but seemed determined to meet weekly, all clergymen who offer themselves becoming members. Doctor Law informed the meeting that Lord Luttrell had called on him since the last meeting, and the substance of his conversation was conveyed in the following message. "That he was much hurt in finding his conduct in his late command in Munster had been misunderstood by the clergy whom he wished to serve. That he denies on his honour, and shall on oath if required his having in any instance interfered in prescribing Rates, or setting a value on any man's tithe, unless at the express desire of the Clergyman (or he might perhaps have added) Lay Impropiator concerned. That if he had in any instance carried his intentions into effect by means, which would not be borne by the people of England, his conduct in such instance arose from his idea of the trust reposed in him by Government, and that he had always

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declared Captain Right's Rates should not be submitted to. That his Report to Government on his return to town had been against Lay Impropiators and Landlords, and honourable to the Clergy. That the Magistrates of the several counties in general declining to do their duty, and Sir John Colthurst, who had been an old schoolfellow (I think he said) of his, standing forward, and offering his services as a magistrate, he had taken him of his suite as acting with him under Government. That in particular the magistrates in and near Cork had refused to co-operate with him in levying the penalty for combination, and in other cases . . . and he concluded with observing that it was likely he should be sent down into that country again in a few days with the same command." The meeting resolved that to this verbal message a verbal answer should be returned, that they had never canvassed his Lordship's conduct in his command and were obliged for his message and declarations. "Your name and intentions towards the Clergy were spoken of with great respect and regard."

1786, November 28. London.—Thomas Orde to John Hely Hutchinson. Illness has delayed my acknowledging your letter of the 8th instant. Am impatient to assure you of the attention of Government before the communication of your wishes with regard to being made an English Privy Councillor. Had conversed with Mr. Pitt about it before going to Spa, and then mentioned your name with those of the other gentlemen since admitted, and can bear witness of the intention to invite you to claim your admission whenever you can come over. Am confident that nothing has since occurred to change this intention, and therefore attribute to accident the omission of a summons.

1786, December 4. Phœnix Park.—The Duke of Rutland to John Hely Hutchinson. Informing him with great satisfaction that he will be appointed a Privy Councillor of Great Britain whenever he chooses to go over to take the oaths, and assuring him that his singular knowledge in commercial matters and the honourable support to his (the Duke's) administration independent of every other consideration would have rendered his appointment a circumstance of peculiar propriety.

1787, March 19.—Lord Hawkesbury to John Hely Hutchinson. Acknowledging his letter of the 2nd giving the first information of the Resolution of the Irish Government about the Navigation Act. Have since heard it has been introduced into the House of Commons and that it will probably pass with general approbation. I consider the alterations in it made in Ireland judicious.

1787, Monday, April 9. Castle.—Thomas Orde to John Hely Hutchinson. Thanking him for his letter and information. Can really have no design to injure or impair the University of Dublin, but very much the contrary. Regretting his indisposition. You were wanted in the House on Saturday to move for the Clergy Bill, which I understand is drawn conformably to the plan settled by you and the Attorney General.

1787, May 17.—The Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland to John Hely Hutchinson as Secretary of State. Memorial requesting a small aid from the Government in order to establish a complete surgical school in Dublin. *Seal affixed.*

1787, June 13. London.—Lord Macartney to John Hely Hutchinson. . . . "The disturbances in Holland have considerably affected our funds, which have fallen 7 per cent. within these few days. The Prince of Orange

is so weak and of such a character, that those who wish best to his cause are afraid to venture boldly for him. It is said however that Duke Lewis of Brunswick will again undertake his affairs, and from the known sense and spirit of that prince (if he be not counteracted) much may be fairly expected. Lord Frederick Campbell is talked of very confidently for one of your Vice-Treasurerships, Lord Walsingham for the Post Office, and Mr. Eden for the Embassy to Spain. The Prince of Wales is now out of all danger, but his recovery is slow. The Duchess of Rutland seems to have wonderfully revived from the air of this country and sees company every night after 9 o'clock at her mother's, the Dowager Duchess of Beaufort."

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1787, November 19. Pall-mall.—The Marquess of Buckingham to John Hely Hutchinson. Acknowledging his congratulations on his appointment as Lord Lieutenant, on the system of Education hoping for his best assistance, and assuring him that on the subject of the support essential to the situation of the Clergy of Ireland no opinion can be more decided or has less varied than his own. Referring to the powers given to the Lords Justices appointed on the demise of the Duke of Rutland.

1787, December 1. Wexford.—George Ogle to John Hely Hutchinson. Thanking him for his attention to his memorial, consulting him as to his position with regard to the new Lord Lieutenant, and asking for his advice as to his conduct.

1788, March 26.—Notes by John Hely Hutchinson of his conversation with the Lord Lieutenant. After a long discourse by him on Education, and after some introductory observations, I said that "when my wife was made a peeress, I should have been enrolled in her place, with a view to the final Judicature, if Mr. Windham had not been so partial to me, as to say he would leave the Kingdom if I left the House of Commons. The event shewed a small matter would have induced him to have done so. That if I had been made, I should, as Secretary of State, have taken place of all Barons, that I had served 28 years, and was the oldest servant of the Crown, in the law or state, except Lord Mansfield and Lord Camden; that I wanted rest, but should not desire it so long as I could be of use in the House of Commons; that Lord Townshend would have made my wife a peeress in '69, but I prevented it; that the Duke of R[utland] would have given her this rank if he had recommended any promotions; that there was now an end of that, and that I came now to request it of His Excellency. He said from old acquaintance and sincere regard he would really wish to lend himself to any wish of mine; that in the present batch there would be no promotion but that of his brother-in-law, who was to be a Viscount; that he would be very happy to recommend a Viscountship for Lady Donoughmore, but two or three were pressing, and that I knew whom he meant; that Lady Donoughmore would have been made a Viscountess if there had been any promotion in the Duke of Rutland's times, that he knew, but for the same reason, for fear of jealousy, there was none, that he would, whenever he recommended any promotion, recommend Lady Donoughmore to be a Viscountess. I replied that I was much obliged to him, and I hoped he would not consider it as importunate, if I added that I had served 28 years, that I was ready to serve still, and as long as he pleased, and wherever he pleased, whether in the House of Commons or House of Lords, I rather preferred the former, though I could not help thinking that I might be more useful in the House of Lords, as that I had been for twenty years in the principal business of the Law with Mr. Malone, Mr. Tisdall, and Mr. FitzGibbon now there," that he was ably supported

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in the House of Commons, and that therefore he [Hutchinson] thought he would be of more use in the House of Lords, but that he was desirous to be where his Excellency thought he would be most useful. His Excellency said that was putting it on a different footing and asked time to consider, and inquired what would then become of Cork. Hutchinson replied one of his sons would certainly represent it. His Excellency then inquired after his sons and asked how many he had.

1788, May 14. Vienna.—John Hely Hutchinson, afterwards second Earl of Donoughmore, to his mother. "My efforts to get down to the Austrian Army will, I fear, prove vain. The Emperor will not admit of it. A great number of Volunteers of the first families in Europe have offered, but have been all rejected. . . . The Turks in their attack of Prince Lichtenstein's army behaved with the most heroic courage, and in a manner almost unparalleled in the Annals of modern war. The best opinion here is that the Emperor will not probably make any great impression, and that the war is not likely to last."

1788, June 19. Palmerston.—John Hely Hutchinson to [George] Rose. Congratulating him on his late accession of office [as Clerk of Parliaments], and thanking him for contributing to the success of "my first compensation bill which was followed by another in the last session of the same tenor, and both will I hope ensure the peace of the province of Munster which for the present they have restored. Wishing most sincerely that the necessity for repeating this measure should not continue, I do not however agree in the idea which seems to prevail at the Castle that the measure should never be renewed, it is the cheapest mode by at least one half, for the recovery of tithes, that has been yet adopted. It takes the remedy out of the Ecclesiastical Court which is not an equal tribunal between clergymen and laymen, and limits the demand to the reasonable average of the last seven years, but its best recommendation is that it prevents those public disturbances which tithes have occasioned during the last seventy years in this Kingdom. You gave me a very just account of our Secretary, he is a real man of business, with that degree of accuracy and precision, which a clear understanding acquires by long habits of business. He knows when to be silent, a science in which our friend Orde had taken no degree at Cambridge. F[itzherbert] is well liked and will do well here. I have pleasure in doing business with him, and that is a great matter to an old fellow who may sometimes be weary as he is getting to the end of his course. Will you be so obliging as to tell him that I have in his absence laboured hard at the board of education. I am glad to hear he means to return in the next month, for though Lord Buckingham is incessant in his application to business, the assistance of such a judicious friend must be highly useful to him. What a change is here from a convivial Lord-Lieutenant who was so fond of good fellowship and so averse to business that he could scarcely be prevailed upon to give it a general superintendence to a strict regular man of business who goes through every part of it himself to the most minute detail. Which of the two, think you, is likely to be best served? Perhaps the answer might look like a paradox. I will therefore leave it to the reader. What a futile world is this! Our poor amiable Duke, with every quality to raise respect and conciliate affection, could not gain one huzza for all his living good qualities, but when the man was extinct, all his virtues, of which a generous humane and noble nature was the principal source, were acknowledged and revered, and his ashes sprinkled with the tears of a nation. What a proud and elevated mind was there, debased by

sensual habits! What an excellent understanding lost by the want of exercise, and made dull by the perpetual whirl of minor pursuits, 'wasting its sweetness on the desert air!' but there was an honest heart, a sympathising love of others, in which there was no alloy. I am glad to hear that Mr. G. is likely to be amply compensated for the loss of the Rolls by the reversion of the best office in this Country. The former exercised as in England, with an Act of Parliament to warrant it, would have been an immense saving to the Country in point of expense, by expediting the business of Chancery, and would have strengthened the final judicature if the possessor had been a peer. The judges in law business, and the two equity judges in their department, would have shut the door against the lay lords, who should leave the business of judging to those who have served a regular apprenticeship to it. They talk of a vacancy in our great Seal. Chief Baron Eyre will find the situation very lucrative, but very laborious, if he does all the business, of which I am told he is very capable. I congratulate with you also on the success of the administration in which you take so considerable part. By the treaties with France and Holland, Mr. Pitt has gained more than Lord North has lost or Lord . . . squandered. I hope you will either make Russia a friend, or make her feel at a very critical period of politics, the consequences of her not being so."

1789, April 2. Felbrigg.—William Windham to John Hely Hutchinson. Had been absent from London ever since the departure of the Irish delegates "and excepting such employment as the idea of a dissolution of Parliament has stirred up everywhere have endeavoured to improve my spirits after our late abortive labours by abstracting myself from all thoughts of politics." I feel however a lively interest in what passes in Ireland and am anxious about transactions, "in which you have so large a share. I shall transmit a copy of the paper you have favoured me with to the Duke of Portland in case he should not have received the particulars yet from any other quarter. The stake risked by yourself and Lord Donoughmore was sufficiently great; I am happy to think it is not likely to be forfeited. It has happened here, as in other cases, that the spirit which has incurred the danger, has provided the relief. . . . A letter received at the same time as yours tells me that our Parliament will certainly not be dissolved, and mentions a curious particular, thought by Fox to be authentic, that Pitt had made the proposal to the King, and that it was received with great anger and passion. What the ground or motive of the anger was, professed or supposed, is not said: whether from considering the measure as injurious to a Parliament that had deserved so well, or as a suspicious provision of Pitt for his own security, or as implying a distrust of the continuance of his Majesty's sanity."

[1789?].—Thomas Gallway to the Rev. Patrick Hare, Vicar General of Cashel. Asking his opinion on a business he has often decided in the Court in which he presides and where his decisions have in great measure brought the tenantry of Tipperary or Limerick and those entitled to tithe to a proper understanding. "Though this country is in as great state of tranquillity as any other in the kingdom we cannot pretend to say that the payments of tithes in this part of Kerry is as satisfactory to the tenantry in general as it is in the county Limerick." Had learnt there "that the average rate of tithe of wheat by the acre was from 8 to 10 shillings, Barley 6, oats from 3 to 4, New Potatoes (what is called here) from 8 to 10, old Potatoes (or second crop) 6 shillings, and Hay from 2 to 3; where such a regulation is established every man knows

what he is to pay. Something of the kind we should cheerfully agree to, making some difference between the quality of the ground here” and in Limerick. . . . “The mode of regulating the price of our tithe is by sending a proctor into our fields (who has a shilling in the pound), they then make a return to their employers what each farmer is to pay and what we conceive to be much greater than we should, but we have no alternative, but must either pay or litigate.” I hope that through you the same regulations may be introduced here that have been in Limerick and Tipperary.

1790, April 9. Newlands.—Arthur Wolfe to John Hely Hutchinson. Advising on points connected with the approaching College election and seeing no objection to postponing the scrutiny till the close of the Poll.

1790, August 6. Dublin.—Lord Donoughmore to John Hely Hutchinson at Buxton. “Lest the papers which contain the Philippic of the Chancellor [Fitzgibbon] and the manifesto of the Whig Club should not have reached you I send a copy of each. The unanimous election of Howison yesterday by the Aldermen and the almost unanimous approbation of him by the Commons are no bad comment on these two productions. Frank hints as if it was the opinion at Buxton, that the Ch[ancello]r was losing ground. He is certainly doing so in his own country. . . . There was a whisper to day that Beresford was not admitted by Mr. Pitt, when he called on him on his arrival in London. Possibly people argue from what might be the feeling of a Minister, who did not like hard driving, and certainly the English Minister cannot like the furious race his friends in Ireland have been running, if he looks at Irish characters with English eyes.” . . .

1790, August 22. Hayden Bridge.—George Hall to Rev. J. Spring. Enclosing copy of a letter from Dr. Maskelyne, the Astronomer Royal, recommending Mr. Vince as a proper person to succeed Dr. Ussher as professor of Astronomy in Dublin.

1790, October 2. Ballinasloe.—Lord Donoughmore to John Hely Hutchinson.

. . . “The Chancellor will certainly wish to be sole Minister as long as he can. But how far his Dublin stretches of power and consequent retreat may have increased the Premier’s confidence in him, I can only judge from what things ought to be.” . . .

1790, October 14 and 19, and November 8. Greenwich.—Nevil Maskelyne, Astronomer Royal, to John Hely Hutchinson. The first two letters relate to the proposed regulations for the Dublin Professorship of Astronomy, drawn up by him at Hutchinson’s request, and also to a Mural Circle being made by Mr. Ramsden for the Observatory, the last is an invitation to a meeting of the Royal Society.

1792, February 2. Trinity College, Cambridge.—Thomas Postlethwaite the Master, to John Hely Hutchinson. Answering his inquiries as whether at Cambridge the Master could independently of the Fellows refuse to admit pensioners under a particular tutor.

Same date. St. John’s College, Cambridge.—J[ames] Wood to — Greenwood. Answering inquiries on the same subject. In both letters a case in point at Clare is referred to.

1792, November 2. Dublin.—Lord Donoughmore to Francis Hely Hutchinson. . . . “With respect to the protest Kit [his brother

Christopher] sent it to me. . . . As to my own particular I have no object to serve. But my mind is made up, that Mr. Keogh and Mr. Tone shall not drive me into rebellion. I understand the idea of Protestant liberality carrying the Catholics along with [them] in the attainment of their just rights against the tide of prejudice and monopoly; but I am too proud to suffer a Catholic Junto to dictate to the people of Ireland, to its Government, and to their own Protestant supporters without deigning so much as to consult them on those measures on which they may find their characters committed and their properties endangered."

1792, December 5 and 6.—Account by Lord Donoughmore of his interviews and negotiations with the Catholic Committee in a room adjoining their place of meeting, relative to the mode of presenting their Petition to the King, whether directly or through the Lord Lieutenant. Mr. Braughall mentioned an offer he conceived to have been made by Sir Hercules Langrishe on the part of Government and communicated to him by one of the 68 gentlemen who had seceded with Lord Kenmare. Its material points were that if the Catholics transmitted their petition through the Lord Lieutenant, "it would be engaged on the part of Government to transmit it *immediately* and to accompany it with the strongest letter of recommendation of its contents." This assurance they did not think sufficient, but if Lord Donoughmore was empowered to guarantee this should be the case he might assure Government on their part that the petition should be presented through the Lord Lieutenant, and they requested him to make the proposal. To this he consented, having however previously expressed his conviction that the Government could not have given the supposed pledge. He then went immediately to Mr. Hobart [the Chief Secretary], who said that "there was no authority given by Government for any offer or conversation on the subject, and that Government could not possibly pledge itself to anything, but that he thought the Catholics would be very ill advised, if they should think of any other means of transmitting their petition than through the Lord Lieutenant." Lord Donoughmore replied he was strongly of the same opinion; but had little doubt that the contrary course would be taken, unless he could give assurances that the Lord Lieutenant would transmit the petition, and asked if on its being communicated to him and to his Excellency, and its not appearing to contain any exceptionable matter, he might not then be empowered to give his own assurances that his Excellency would transmit it to the King. Mr. Hobart said, "that he would empower me to say no more than this—that there had been no authority whatever for the offer, or conversation which I had stated—that I might communicate my own opinion, but none from Government on the subject." He then returned to the meeting and communicated to Mr. Keogh and Mr. Braughall the result of his interview.

1793, March 18.—John Hely Hutchinson to Lord Loughborough. Thanking him for his letter, and considering it most fortunate that his Lordship has found leisure to give some attention to Irish affairs. "French principles are universally execrated throughout the kingdom with an exception of the town of Belfast, of some places in the county of Londonderry, and some very few inconsiderable men in this city. As to the first of these we have this day issued a proclamation at the most numerous Privy Council that have assembled for many years. Lord S[hanno]n and Mr. Connolly usually in opposition to Government were present. This proceeding will probably prevent the

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spreading of this infection in the North, and as to the few incendiaries in this city, the proclamation which I have formerly mentioned to your Lordship, the proceedings of both Houses in consequence of it, and the general approbation of these measures seem to have completely put them down, and in the North all men of property are, I believe, well disposed. The spirit of volunteering seems to be laid and the Catholics are not only peaceably disposed, but seem to be well satisfied and grateful. In a debate on their bill, our Chancellor, formerly very adverse to them, after a speech against innovation declared for the bill which has been committed *nemine dissente*. The good intentions of the British Administration to this country are well understood here, and to this I attribute the facility with which Administration has carried its measures to an extent beyond its expectations. We have adjourned till next Monday with a view to carry through our Militia Bill, and on the 20th of April, to which day our recess is intended to continue, we proceed on three popular subjects so long agitated here. In the firm support of his Majesty's Government both sides of our house are agreed, and our very amiable friend has been one of the most forward, and the most useful. He has acted like an honest man, though not as a skilful head of Opposition, and has brought on himself and his friends a considerable portion of popular prejudice by not only going beyond what the servants of Government had originally intended to propose, but by reprobating the conduct of some violent demagogues. The consequence has been Administration has become strong, and Opposition weak. What may not proper concession effect, when the hope of it has operated so powerfully. An adherence by Ministers to your Lordship's wise maxim of the necessity of accommodating the system of the administration to the advanced state of the country will produce the most salutary effects to both kingdoms, and will make this an easy and honourable government. The neglect of that principle has occasioned all its difficulties. When a limitation of Parliament, a free trade, and a Habeas Corpus Bill were obtained this principle of governing should have been adverted to, and when a free constitution was recognised it should have been held sacred, but if it should ever happen in any country that as the constitution becomes more free, the government of it becomes more despotic, they are enemies and not associates, and one of them must certainly overturn the other. I speak of the general consequences of neglecting that principle, not meaning to impute despotism to this Government. . . . To the difficulties arising from the subjects themselves is to be added the ill humour which has arisen between the contending parties and the contrary habits of thinking and acting in which both have persevered for a considerable length of time with no very great moderation on either side. Your letter has given me great comfort, as it opens the prospect of removing these dissensions and of promoting general contentment and confidence between the governors and governed, objects which will never be attained but by the interposition of the British Ministry. The claims so long resisted are just; but they are carried too far by their advocates who are not sufficiently conversant in these subjects, have considered but one side, and have not learnt from experience that degree of influence necessary to unite the powers of good government and rational liberty. From a short statement of facts respecting each of the subjects now under discussion your Lordship will see what ought and ought not to be conceded. In the middle of the last month Major Hobart convened at the Castle a very large meeting consisting of the principal friends of Government in both houses and informed them without any further explanations that it was the intention of those entrusted with his Majesty's Govern-

ment to give way to such bills as tended to assimilate the constitutions of the two countries as far as the circumstances of this country would admit. I shall beg leave to mention those subjects to which this principle of assimilation will apply. The first . . . is the disabling office bill. This is taken principally from the English Acts of 6 Ann. c. 7, and 15 Geo. 2. c. 22, but goes further in its retrospect as to new created offices to January '89, in the exclusion of military governors and of some military officers, and in the unlimited retrospect to all additional salaries though not so intended. The last would exclude two great officers, the Secretary of State and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, though the addition to the first was 38 and to the second 36 years since, and, I believe, many more. In these respects and in the exclusion of the Commissioners of Revenue and Customs, two only excepted, I think the bill faulty, and that it should not be suffered to pass the line marked by the English Acts, by which I do not mean nominal differences. The second subject to which this principle applies is the Responsibility bill—an object of great national importance ardently wished for by all descriptions of people here, not of difficult accomplishment, but totally misunderstood by the worthy man who has framed the present bill. It establishes a strange and impracticable board of Treasury consisting of commissioners taken from unconnected departments who are to countersign and to be responsible for the Lord Lieutenant's acts without means of information or any official knowledge of the business. These commissioners are to control the Lord Lieutenant in all revenue appointments, and the King in the power of the Sword, and they are to have a superintendency over the Boards of works, barracks, and ordnance, and over the receipts and payments for the bounties. As to the progress to be made in grants from the King and the Lord Lieutenant both the law and the practice are mistaken. I have not often read a worse considered bill, which is to be regretted as the object of it is laudable. The evils generally and justly complained of are that in all transactions relative to the King's and Lord Lieutenant's grants whether of honour or office the forms of law always observed in England and equally required by law in this country, are here, in some respects, materially departed from, which prevents that mutual control and responsibility existing in England and enjoined by the Constitution of both countries. The manner of proceeding in England it would be presumptuous to state to your Lordship. The proceeding there in the business of Ireland is not objected to, for the King's acts cannot be better authenticated to the Lord Lieutenant than by the attestation of the English Secretary of State under his seal of office, and in many matters under the signatures of 3 Lords of the Treasury. The complaint relates to the manner of proceeding here after the royal letter is received and in cases where no such letter is necessary. In the Lord Lieutenant's patent are the following words 'to do execute and ordain all things for us, and in our name, as we would or might do, if we were present in proper person,' and without these words the rule *concurrentibus iis quæ in jure requiruntur* would be the safest guide. How far this direction and this principle are followed here your Lordship will judge by a statement of our modes of proceeding. The King's letter is addressed to the Lord Lieutenant by the Solicitors (?) for Irish affairs resident in London if it relates to a pension during pleasure. A copy of this letter attested by the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary is sent to the Auditor General's Office together with a warrant signed at the top by his Excellency and countersigned at the bottom by his Secretary for placing the pension on the establishment, and a similar copy with a

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warrant for the payment signed and countersigned in the manner before mentioned is sent to the Treasury. In the case of pensions for years or lives the copy of the King's letter so attested, is sent to the Attorney General, who prepares the grant, and a similar attested copy to the keeper of the Privy Seal with a warrant signed by the Lord Lieutenant and countersigned by his Secretary for affixing that seal. A copy only of this warrant is left with the Keeper of the Privy Seal, who has not, as the Keeper of the Privy Seal has in England, the authority of the signet for affixing it, nor of the countersigning of any officer known to the law, the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary having only a verbal appointment. In the grants of offices where the Great Seal is necessary, the proceedings are similar. . . . This irregularity is however of long standing. The office of Principal Secretary of State was created 2nd of Elizabeth; before that time the business was transacted under the authority of the English Act of 27 Hen. 8. c. 11. By one of her instructions to her Secretary of State for Ireland 'He should keep the signet as in England, and make all bills warrants and writings that require signature, and have his fees for the same.' Cox, iv. 391, Ware 33. Cox, afterwards Lord Chancellor, had himself been Under Secretary of State. These instructions were observed to the time of the Revolution, from whence to the year 1755 the office of Secretary of State was in the hands of absentees, and during this interval the present innovation obtained, probably under the authority of the Act of Henry 8, which made the English Seals sufficient authority in such business, which Act since the year '82 is not in force here. The grants of the offices here are precisely in the same words by which they are granted in England, with one difference only, and the legal powers are the same in both Countries. The difference is this—in the grant the office of Privy Seal is called 'Keeper of our Signet or Privy Seal.' The two offices are distinctly granted and before the Revolution were in different hands as they always ought to be. There is now but one seal which is used as the Privy Seal, and there is no trace of its having been used as the Signet since the time of King William's being in Ireland. This and the substitution of the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary have produced irregularities in every department. In the various appointments to Revenue Offices the Lord Lieutenant signs at the top and the only authentication is the countersigning of his Secretary who is in all departments whatever the only efficient Minister. These various duties make it necessary for him to delegate parts of this business to two of his clerks, one in the Civil and the other in the Military Department, and those two gentlemen are become the Ministers under him. There is no country probably in Europe where such various powers and departments are in one man and that man unknown to the Constitution, and yet in the course of a long life I have not known more than two men in that office who had any previous acquaintance with public business. To the advanced state of the country the system of administration has been accommodated but in an inverse ratio to your Lordship's idea. The general cry for responsibility has arisen from this mode of transacting business; and while it continues it would be prudent to give the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary the legal authority and insignia of an old office.

If the principle of assimilation was to be followed in any instance it should be in those which have been mentioned, and it may be adopted without trouble or embarrassment of any kind—separate the offices of Keeper of the Privy Seal and Secretary of State, give the latter to the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary for the time being together with the Signet belonging to and inseparable from that office. By the delivery

of this Seal to him he becomes Secretary of State with the legal power of authenticating all acts by countersigning and affixing the Signet. The progress then of all grants here would be then the same here as in England; the Lord Lieutenant's acts would be authenticated like the King's, as his letters Patent require; the Keepers of the different Seals would control each other; there would be in all cases that passed the Signet or Privy Seal or both that responsibility and control which exists in England, and which the laws of both countries require. In respect to myself I make neither objection nor claim. I only suggest such facilities as occur to me, which if thought conducive to the public service I should not be unwilling to promote without prejudice or disparagement to myself. The two offices have been in one hand since the Revolution, and since 1759 have been granted for life. . . . This is suggested not as the best, but as the most speedy way and practicable expedient by which the King's business would be then carried on in Ireland precisely. Having these offices in the hands of distinct men, allowed to perform their duties and constantly resident would be better, their stations would promote public confidence, which would be highly useful to His Majesty's Government, and the Lord Lieutenant and his Secretary would have that superintendency necessary for keeping the officers of the Crown to their duty and for directing the conduct of business in such a manner as would unite the interests of both kingdoms. In respect to the Treasury the business is done by a Deputy Paymaster and Teller, both deputies to the Vice-Treasurers. I have heard of no complaint. If assimilation was adopted as to that business they with the Chancellor of the Exchequer might be easily formed into a Treasury Board, who would constitute a much better controlling power over the public receipts and payments than the Commissioners proposed to be appointed by this bill. This may be done without expense, as they are now well paid, the Deputy Paymaster, it is said, not less than 5,000*l.* yearly. But as to this and what I have mentioned respecting responsibility, no part of either seems to me to be so proper for a bill as for arrangements to be made by His Majesty, if such shall be his royal pleasure, and the interposition of the legislature in matters proper for the Executive should be in my opinion always avoided." I enclose the bill mentioned and will write shortly about the pension bill. (*Draft.*)

1793, March 28.—The Same to the Same. On the Irish Pension Bill. Its three chief objects were the reduction of pensions to a fixed sum, the exclusion of certain pensioners from the House of Commons, and the enactment that salaries granted to certain offices during pleasure or for life or lives should be deemed pensions. The first is taken from the English Act of 28 Geo. 3. c. 62, but with material alterations. In it the reduction is to 90,000*l.* and in the limitation of the yearly sum to be granted to one person, there are two exceptions, one in favour of members of the Royal Family, the other on an address of either House of Parliament. The Irish Bill reduces to 80,000*l.* and omits the exceptions. "If these parts of the bill be made conformable to the English Act and should in that shape receive the approbation of his Majesty's Ministers it will be considered here as a most important concession, and will be received with national applause and gratitude." To show the prudence of this concession he proceeds to state the net amount of the hereditary revenue for the past year, ending March 25, 1792, which was 275,102*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.* The gross amount was 764,621*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*, but from this the expenses of management and premiums to a great amount and other charges are deducted. The premiums are perpetual charges created by Acts of Parliament, the

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other charges have been constantly subtracted from this revenue. The net amount of the Civil establishment for the same time including pensions was 208,408*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.* and of the military 541,351*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* The net hereditary revenue is therefore exceeded by the cost of the establishments by nearly 3 to 1, and taking in extraordinaries and exceedings on these establishments in a much greater proportion. Though there has been a decrease in the hereditary and other revenues in the last year, yet this difference will be greatly exceeded by the constantly increasing amount of bounties and the greatly increased expenses of government which will not be less than 350,000*l.* in the present year. The amount of pensions on the Civil Establishment for the year ending March 25, 1792, was 102,389*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* to which are to be added true pensions amounting to 7,612*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* Deducting these sums from the net hereditary revenue leaves 165,100*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* towards payment of the other charges of the civil and the whole of the military Establishment. Three items of this Revenue are not applicable to pensions: 1. Hearth-money expressly exempted by the Act of 14 & 15 Car. 2. c. 17 under which it is granted. 2. All licenses in like manner exempted by 14 & 15 Car. 2. c. 12. 3. The Inland excise granted by the 14 & 15 Car. 2. c. 8 of which the preamble is quoted. The first in the last year amounted to 77,358*l.*, the second to 11,574*l.*, the third to 130,489*l.* Deducting from these gross sums for management and charges in the same proportion as the rest of the hereditary revenue they will net 78,364*l.*, and after deducting this sum and the amount of the present pensions there would not remain 90,000*l.* yearly applicable to any increase of these grants, though no part of that sum was to be applied to the support of any other part of the establishments, but of this no House of Commons could approve, as this revenue appears by the several Acts to be granted for public uses, and the application of less than $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of that revenue would probably be considered as a very small contribution for those purposes. The mode in which pensions were granted is then mentioned, and the fact that the House of Commons could consider their amounts as parts of the sums for which a supply is to be granted, and might therefore include these grants in their estimate of a supply or might omit them. "The question then comes to this is it more advantageous to Government to lay on the charge subject to the control and animadversion of either House of Parliament or to prevent every objection by leaving a certain sum to be disposed of in that manner without such control, unless in cases of abuse and by having the approbation of Parliament previous to any addition made to that sum." Every wise minister, he considers, must prefer the latter. Such a limitation would be useful in many respects, "persons of more weight and higher character when they were no longer to be the theme of popular calumny would accept pensions, and though no longer in Parliament give strength and credit to Government. A large annual sum legalised would be more valuable than a larger sum the legality of which is doubtful and the illegality of which the father of our present Chancellor was so confident, as to endeavour by a motion in Parliament to have that question determined in a course of legal proceedings not having before his eyes the fear of Lord Hale's opinion in the Bankers' case; and his son when Attorney General objected to the measure now proposed on account of the additional weight which it would give to Ministers." Such a limitation would remove the general dissatisfaction on the subject which has prevailed in Ireland for the whole century, and Government would gain more strength in confidence than it would lose in influence, supposing it did lose in influence, and exclusive of pensions influence is as great in Ireland as any wise

administration ought to desire. To determine whether this national discontent was well founded or not he then gives a summary of the history of pensions and the agitation against them from 1669 when they amounted to 3,214*l.* onwards. He mentions that "in consequence of political contests in 1753 and of the removal from office of some of the principal men in the country and of the expense of replacing them, pensions were lavishly granted, and to procure tranquillity profusion was for some time connived at." "From this review it appears that the limitation and reduction of pensions is not a new idea, that they have greatly increased, that the increase has been condemned by Government and by the House of Commons, that it has been the constant source of national contention, that neither Lord Lieutenants were always to be trusted with the exercise, nor the Commons with the superintendency of this power; what follows? that pensions should be regulated by law. The great object to the country is the limitation and not the reduction." . . . The measure must be highly acceptable at this time of great exertion and impaired strength. In the last year the public expenditure without taking in the interest and annuities on the Public Debt exceeded the income by over 50,000*l.*, and this year the excess will be greatly increased. "As the profusion of the Commons in grants has been very wisely restrained by Government it should learn in its turn the necessity of proper restrictions." Fears that Mr. Pitt considers the hereditary revenue to be greater than it really is. To the second object, the exclusion of certain pensioners during pleasure or for years there seems no objection. It is taken from 6 Ann. c. 7 and 1 Geo. 1. c. 56. The third object takes up the regulation of the first of those Acts as to new offices, but carries it much further. With regard to some it is unlimited and as to others goes back to 1767, is a law *ex post facto* and *contra factum*, contrary to the intention of the Crown and of the grantee at the time of the grant, and making that a pension which was given and accepted to prevent its falling within that class. He therefore argues against the provision.

1793, September 19. Cove.—William O'Brien to ——. Enclosing the following extract from his brother's letter. "As I am speaking of this siege [Dunkirk] I cannot pass over in silence the valour and heroism of Col. Hely Hutchinson. This gentleman, who is Aide-de-Camp to General Abercrombie has displayed such intrepidity and military knowledge within these few weeks that he is become the idol of the whole army. On that ever memorable day on which General Dalton finished his military career Hutchinson voluntarily braved the fire of a most dreadful battery to snatch from imminent destruction a division of the Guards too brave to retreat without orders even where valour impelled them too far."

1794, May 12. Soho Square.—John Hely Hutchinson to Lord Donoughmore. With regard to the Historical Society in College I wish it to be understood that I had not been consulted "as to the measure of the decree or any part of the transactions." The Society was a favourite institution of mine, and it is then praised for several reasons. It "had grown up to such a degree of maturity as to have made a very material circumstance in the education of young men in the place, and I hope the putting it down may not be attended with serious inconveniences." Some proposed arrangement with regard to the offices of Secretary of State and Keeper of the Privy Seal is referred to. "It is understood here that his Lordship [the Irish Chancellor] and D. [?] Douglas] are not upon the best terms, and I believe it to be true from

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some words that fell from D. [? Douglas] respecting the great advantage to the Final Judicature of my being in the House of Peers."

1794, June 23. Buxton.—John Hely Hutchinson to Lord Donoughmore. "The degree of a Viscount accepted or obtained by a Baron was never yet and never will be imputed to him as vanity. The rejection of it if offered would be so considered by every reasonable man. Not having heard from Douglas in answer to a letter written on Saturday was a fortnight I consider the negociation as at an end." Referring to the regiment Lord Donoughmore is raising, recommending him to get his accounts settled as speedily as possible. Had been told by Lord Moira that he had been many years before he could get the accounts of the regiment raised by him settled, and he had been many years 7,000*l.* out of pocket. The regiment raised by his son John is referred to. Earnestly recommending him to cultivate Lord Westmoreland, whom he himself had too much neglected.

1794, June 27. Rennix (?), Flanders.—Colonel John Hely Hutchinson, afterwards second Lord Donoughmore, to Lord Donoughmore. Referring to the arrangements relating to the regiment he had raised and the one his brother was raising, finding officers who would purchase majorities, &c. in them, &c. "Prince Coburg attacked the French on the Sambre yesterday morning at 5 o'clock, and strange to tell we do not know the event of the battle, yet the event is of the greatest importance to the cause of the allies."

1794, July 2. Buxton.—John Hely Hutchinson to Lord Donoughmore. Enclosing a letter for Mr. Douglas "in answer to a very long one relative to the negotiation and enclosing a statement of the College and mentioning that I should be ready to negotiate with him from this place as to the Privy Seal, and entering into the reasons in support of my opinions on that subject. He declines the negotiations so that I consider that affair not as suspended but determined." Recommending him "to ask to be admitted a Trustee of the Linen Board for which your connection with Cork is a just pretension; and which may be successfully used for a more useful purpose—the establishment of a small village of Manufacturers on the Knocklofty Estate. This would be the means of getting you a seat in Parliament upon moderate terms; and no man could more easily establish such a village than yourself."

1794, July 5. Buxton.—The Same to the Same. Discussing whether his raising a regiment and placing himself at the head of it would give any additional strength to his family or any prospect of advantage, and deciding both questions in the negative.

1795, January 18. Grodno.—Stanislaus Augustus, King of Poland, to General Gardiner. Bidding him adieu "from the bottom of my heart, where you will keep your place till my death. I hope that we shall at least again meet there, where honourable souls and good hearts should find themselves together for ever. The usual etiquette is so deranged by my sad destiny that probably we shall not be able to perform the rites of diplomacy. It will always be true that I love and honour your king and your nation and you will tell them so."
... (*In French.*)

A bundle of papers relating to (1) the proceedings on the petition against the return of the Hon. F. Hely Hutchinson to Parliament for Dublin University, (2) the proceedings at the Visitations in 1791.

Among the former is a narrative of the election in which the following occurs "While the returning officer [the Provost] was endeavouring to take notes of Mr. Downes' argument as well as the imperfect light of the evening would permit, a Bullrush chair was tore into two parts and the greater part of the seat of it in which some nails were sticking was thrown at his head. As his head was leant towards the paper, the intended blow missed him, but a gentleman of the name of Lapp, who was then behind him, and stooping over the returning officer, received a severe blow from it, which raised a considerable contusion on his forehead, and this instrument of mischief was thrown with so much violence as to have rebounded from the forehead of Mr. Lapp over a partition at least eight or ten feet high. The other part of the chair was also thrown at the Provost but missed him."

F. H. BLACKBURNE DANIELL.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF GEORGE A. AITKEN, ESQ.

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These consist of three Letter-Books of Sir James Porter. Sir James Porter, Knight, F.R.S., was Ambassador at Constantinople from 1746 till the beginning of 1762, and was afterwards Minister Plenipotentiary at Brussels from 1763 to 1765. The first two books contain copies of his despatches and letters for the years 1752 and 1753. The originals of the former addressed to the Duke of Newcastle and the Earls of Holderness and Albemarle are preserved in the Record Office, and the copies have therefore not been noticed in the Calendar. Most of the letters are addressed to the Levant Company, and to the Consuls at various places, including Cairo, Alexandria, Tripoli in Africa, Aleppo, Latakia, Smyrna, Salonica, Canea, Cyprus, and Patras, and relate to matters of business, and the affairs of private persons of no general interest. From these two books, therefore, only a few extracts have been given. The third book consists of copies of letters from Brussels, in which many interesting notices occur, for instance, the remarks about Lord Carteret and those relating to Wilkes. Sir James Porter was the son of a Captain La Roche, who had served under James II. in Ireland, and had settled there. Born in Dublin about 1710 he and his brothers were brought up by their uncle Mr. Porter, whose name they assumed. A *protégé* of Lord Carteret's, he was sent by him to Vienna in 1741 to assist Lord Hyndford, the ambassador there. While at Constantinople he married the daughter of the Baron de Hochepeid, the Dutch Ambassador. After his return from Brussels he retired on a pension and died in 1776. A memoir of him is prefixed to "*Turkey, its History and Progress, from the Journals and Correspondence of Sir James Porter*," by his grandson Sir George Larpent. He was himself the author of "*Observations on the Religion, Laws, Government, and Manners of the Turks*," published in 1768.

LETTER-BOOKS OF SIR JAMES PORTER.

1752, January 24. To the Levant Company. Referring *inter alia* to the recent epidemic of plague, and to the means to be taken for supplying dragomans.

1752, May 4. To General Blakeney, Governor of Minorca. Complaining of the conduct of the Mahonese traders in defrauding the Levant Company and the Consuls of their "Consulage" or profits on exchange by surreptitiously changing their Spanish or Italian money into Turkish.

1752, May 19. To Mr. Consul White at Tripoli in Africa. Complaining that he has sent by a ship belonging to him English cloth for sale at Constantinople which is not permitted except to those who are free of, or have liberty of trade from the Levant Company. A letter of the same date to the Consul at Smyrna refers to the same subject.

1752, June 9. To Mr. Consul Crawley at Smyrna. Explaining that when in a former letter he objected to the bearer in a letter of protection being described as a Maltese he only meant that "instead of Malteze, the fellow should be called a Topinambou or anything else, nothing is so offensive to the Turk as that epithet of Malteze."

1752, June 21. To the Levant Company. "I wish it lay in my power to assist you as to the grievances of quarantaines."

1752, August 21. To Mr. Keith, British Representative at Vienna. "I have wrote to Mr. Drummond [Consul at Aleppo] to send me the Cedar Cones, which I shall forward to you."

1752, October 2. To the Levant Company. Referring to the rebuilding of the Embassy Chapel which had been burnt and observing it was indifferent to him "whether it was ever rebuilt, the other was so cold and damp in winter, and our congregation, God knows, so small that except the times of administering the Communion, we had Divine Service in one of my Chambers."

1752, October 10. To General Blakeney. "Haji Manoel Sifantes has communicated to me the privileges his Majesty has been pleased to grant to those of his communion at Minorea."

1752, November 2. To the Levant Company. "The French Counciller has been murdered by the Cadi and guard at Cyprus, at the Consul's door. I thank your Worships for the well turned Ode of Voltaire's I found in your letter."

1753, January 2. To the same. "We are rid of the Dutch Protections at Aleppo. They have sent a chap there, one Hamwinckel, a German, as Consul without a Berrat of the Porte. He took an audience of old Chur Achmet Pascha, the most haughty and perhaps the most sensible man of this Empire. He received him, but when he had got his presents, and found he had no Berrat, he sent and imprisoned his Druggomen, declared him an impostor, ordered him not to put up his Flagg at Scanderoon, and would have hung the Janizarys who attended him, if they had not escaped."

1753, January 16. To the Earl of Albemarle. "Our expectation has been great to see the permanancy of a general peace, fixed on a stable and solid foundation by the election of a King of the Romans, as this Court's views are entirely concentrated to that principle." I beg leave to trouble you "with the inclosed project of subscription of two worthy industrious young men, who have been now near two years and a half at Athens at a most laborious work on the Antiquities; the execution will be a national honour. An attempt of this kind was thought hitherto impracticable, and indeed with the ignorance and jealousy which abounds in this country when they were first recommended to me. . . . I could scarce venture to encourage them. Hitherto they have succeeded and I greatly hope by continuing the same management, they may accomplish it."

1753, February 3. To the Levant Company. The *Thames* was "blown up in Tripoly bay, the 3rd of January. She sunk, but as it is in five fathom water, I greatly flatter myself the goods will be saved, but the poor mates, gunner, steward, caulker, and a seaman were lost; 10 men wounded, these and all the others are saved, the Captain and Purser were fortunately on shore signing Bills of Lading. You will find in your last six months' accounts a gold watch given the Reis Effendi by my order. Immediately on the executions when he found his credit strengthened he asked it of me very pressingly, and I thought it no time to refuse, but rather the properest time to give."

1753, June 9. To Mr. Consul Crawley, at Smyrna. "The seizure of the Minorca supercargo cannot be gotten over, but by my friendship

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with the Captain Pascha, to whom I shall write. Turkish law is against us. He whose goods they were can seize them wherever he finds them. So I find no other expedient. What had the rascal to do with Corsairs?" By the following letter to the Dragoman of the Captain Pascha, it appears that the goods were 80 sacks of rice, and belonged to merchants of Scio.

1753, June 28. To Messrs. Albott, Levett, Abbott, and D'Amirale, at Angora. Acknowledging their representations "of the continual disturbances given you by persons who endeavour to alienate the subjects from working your yarn at a usual price." Have applied to the Porte.

1753, August 1. To the Levant Company. . . . There seems to be a promising aspect at Sidon for extending your trade. The French import 500 bales of cloth, besides pepper, tin, lead, cochineal, cutlery wares, indigo, indigo dust, sugar, coffee, powder, shot, glass-ware, paper, &c., all which or the greatest part went to Damascus by caravan, where there are about 50 cloth shops. Some go from thence to Mecca and 40 or 50 bales to Bagdad. . . . The exports yearly from Sidon to France have been about 9,000 bales of filladoes; Damascus burdetts, drugs, senna, Mecca galls, silk, &c.

1753, September 15. To the same. One of the men on board the *Lancashire Witch* was taken ill with suspicious symptoms. Dr. Mackenzie examined him and assured me he was in a perfect state of health. "To give way to the herd I had him examined, fully persuaded that knavery and ignorance would have it plague. . . . They did so, the man was brought on shore to be put in a clean house, but in the confusion it fell out, that instead of it he lay 4 days in a Pest-house, the second day he found it out, damn'd their eyes, and lay waiting for orders, for without them he would not remove, but to secure himself lay in the hen-roost, all this time he had no complaint, the boil broke of itself, and he is gone away with the *Witch* 15 days ago, all in perfect health." I propose therefore getting a small house with two or three beds, for an hospital. The common hospital is death.

1763, November 4. Brussels. To Richard Phelps, Esq. "I am here as well acquainted almost as in London. I found many old faces, old acquaintances, and no man of them all seemed better pleased than H.R.H. [Prince Charles of Lorraine] to see me. . . . He has better sense, and better knowledge than any of them, and as much honesty as any man living."

Same date and place. To George Brown, Esq. Asking him to send him the *Chronicle* and the *London Gazette*. "I thought my extraordinaries were 600*l.* instead of 400*l.*; I have wrote to friend Weston about it."

1763, November 7. To Sir Joseph Yorke. "He who is out, and that I had drawn with six years, saw me go abroad with reluctance. He missed his moment by a scrupulous point of honour. When it will come again is the question. Those in labour incessantly, and I nor none at home saw the business go on with more industry than since they have consolidated themselves, as they appear to be."

1763, November 14. To the same. Had left London because he "could not have undergone another winter in their way. No society, all routs, no three friends to spend a sober evening, mine divided. I

hastened into better hours, more ease and quiet. Had expected the resignation of the Attorney General [Hon. Charles Yorke] on my departure. A friend strong in Opposition hinted it. I even heard persuasions made use of. . . . I found and confirmed by our common friend that every act of that kind would be regarded as personal, that no former examples would be followed, and I dare answer Lord H[alfax] thinks entirely that way. which leaves no doubt that His Majesty's sentiments are the same. . . . After what I saw last winter in London I am convinced that whoever has the plenitude of the King's authority, does nothing unpopular, may last as long as Sir R[obert] W[alpole]. These had it when I came away; and, if they cement, you may judge of the rest. They have it in London that the K[ing] of P[russia] intends Prince Henry for the Crown of Poland.

1763, November 15. To the Right Honourable Edward Weston. (Abstracted in *Report of the Historical MSS. Commission* on "the Weston Papers," p. 361. This will be hereafter referred to as W. P.)

Same date. To George Amyand, Esq. Snow in abundance. Arrived here on the 29th of last month. Referring to "the infamous article you mention in the Gazette," which from subsequent letters appears to have been a statement of the bankruptcy of his house.

1763, November 18. To George Brown, Esq. Enclosing Account of Extraordinaries. From April 26 to July 26, 1763, for postage of letters, printed and written intelligence, stationery ware, &c. 100*l*.

1763, November 21. To Sir Joseph Yorke. The King "will never stretch Prerogative nor hurt the Constitution, means everything that is right, sees, hears, and reads every point relating to business. . . . After the famous Conference, which ended by His Majesty's own motion in a consolidation of the present ministry matters took a consistent turn. Before that epoch the Triumvirate worked with reluctance, they kept united and resolved to stand and fall together; but business seemed rather to languish. Lord Eg[remont] had resolved to quit, and as he had . . . taken me into some share of his confidence, some time before his death . . . he laid open every circumstance and concluding as to his own . . . seemed to wish you his successor. Hence the report, not I declare from me, for you are the only man living knows this anecdote from me, that you was to have been Secretary of State. At that time he had it in his head. The Sunday before I departed I spent part of the day with Lord H[alfax] at Bushy. . . . He was quiet there at labour, for he is indefatigable, when news was sent him Mr. P[itt] was with the King. You may judge his surprise. He greatly disapproved of the changes so rapidly, so indiscriminately made confounding the one with the other, and if he continues in, those out will be, I dare say, reimplaced as vacancies fall in. He is popular and has the good opinion of the Mercantile part of London, and I believe chief in the King's confidence in perfect intelligence with Mr. Gr[enville]. . . . Thus I left them not in the least doubt about their own permanency, and I cannot help thinking that with Mr. F[o]x, who told Mr. Boone . . . that to whomsoever the King gives his authority in England they will always support themselves. . . . How it came about that after the Secretary had regulated the affair of the marriage [of the Princess Augusta with the Duke of Brunswick] it was entangled in a net of law we could not learn. . . . They have done now what I advised after beginning . . . to cut short and leave all to the King. He will do anything that is reasonable for his sister even about the point

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of the command, 'will he not be my brother-in-law? In whom should I confide better? But I will not tie up my hands' . . . Quel tapage en Angleterre à son arrivée! I wish I could keep his Highness in a case and show him at five guineas a head. I should be the richest man in England. . . . Count Coburgh is a very able, sensible, and friendly man. He acquired what he deserves, great reputation and confidence with his Court by his ability and management. . . . The Porte will never act about Poland. Their constant answer was that they are a composition of drunken fellows, who quarrel among themselves when heated with the fumes of wine, are reconciled when sober, and never to be depended on."

1763, November 25. To Richard Phelps, Esq. Am in the highest spirits that "that miscreant infamous scribbler [Wilkes] is brought to public infamy and ignominy. We may say of him as old Bentley did of Middleton, reading his Pamphlet concerning the Confusion of tongues at Babel, 'Dick,' said he to his son, 'when Middleton wrote against my New Testament, I knew he would write against God Almighty at last.'"

1763, December 2. To the Baron de Behr. In accordance with the orders of Her Majesty the Queen giving him directions how to procure in London from the East India Company, coffee of the same quality as the Turks drink in the Levant. "The house taken for me here must have been built by a Hottentot or an Iroquois. I have had to lose a year's rent." Have now taken the late Nuncio's. (*In French*.)

1763, December 9. To Richard Phelps, Esq. "The English Jesuits drove from St. Omer and received by this Government at Bruges have purchased the large stones of the works of Dunkirk, for to erect their seminary at Bruges, and vast quantities are arrived there on the way."

1763, December 11. To Sir Joseph Yorke. "Whilst I stayed in England, I thought myself in a state of anarchy, the laws seemed a dead letter, and no man proof against the virulence and malice of calumny and slander in public prints. The abuse S. Martin underwent was most shocking . . . yet I am told he would never have resented it, if his name had not been mentioned at large in the octavo edition of the *N[orth] B[riton]* . . . When Lord H[ollan]d returned from France he let his Majesty know that he returned merely to show his obligation to the King . . . he had no other call or business. He is not consulted, has no share directly or indirectly in Government. . . . We shall be long in suspense about the Polish Election. The Poniatowski have not fortune to support it, the Czartoriski has. They are first cousins. I was told the former had resigned his interest to the latter, but I must tell you a confidential anecdote I heard in a whisper, that the Elector Palatine thinks of it and may be a candidate."

1763, December 16. To the Right Honourable Edward Weston. (Abstracted in W. P., p. 362, without date.)

1763, December 26. To Claude Amyand, Esq. Inquiring whether his brother's receiving a Baronetcy would be agreeable to him. (Enclosed in the next.)

1763, December 27. To the Right Honourable Edward Weston. (Abstracted in W. P., p. 362.)

1764, January 17. To the Right Honourable Edward Weston. "Wilkes is at Paris, says he shall be expelled the House, yet talks of returning, which nobody believes, gives out his wound is bad. Sam. Martin is with him, has, I am told, visited him, and the wits here say,

that they and Churchill met at a game of Ombre, but not understanding it wanted a fourth for Quadrille or Whist."

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1764, January 19. To Andrew Mitchell, Esq. "I had the affecting circumstances of almost closing the eyes of a great and a warm friend, Lord Granville. I lived with him whilst he lived, the same great, the same wise, the same indulgent friend to his last breath. The moment I lost him that moment I determined to change abode."

1764, January 20. To Richard Phelps, Esq. "I must tell you what I have accidentally heard, and am concerned at, that the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick's stay will be very short. The French, whose impudence would operate by low insinuations, were they crushed to atoms, pretend to whisper that it will be so short as to prevent their Ambassador from visiting His Highness. . . . They remember how he followed, persecuted, and chastised them; the names of Brunswick and Granby are made use of by their nurses at Paris to keep their children in obedience."

1764, January 24. To the Earl of Morton. Enclosing an account of the Plague at Constantinople, drawn up by Dr. Murdoch Mackenzie, asking him to communicate it to the Royal Society.

1764, February 6. To Father Boscovich, the mathematician. About Maskelyne's failure to observe the Transit of Venus at St. Helena, and about Harrison's method of determining the Longitude.

1764, March 5. To Sir Joseph Yorke. "I remember to have heard in the House of Commons many years ago one Mr. D'Anvers rise up on a Hanoverian question, and with an audible voice declare that if he saw any of the King's enemies cut a bush on the Hanoverian territories he would be the first man to knock him down."

1764, March 19. To Sir Joseph Yorke. Condoling with him on the death of his father Lord Hardwicke, and quoting the words of "a dying man whose parts were surely transcendent, the late Lord Granville. 'That family of the Yorkes are most surprising, all men of parts, all virtuous and able. There are not so many brothers who have turned out so happily in all England, and I know most of the families.'"

1764, March 29. To the same. "Not one word of the king's intention of going abroad this year. . . . Herrenhausen was in such decay when I passed that it required rebuilding, so that I am not surprised they should repair both that and the Court in town."

1764, April 13. To William Gordon, Esq., British Representative at the Diet at Ratisbon. "Your post at R. is full of ceremony. You cannot spit out of the window without offending the head or paraphernalia of an *Excellence*. You are all so, that Ceremonial there is looked on as essential and subject to contests." Advising him as to his conduct, and recommending him to consult Baron de Behr, the King's minister in London for his Hanoverian affairs. . . . "A Secretary who can translate from the German is an essential implement, and if he can from the Latin better, these two are the languages of the Empire. . . . When I heard Mr. Grenville in the House of Commons I think as to matter I never observed any go so deep, and with more thorough knowledge. With that knowledge and capacity, and what is indisputable, a great fund of integrity, I dare say he must succeed."

1764, April 16. To Sir Joseph Yorke. "One Mr. Gordon, who went with me to Turkey, is named for Ratisbon. . . . He writes,

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‘ Mr. Grenville has displayed his abilities and knowledge of the situation of this country in a very eminent degree. This the Opposition allow, and they still go further, and own that if the country can be saved in the loaded state in which he found it, he is the man by his economy to do it. Charles Townshend some days in Opposition, and others in the Administration. He is still playing the Harlequin when he might be a Lord Sommers. P[itt] at Hayes.’”

1764, April 17. To Sir Edmund Thomas. Mr. Thomas, his son, “ looked out for a carriage on his arrival, for it is impossible to prosecute that journey [to Vienna] without it. He has bought one for 22 Louis d’or. I have advised him to take money here [for] his journey, which must cost him 50*l.* or 60*l.* at least and credit in case of accident on the road.”

1764, May 8. To Richard Phelps, Esq. Mentioning the arrival of Lord Hinchinbrook, “ the very image of his father. . . . This town is dull, all houses shut to foreigners of all nations. They live to themselves and by themselves, totally changed within these seven years. Splendid poverty amongst their nobility and the price of necessaries increased, which is the reason assigned.”

1764, May 4. To Dudley Cosby, Esq. at Copenhagen. “ Whether Solon was in the right to enact that no man should stand neuter in the Republick I know not, but this I do know that Michael guarded by all his Archangels would not be suffered to stand *neuter* in England.”

1764, May 15. To Richard Phelps, Esq. “ I told them here the moment I saw the impotent declaration of the Court of France, the inept one of their monkeys that of Vienna, that they would be answered with Cosaques and Russ in the heart of Poland, perhaps Prussians to support them. . . . I do not apprehend other blows will be given in Poland than amongst themselves, and perhaps some of them thoroughly drunk may knock down a Russ. . . . Describing the Count of Vienna. “ Charles VI. tired of all his great stupid nobility, tired of seeing, hearing, reading, adopted a Professor’s son of Strashourg and he governed for 15 years; saw, read, heard and wrote by and through him. I saw all the Pride of Austria humiliated, Princes on all sides, this very first Minister, . . . cringing, fawning, scraping, bowing. . . . Like causes produce like effects. Zinzendorf eat, drank, dosed, slept, knew and thought dully. K[aunitz] flirts, wriggles, imagines, receives ideas as quick as boys raise bubbles, make the same impression, dance on the surface of the Brain, fly off, remains exstactic before a glass, measures the proportion of a nicked French toupée, adjusts his face, lets Sinder think, and retails those thoughts as his own. Though ’tis an inversion of character, the same effects will and must follow. . . . If care is not taken, we shall be over-run with French Jesuits. 30 are in these countries, not admitted in Convents, but board in private houses. I am told many are gone over to England.”

1764, May 21. To Sir Joseph Yorke. . . . “ What a Country that cannot find an Ambassador that can write! Le pauvre G[uerch]y, [French ambassador to London] knew what I did not, that my wife was of these countries, so she is originally . . . for I found on reading the *Topical History of the Cambresis* all her generation from 1200. . . . ”

1764, June 19. To Richard Phelps, Esq. “ I am favoured with your letter by that apostolical man, Mr. Hutton . . . The message

was purely to thank me for such service as I had done to some of his brethren, and one in particular I had recommended to the King of Abyssinia's first minister, who after staying with me several months in Turkey, joined me at the Hague on my return, and came over to England with me, a very honest good man."

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1764, June 26. To George Amyand, Esq. Asked you to keep my books because it is probable I shall step over next year for a visit and to have my children inoculated. I wish I had commissioned some druggist of note for the pound of Jesuits' Bark, picked fine and good.

1764, July 17. To Richard Phelps, Esq. "I am very glad for the honour of our country and laws that D'Eon is found guilty. The example was necessary. If our laws are defective that of Nations required a punishment for such unparalleled infamy as he stole to publish. I suppose he will fly to the Antipodes . . . There is a circulating *filoux*, one Playstow, who has had an affair with Cressener. The fellow is or has been here, but had such a reception that he will not dare return."

1764, July 28. To Dudley Cosby, Esq. "The price of living surprises me. I thought it [Copenhagen] the cheapest town in Europe and especially as to house rent. If that is the case, your pay must be scarce sufficient."

1764, August 3. To Baron de Behr. After referring to the Polish election. Count Branicki "a few years ago, having quarrelled with the late Count Bruhl, thought of forming a confederation against the late king, and dethroning him. As Grand General he despatched to the Porte one Machouski, who had been a captain in the King of Prussia's service. This man then recommended to the French Ambassador was received, and as coming from the Polish Vizir was given a daily allowance. Count Minzeck was there to congratulate the Grand Seigneur Sultan Osman on behalf of the King and the Republic upon his accession, and seeing himself embarrassed with Machouski, . . . applied to me, and I made him leave the moment Minzeck was ready. He who wished to dethrone the late King is now the chief partisan of his house. . . . The Empress Queen will have 500 or 600 millions of debts, and what increases the burden is that they have bound themselves to repay at a fixed time, instead of taking their own time to do so. . . . She may say, *Video meliora proboque, Deteriora sequor*." (*In French*.)

1764, August 7. To Richard Phelps, Esq. "I hear that M. de Guerchy is determined to stay at Paris, that a grandson of Marshall Noailles' is talked of to succeed, a young man, M. d'Ayen."

1764, August 14. To Sir John Cust, Speaker. "My secretary Planta on seeing this letter . . . has begged of me to join in his father's request to desire your interest that he may rise according to seniority in the Museum. He is at present Assistant Librarian, a very learned, worthy, and good clergyman, with a wife and seven children and a very small income."

1764, August 18. To the Honourable and Reverend F. Hervey [afterwards Bishop of Derry and Earl of Bristol]. "If you travel as a clergyman I should think at Vienna you may find some difficulties, as you cannot use your pontifical dress, I know no example."

1764, August 20. To Sir Joseph Yorke. "The Russ news is singular and surprising. It is told differently. Some say a forged order was first produced for the young man's [Ivan's] release. In short we shall

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see on the Empress' return the delinquents appear in their true colours and punished according to the atrocity of the attempt. . . . You justly observe our history will not shine with greater glory and humanity than that of some centuries past, that we look upon with that horror they deserve. What is become of the father?"

1764, September 11. To Sir George Amyand. "Mr. Grenville will deserve a statue from all the King's servants especially those abroad. I see we shall now be paid regularly."

1764, September 15. To Lord John Cavendish. "I have at last recovered the lost sheep. The basket with the mountain I found in good condition, the three bottles loose and only one of usquebaugh, two of rum. . . . I told the Minister that I found two bottles of rum instead of two of usquebaugh. If these should have been changed it is a capital offence. I therefore desire your Lordship would inform me, that an effectual example may be made to deter these tax gatherers from committing like insolences for the future."

1764, September 25. To the Archbishop of Canterbury. Requesting his interest in Mr. Planta's favour. (See letter of August 14, to Sir John Cust.)

1764, October 8. To Mr. Partridge with a Passport for the Duke of Devonshire's corpse.

1764, October 15. To William Gordon, Esq. Am sorry you find Ratisbon *triste*, it is the German way of living take out of the line of account of gaming. Vienna is the same. "Lord Shelburne with one Mr. Dunning passed here. The Lord has parts and conception, has applied, and I should think might have made his way, if he had not kicked down his pale of milk. He is gone to Paris."

1765, January 4. To Edward Sedgewick, Esq. After referring to the illness of Mr. Osborn, a nephew of Lord Halifax, then staying with him at Brussels. "His case, though far from being so bad, brings to my remembrance Horace Mann's of Florence. He was condemned by the Physicians, went by sea to Leghorn, carried his coffin on board of the ship, and has lived there till now in old age."

1765, January 15. To the same. "Mr. Cosby writes me of some unkind usage he has met with by some supposed friend at Copenhagen. . . . He tells me they have written to his friends in England as if he was mad, and read him that letter; that it was on his recovery of a violent fit of sickness, a raging fever."

1765, May 1. To R. Woodford, Esq., Minister at Hamburg. Did not answer sooner "expecting to hear something of M. Guerin, whether he would call this way. The man is not unknown to the Minister, as being in the Spanish service, but not that he has dared venture make a recruit. They are so jealous here that some time ago they hanged publicly a French recruiter, and would have served the officer who protected them in the same manner, if he had not timely evaded. . . . The nest of Recruiters is at Liège, that is Mr. Guerin's post. They have Spanish and Prussian officers constantly there, who pick up French deserters in abundance, some Dutch and of these troops. I am credibly informed that the King of Prussia has made in that station upwards of 9,600 in three months."

F. H. BLACKBURNE DANIELL.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF PHILIP VERNON SMITH, ESQ.,
OF LINCOLN'S INN.

THIS collection consists of the papers of Joseph Smith, Mr. Vernon Smith's grandfather, who succeeded Pretyman as Mr. Pitt's private secretary in 1787. Though not numerous, some of them are of considerable interest. Two are holograph letters from George III. The first expresses his regret that Mr. Pitt has been detained at the House by the fertile imagination of Mr. Burke. The second, dated October 26th, 1790, declares that, from his conviction of the importance of peace, he cannot object to any means that may have a chance of effecting it, though not sanguine that Mr. Elliot and his French friend (Mirabeau) are likely to succeed. No encouragement, however, should be given to meddling with the internal politics of France. A letter from Orde, the Chief Secretary, describes the temper of the Irish people, and discusses the best mode of procedure with regard to the Commercial Treaty. Another describes the disturbed state of the country, the attacks for arms by a Catholic banditti, and the inactivity of the magistrates. Of the Irish correspondence the most important is a letter, marked most private and confidential, from Mr. Beresford to Mr. Rose, describing the tactics used by the Opposition to inflame the country against the Commercial Treaty and to cause its rejection by the House of Commons, and the intrigues for the Speakership on Mr. Pery's resignation.

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Three letters, in 1786, from Mr. Eden relate to the Commercial Treaty with France, and give his reasons for declining the Vice-Treasurership. In the following year are several letters from Mr. Grenville and Mr. Eden about the disturbances in the United Provinces and the ensuing negotiations. In 1796 are several papers referring to the visit to England of M. Nettement as an unofficial agent from the Directory, with suggestions for opening peace negotiations with France. Sir William Jones suggests reforms of Indian prisons, and of legal procedure in India, and mentions that he has translated a legal work from the Arabic. Lord Camden gives his opinion against the King's right to raise troops for India without the consent of Parliament. Lord Thurlow sends the Prince of Wales his views as to the order in which the Lords should go from the House to Westminster Hall, and an anonymous writer submits plans for an overland route to India.

[1783]. London.—Paper on overland routes to India. (An account of similar papers in the India Office Records, classified by Mr. Danvers, is given in "*The Times*" of August 9th 1886.) The most common route is by Aleppo and Bussora, and then by sea down the Persian Gulf to Bombay. The writer proposes that the Government should, say every two months, send a messenger by Vienna and Belgrade to Constantinople. Sir R. Ainslie should then forward the despatches to the Consul or the Agent of the East India Company at Aleppo, who should transmit them across the desert to Bussora, from which Mr. La Touche, the Company's Resident, should send them to Bombay or Anjengo according to the season and the monsoon. From Bombay the despatches would be sent to Calcutta and from Anjengo to Madras. Mentions that the first authentic intelligence of the late peace was sent by a private gentleman in London to one at Madras,

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going by the common post to Constantinople and Aleppo, and thence by Bussora and Bombay. Its arrival, as it contained the *Royal Gazette* of the 24th of January last [1783], put a stop to hostilities, both Lord Macartney and M. de Bussy acknowledging its authenticity. The time by this route must depend on the season, but in general three months and fifteen days will carry any messenger from London to Bombay—frequently a much shorter time. Three months may be taken as the average.

The second route is perhaps more eligible and certainly is generally more expeditious—namely by Alexandria, Cairo, and Suez, and down the Red Sea to Anjengo. The great obstacle is the Rescript of the Porte in 1778, prohibiting the navigation of the “Consecrated Sea,” which extends from Suez to Judda, to every European nation. This difficulty can be surmounted by the Ambassador at Constantinople applying to the Porte and giving the most solemn assurances that no articles of trade shall be sent by this route but only letters and despatches. This obstacle removed, letters should be forwarded through Germany, not France, to Naples, where Sir W. Hamilton must send them to Alexandria, either direct or from Manfredonia. An agent must be appointed at Alexandria to forward them through Cairo to Suez. Another agent at the last place will send them by country vessels to Anjengo or to Madras and Calcutta direct according to the season. “Mr. Hastings received in 1778 the news of war with France in a time incredibly short (I believe in less than 60 days) by way of Suez and Alexandria and down the Gulf of Mocha.” Small packets or country vessels must be established at Bussora and Suez. Especial care must be taken to prevent the Court of Versailles from knowing our intention to procure the passage down the Gulf of Mocha, as M. de Vergennes will infallibly do everything to prevent our obtaining a permission so important for our affairs in India. The expense will not be very great, and, if it were, the object is worth it.

In a different hand “Packets should sail every two months from Falmouth to Madras as regularly as they do to the West Indies and back.”

1785, February 5. The Sunderbends or Woods of Bengal.—Sir William Jones to [the Right Honourable William Pitt]. I congratulate you “on the acceptance of a post, to which your talents could not fail of raising you, but which your wisdom induced you to decline at a less auspicious moment.” The state of the prisons in India, especially of that in Calcutta, where a new one had been built in all respects preferable to the old described. This I had visited without being known and had made inquiries about it. “The result of them is, that nothing can exceed the unhealthiness of the place in the hot months, by reason of the noxious vapours from a pond, which must necessarily be within the walls. A prison in Europe has enough of horror; but a place of close confinement in this climate must be worse than the worst dungeons in our western world. The notions of impurity peculiar to the old religion of this country must render the *Hindu* prisoners completely miserable. Since no method but imprisonment has been found effectual to keep defendants within the reach of justice we can only mitigate an evil which we cannot radically cure; but the particular circumstances of our India judicature have produced new and crying evils. There are natives now in prison and some of them have been there for years, against whom judgments have been unavoidably given *at law* though their counsel think them relievable *in equity*; but so enormous are the expenses of an equity suit, which

no solicitor will commence without a sum of money advanced by the suitor that the generality of natives are unable to defray them. . . . The higher orders of natives both speak and write indignantly of our *English* prison; and the Grand Jury presented a strong memorial last summer. . . . The judges therefore had agreed to send an official letter to London when a severe illness compelled me to leave Calcutta for the purer air of Bahar and Benares." Am now returning and expect to find the letter waiting only for my signature, but in case it has not been prepared I write "to solicit your assistance in behalf of these unhappy men, either by the insertion of a special clause in the next bill for the relief of insolvent debtors or rather by a separate bill for those in India. The wonderful wit and subtilty of the Bengalese and their little regard for oaths by the Ganges or the Alkoran will make it expedient to inflict severe and certain punishment on such as shall fraudulently conceal their property." Better to provide for the occasional relief of actually insolvent debtors than for the regular discharge of those who have been imprisoned for a determinate number of years. . . . A numerous class of natives, though inadmissible to sue as poor men, yet not rich enough to bear the charges of litigation, or at least terrified at the idea of an attorney's bill, continually are preferring complaints for some violation of civil rights before the judges when sitting in their turns as justices of the peace, who "can only refer them to the Supreme Court, where they understand nothing but the word *fees*, which is constantly ringing in their ears and frequently deters them from seeking redress by action." I suggest therefore that the judges should be empowered to decide in chambers on complaints to a certain amount without counsel or attorneys in a summary way. . . . The *police* of Calcutta requires considerable improvement; the business is too much for three men. I suggest therefore that a dozen or twenty gentlemen of the first rank in the settlement be joined in the Commission of the Peace. . . . "There are more virtues among our countrymen here than they have credit for at home; perhaps as many as Britain herself could exhibit; and, if the natives know their own good, they cannot sigh for the harsh and imperious domination of the Moguls." After a reference to the late bill for the government of India "I have completed and mean to print a version from the *Arabick* of the *Serajeyah*, the standard of Mahomedan Law concerning inheritances, and have left orders at Benares and Gaya, both holy cities, for the oldest book on the *Hindu* laws to be translated from the *Shanscrit*, which I am almost tempted to learn that I may be a check on the Pundits of the court. Three excellent things . . . a *good system of laws*, a *just administration* of them and a *long peace*, will render this country a source of infinite advantage to Great Britain."

1785, June 8. Dublin Castle.—Right Honourable Thomas Orde to the Right Honourable William Pitt. *Secret*. I apologise for employing an amanuensis on account of the state of my health and particularly of my eyes. "There is, I am afraid, so much of personal interest in almost every man's conduct, and in addition to that so much of national jealousy and pride, not without a sufficient mixture of pretended apprehensions, or affected menaces that the task is very difficult indeed to make a just discrimination between real and assumed objections. I find however that the great stress is now to be laid upon the hazard of constitutional independence, and that the security of one atom of constitution is not to be risked for all the commerce of Great Britain. You will conclude that the suggestion has come from your side of the water,

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and that the arguments are almost entirely the same with those by which Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan have attempted to inflame this country. It was impossible not to be aware of their manœuvres, and I trust, that we shall not be disappointed in our confident expectations of defeating them. I would not however fail to represent to you, that some considerable men seem touched with the infection, and as with a sort of madness, and run among the middling multitude biting all within their reach. One mode therefore of conveying alarm is by declaiming on the discontents of this country, which will be of more powerful operation against the present measure, than the strongest majority of Parliament can be for it. In the present yet unsettled state of the kingdom it would not be justifiable to depend upon the successful prevalence of good sense and real patriotism over ignorance, prejudice, and faction. I do not at the same time wish to recommend entire concession to such mischievous clamor, but I must repeat an earnest entreaty to be furnished as speedily as possible with your decisive answer to the remarks and queries which I have taken the liberty of sending to you in the enclosed paper. I am sure that you will do for us all you can, and you may depend upon our fighting the battle to extremity upon the ground you shall after all put us in possession of. I venture to remind you of Rum, of the East Indies, of America and the permanent provisions for the due collection of the hereditary revenue. These are the most essential points, except what now occasions more noisy discontent than any other object, I mean, the pretended destruction of the Legislative Independence of Ireland by the dictatorial provisions of the 4th Resolution. You will not be surprised that on such a subject Grattan should be very impracticable. I wish that my apprehensions about Daly may be ill-founded. But we have Beresford, Foster, the Attorney and Solicitor-General, Sir John Parnell, &c. &c., who will exert every means to confirm our cause and to prevent the influence of wicked misrepresentations. Lord Earlsfort, Lord Shannon, Lord Tyrone, Lord Hillsborough, the Archbishop of Cashel, &c. &c. are not less active or determined. We cannot, I think, fail of doing well with such support notwithstanding any partial dejection, and with such explanation as you may allow us to communicate. I will add at present nothing more on this subject but one suggestion, which has been offered from a very respectable quarter. The great complaint being that no deliberation is allowed to Ireland upon the adoption of any of your laws or even representation against its possible partiality, it is suggested that an indulgence might perhaps be allowed in some cases of delaying the passing of similar Acts, till representation could be made and answered upon any objection. Another mode of quieting these constitutional scruples has occurred in making it necessary to take the previous opinion of this country, perhaps by means of a committee of the Privy Council or of a Board of Trade, who may be responsible to this Parliament for their opinion or advice. This idea has just occurred to me, and I only throw it out to you. I shall of course confine it at present to myself.

"I have now time only to say a word upon the mode of proceeding on our part, when we may receive the resolutions from you. I have persuaded myself and all those to whom I have communicated the idea (Foster, being out of town is not apprized of it) that we may avoid much difficulty both as to time, as to words, and even as to matter, if instead of seeking to enforce the adoption of your Resolutions, we should proceed in another manner, as for example—a message must be delivered by me, and your Resolutions laid before the House. I would then, instead of moving for the reference of them to the consideration

of a Committee of the whole House, move immediately for leave to bring in a Bill to settle the Trade and Intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland on fair and equitable principles and follow this with a motion, that the Irish and British Resolutions should be referred to the Committee, which shall be ordered to prepare and bring in the Bill. We might by this means confine our battle to one scene without precluding any Party concerned from being heard in opposition to any of the principles or provisions. The Resolutions, or at least the strict substance might thus be introduced in the form of Recitals or Preambles, and be followed by the several enacting clauses ; the great advantage of which would be that it would take away all difficulty or delicacy on both sides about words. The enacting clauses would be at hand to interpret the meaning. The British Patriot could not be uneasy at any change of expression, when he should on the same paper read the establishment of the true meaning ; and the Irish Patriot would not be able to deceive the public by any misrepresentation of the supposed latent mischief of uncertain expression in a mere resolution. This would also . . . be facilitated by the communication of your similar Bill in the same points, by which concurrence both countries would be kept at once from delusion.” I desire as early an opinion as possible on the crude idea submitted.

“An adjournment is to Monday next. We shall, I think, find it right to have a further adjournment for a week, as the Resolutions cannot be expected sooner. I have a great wish to prevail upon the Duke [of Rutland] to allow me to propose a very sudden and secret expedition to Beresford for the mere purpose of one day’s conversation with you and the rest of the King’s Ministers, if you should think proper. It might perhaps be right, and he would probably desire to have somebody with him, in which case, I would recommend Sir John Parnell. We must on many accounts keep Foster with us, and you will not be hurt thereby. Let me not however be supposed to throw suspicion. He acts a very fair manly honourable part.”

1785, August 25. Dublin.—Right Honourable John Beresford to the Right Honourable George Rose. *Most Private and Confidential.* After referring to the disagreeable and dangerous nature of the task, “yet fully confiding in Mr. Pitt’s honour and yours, I shall endeavour to put you in possession of such information as may be useful to you, relying upon you that my letter shall never make its appearance, and that you will take care that no step you take shall appear to arise from such information, for it is very well known that no one here could or would give you information but myself, for which reason my hazard is the greater in doing it and your caution must be greater in using it.” I consider the commercial arrangement has been lost totally by mismanagement, first with the public and secondly with the House of Commons. “Opposition were suffered to take possession of all the public prints and to preoccupy the minds of the people, and impress upon them without contradiction the idea of a reassumption of the power to legislate for Ireland. This was certainly the wisest ground for Opposition to have taken, for the people of this country are actually quite wild upon this subject. . . . Having so lately got rid of the influence of an Exterior Legislature, they have not had time to recollect their real situation . . . and while they are as independent as you are, they attempt to treat with all the jealousy of a little and a dependent nation, the newness of their power makes them jealous, but be that as it may, this was the right string to touch, and Opposition did it effectually, because no sort of pains were taken to contradict the idea. It is always a maxim with the people of this country to believe every-

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thing they see uncontradicted in the newspapers, and the total silence which was preserved on this occasion gave opportunity for making such an impression on the minds of the people, that they took it for granted that there was no doubt but that if the Bill was passed, we gave up our Legislative Authority. It was in vain on the day of Debate to refer the people to a Bill which would be printed a week afterwards; they were impressed with the idea that to admit this Bill was to destroy their Constitution. . . . No pains were taken to impress the Public with proper conceptions of the subject, or to wipe away the false impressions made on their minds by the other side. Too much reliance was had on the goodness of our cause, and it was expected that as soon as it should be truly stated, it was to work like magic, and to operate upon the reason and understanding of everyone, but as always happens in such cases, disappointment was the consequence, because eight-tenths of those who heard what was said, had neither reason or understanding and those who had were more apt to appeal to their prejudices than to their understanding. Besides the House of Commons will not contain all the people of Ireland, few could hear and fewer were willing to be convinced.

"As to the management of the House of Commons everything was left to chance, notwithstanding that it was certainly as clear as that one and one make two, that the Ponsonbys would take the exact part they did, yet the only means to prevent them was neglected, which was to have a clear and decided majority independent of them. If they had taken care of that, these gentlemen would have been the staunch friends of the present administration, otherwise they had no chance of their support." I remind you that I had repeatedly told Mr. Pitt and you so. "I told you that I knew the people of Ireland better than Orde, and that it was at the critical moment he would find himself betrayed and deserted, and I wrote the same repeatedly to him, and yet the fact was that on Friday when the question was put, there were above 30 of our members, as I am told, about in the country, who were sent for on Saturday, and I am sure 20 made their appearance on the Monday. Why were they not sent for on the Tuesday before, or the motion delayed until Monday, by which time they could have come up; again there were 110 members in the minority, of which 20 might have been got with ease, nay Government never reckoned 90 against them."

Having thus stated the causes of the loss of the Bill, as far as related to Government, I next give my opinion on the conduct of individuals. I do not doubt "that the Duke of Portland and Mr. Fox exerted themselves to the utmost, and that they called upon all their friends to assist them on this occasion. The great agent in this affair was Mr. Forbes, he went between Lord Charlemount and Mr. Grattan, and reconciled them, he brought the Northern members together, and connected them with the leaders of Opposition, he afterwards with Lord Charlemount went between Flood and Grattan, and reconciled them, and they were mean enough to hold a conference together, sitting the House, in the face of the public. When these connections were made, Mr. Ponsonby was consulted, he, as I conceive, well disposed to the cause, weighed the circumstances of his family and their situations, and did not choose to risk them without a moral certainty of success, but waited until he saw the effect of the first division; Lord Loftus, who so long as his title and estate were depending, was a firm friend of Government, independent of his natural attachment to Mr. Ponsonby, was either purposely or accidentally out of the way, and but one out of 9 of his people voted with us on Friday and one against us, the rest played least in sight.

After the division we held a consultation, and it was determined to make Ponsonby declare his intentions, how far he would support, for if he and Loftus would have stood firm, we should have had a majority of 1 dare say 50, for receiving and printing the Bill, and adjourning for two months to give time for considering it; when Orde pushed him he at length declared he would not suffer the Bill to proceed one step further, here then it was prudent to stop—indeed we could go no further. Government appeared to me willing to bear with this treatment, and to endeavour to go on with such servants, but then comes the business of the Speaker. Mr. Pery and they have been in treaty for some time, but had not concluded. Pery who was at the bottom of all the late mischief, when he saw the strength of Opposition, thought that the event might either overthrow your administration, or that you might recall our administration, and therefore he thought it was high time to secure himself, and he accordingly pressed Orde to conclude, and while the other was delaying and considering Pery was working doubly, and having secured Denis Daly to propose an address to the House, requesting that a reward suitable to his services, may be conferred upon him, he throws himself upon the House, thinking he is sure of Opposition, and trusting that Government will not have courage to oppose him, and that no person will undertake the invidious task of opposing Daly's motion, in which he judges right. This brought things to a crisis, Orde was embarrassed between Foster and me, and Ponsonby hoping that there might be more candidates than one, and invited by the Duke of Leinster and Opposition as he thought, and sure of carrying over Shannon, Loftus, Drogheda, and his own friends, he thought he was then secure, and forgetting the assurances he had just before given Government of his utmost support, after the disposing of the Commercial System, he threw off the mask and set himself at the head of the party against Government. In such circumstances, at first view desperate, I did not hesitate to support Foster, and the independent gentlemen in opposition seeing things in their true light and all of them disliking Mr. Ponsonby, they, contrary to the expectation of the conspirators, almost to a man declared for Foster and totally defeated the whole plan; in consequence Mr. Ponsonby has given up, and so far as I can see, Government are not sure whether they are obliged to him or not. As to Daly it is hard to account for his own conduct, and I own I am almost unwilling to conjecture." I think it was due to his view to the Speaker's Chair. Mr. James Cuffe "was at the bottom of Grattan's opposition; they are fast friends; he and Orde quarrelled some time since, he is very artful and very strong in his resentments, and has done all the mischief he is able. The three Skeffingtons also absented themselves. Lord Northington took up W. Skeffington and obliged him and a strong connection was formed; he prevailed with them to act thus. The party here abuse Fitzgibbon grossly and say as Northington made him Attorney-General that he has betrayed his party. From what I have said and from the conduct of the Duke of Leinster, you must see that the Portland or Fox party are endeavouring to make battle here, and you see their Agents, those who are openly so at all times, and those who will be so, whenever they can to effect, you see that Orde has been duped, and you see the necessity that he should not be so again and you must see the absolute necessity of forming a Government here independent of those gentlemen. As to Mr. Orde I do not blame him, . . . he has been deceived by not knowing people and by giving credit to what they promised him, it was very natural that he should, and more especially for this reason which I mention to you in

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the strictest confidence, he has the most implicit confidence in the abilities and advice of Mr. Hamilton," who is most unfit to advise him both on account of his timidity of character and because he owes everything to the Ponsonby family, which makes him think well of them and depend on what they say.

The opinion of the friends of government is universally "that they and the country will be betrayed, if there be not a government obtained, I mean a support independent of these gentlemen, and if that be not procured you will not find men hazard themselves in the cause of government, the mode of obtaining such a support must be considered, an expense must be incurred, but that is not to be regarded, for if proper measures are not pursued you will lose this country. I shall not conceal from you it is the general opinion that Government act a weak part in not turning out every man who has betrayed them, this may be going too far, but some examples may be necessary"
(*Copy.*)

[1785.]—Description of the works in progress at Cherbourg up to the end of that year, and observations thereon.

1786, January 12. Madras.—Extracts from a letter dated thence giving a description of the desolation of the county, "That monster Rumbold [the Governor] has entirely desolated it." It is generally estimated that nine tenths of the late population is now lost to the Carnatic." Rumbold is said "to have received from the Nabob alone sixteen lakhs of pagodas 640,000*l.* sterling besides what he nefariously obtained from the Rajah of Tanjore and others." Description of the Nabob, and his second son and intended successor.

1786, February 18. Queen's House.—George III. to the Right Honourable William Pitt. "It is very unpleasant to me to observe by Mr. Pitt's note that he has been detained at the House of Commons by the fertile imagination of Mr. Burke; I trust on the resuming the subject on Monday the House will be too wise to be as long detained and to so little effect; a good division after a pretty general call for the question is the only means of counteracting those who only stir up Debate for the purpose of delay." (*Holograph.*)

1786, March 3. Dublin Castle.—Right Honourable Thomas Orde to [the Right Honourable William Pitt]. *Private.* You have recommended Lord Cavan for an increase of his pension on the Irish Establishment. The Lord Lieutenant "acknowledges the force of a claim founded on old nobility and small fortune. I wish most sincerely that so fair a line could not only be approved but adopted exclusively. Yet I fear that the circumstances of government in this country are not sufficiently independent to allow a preference even upon conviction of Propriety. This situation is the more unpleasant as it subjects us to the necessity of passing measures which we cannot altogether approve; and by no means exempts us from the attacks of that opposition who force the very thing they blame." We shall probably next week experience the most serious question of the present session, Mr. Forbes having summoned his intention of moving for leave to bring in a bill to disqualify persons holding pensions during pleasure from sitting in the House of Commons, and also to regulate the mode of granting pensions in conformity to the provisions of Burke's Bill. I have already asked your opinion as to our conduct on this subject. I fear however "that we have no option, and that at all events we must oppose the entire principle of this Bill, if we are not even determined, from

the novel introduction of the latter part, to object to the original motion for leave to bring it in. I have truly acknowledged to you, that I shall be glad to have a limitation to the total amount of pensions, but I must also confess, that the question under present circumstances of uncertain settlement is too much mixed with considerations of delicate explanation to be easily admitted. We shall endeavour to keep as clear as possible of discussion, which might revive old disputes, and therefore our resistance must be chiefly grounded upon the general impropriety (notwithstanding your example) of infringing upon the prerogative of the Crown without special cause of complaint. It will be said that a great increase of pensions has been made during the Duke of Rutland's government, and it is true, but the cause can be readily assigned. The late Speaker's and Mr. Gerard Hamilton's pensions go far to account for it, and we are aware of necessary reductions, which will make an opening for the rest." The claim of Lord Rodney that exemption of his pension from the Absentee Tax should be solicited, and the objections to doing so. "The business of the session is now very far advanced, and we have now no remaining business on the part of Government, but a police bill, which is very necessary for the capital but still more so for the country. We have every day accounts of the most savage outrages, and although none of them may amount to a proof of concerted insurrection, yet it is very unpleasant to know that an armed Catholic Banditti well appointed, and well mounted also should spread themselves over a considerable part of the country and venture to force the arms out of the hands of every peaceable Protestant inhabitant. The greatest mischief is, that we cannot inspire the magistrates with courage to act against these villians for fear of being personally injured or having their property destroyed. I think however, that we have at last succeeded in devising a plan, which may at some expense be effectual in the suppression of these disorders and the restoration of the public quiet. I am afraid that the Protestant clergy by their inattention to their duty, and perhaps the too severe exaction of tithes have given some good cause for complaint, and the gentlemen of the country are too desirous of encouraging any distant means, by which they may relieve their estates, not to act at least with unconcern at disturbances of such a nature. It is however now full time to check these revolts against the laws, lest by degrees the confidence of the rabble should lead them into more dangerous extremes.

The horrid scene of murder and assassination, which Mr. Fitzgerald has exhibited, will have shocked you. His life is yet in some danger from his wounds. I was about to add, that it is to be hoped, it is past recovery from the gripe of the laws. The charges against him are really of a nature to make you shudder."

1786, March 26. Goodwood.—The Duke of Richmond to the Right Honourable William Pitt. Enclosing the despatches to Madrid sent him by Lord Carmarthen, with the letters he has written to him about them.

1786, April 6.—Edward Forster, Governor of the Russian Company, to the Marquis of Carmarthen. Observations with regard to the proposed treaty of Commerce with Russia. (*Two copies.*)

1786, June.—Report from Mr. Gurney's shorthand notes of the judgment of Lord Camden as one of the Commissioners of Appeal at the Cock pit, in *George Johnstone v. Major-General Medows*, being a suit concerning the division of the Prize-money of the Dutch East Indiamen, taken in Saldanha Bay. (30 pages.)

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1786, August 23, 11 p.m. Hotel d'Elbeuf, Paris.—Right Honourable William Eden to [the Right Honourable William Pitt]. *Private.* After apologizing for writing on his own private interests, "If I were disposed to consider my private ease and emolument, I should not hesitate a moment:—I must not however forget that there are many other considerations that ought to influence my decision. It is not for the advantage of the treaty that in the present moment I should subject myself to that torrent of libellous impertinence, which at another time I could despise, and which would certainly be raised against me, if I were now to take the official situation which I quitted in 1784:—perhaps I see it in a wrong point of view; but when our connection was formed you were so good as to express strongly the necessity of mutually considering each other's credit in every further step, and I should not deserve your political and private friendship if I departed from that principle. It is not enough for me to know (which I do) that there exists no just claim upon me to prevent my accepting the very honourable office which is proposed; I cannot help feeling that the good opinions of the respectable part of the public will be best conciliated by my not having the Vice-Treasurership. At the same time I make this sacrifice to prejudice, I feel a cordial and grateful sense of your conduct towards me. If the Speaker had now wished to quit the chair, though it is an irksome and wearing office, I should (all circumstances considered) have been disposed to wish for it, and perhaps in the discharge of it I could have rendered real service to the Government of the country. If any promotion had occurred which could visibly and ostensibly have been held up to the Public as a reward for the industrious discharge of the difficult task which I have had in this country, it would not have been liable to the objections which I have stated and would have added a fair éclat to the negociation, if it proves successful. . . . Supposing me to conclude the treaty in the manner that we wish, would it be liable to any just objection to give me the appointment of Ambassador for the purpose of signing it with M. de Vergennes and of ratifying it hereafter? It would be a marked approbation of the proceeding and a just compliment to this Court. To me it would be material, because it would be attended with some immediate help to my situation in which the expenses are considerably greater than my appointments, and precisely what they would be if I were Ambassador; but also because it would hold me up in the most creditable point of view. It is also some consideration though fit only to be mentioned in a mere private letter like this, that it would make the situation of some part of my family much pleasanter during the five weeks at Fontainebleau. As my appointments ought to be paid by the public, and will most cheerfully be discharged by Parliament, if the treaty proves successful, I see no one objection to this, unless it were possible that it might give a moment's uneasiness to the Duke of Dorset; which I should be most unwilling to do, but which could by no means happen upon a few words being said to him either by you or by me. The success of the measure, and the commercial approximation of these two great empires are very sufficient reasons for so temporary a favour:—at the same time if it is subject either to objections or difficulties of which I am not aware I am very far from wishing to lay any stress upon it. . . .

P.S. "I forgot to mention . . . that M. de Fernan Nuñez who is in contemplation for the Spanish Embassy is now in Lisbon; that M. de Herredia, the *secrétaire d'ambassade* here wrote to him only yesterday that it was time to return to Madrid, to prepare for his embassy:—and both Herredia and the Spanish Ambassador told me that they expect to

see him at Paris next spring (and certainly not sooner) on his way to England.

"Though I have worked very hard to finish a business in six months which with great decorum might have lasted three years; I ought to confess that I think it evident that my remaining here four or five months longer is perhaps the best use that you can make of me; and possibly it may essentially help to strengthen the pacific system which is before you.—This I say on the speculation and belief that the treaty will be popular in England, and subject of much praise and little attack. If it were in any degree to take a contrary turn you may rely on my not being absent from any battle to which it might give occasion."

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1786, August 26. Black Rock.—The Duke of Rutland to the Right Honourable William Pitt. *Private*. (A full abstract of this letter is given in the third volume of the Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Duke of Rutland, to be published by the *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, taken from two drafts thereof, with which this letter itself was compared.)

1786, August 31. Paris.—Right Honourable William Eden to [the Right Honourable William Pitt]. *Private*. "We passed the day on Monday last au petit Trianon in consequence of a gracious permission from the Queen to the children, contrary to her rule of never allowing it to be seen except on Sundays. Upon the day following and yesterday I was chiefly occupied in stating to M. de Rayneval the several articles of the Treaty of Utrecht pursuant to the opinions of Dr. Wynne, Mr. Eyton (?) &c., and on these points we shall have little or no difficulty. My present speculation is that the whole should pass on Sunday next in the French Council, and that on the next morning your courier should arrive with instructions for me to sign, in case no material changes have taken place. I hope that those instructions may be accompanied with some satisfactory arrangement about the modes, the silk lace and the glass. The last is clearly in our power, I believe that the first would not be unfavourable to us; and the second is utterly immaterial to us;—but if the two first are refused I suppose they will insist on rejecting at least the Scotch Silk Gauzes, and though I shall fight against such rejection, I am in great want of weapons for the combat. M. de Rayneval dines with me tomorrow and meets a party of Embassadors here. He will stay afterwards and I shall hear whether anything new has passed.

"Your political courage goes beyond mine, for I suppose that you look without anxiety on this fortnight's delay, which we are giving. In truth if it is given in politeness to Ireland it is a great compliment; for it is impossible to do more for Ireland than we have done:—and I venture to foretell that you will not find the same facility in other Courts on this point, nor would you have found it here, if some personal circumstances had not happened to be favourable. If Ireland could ever accept the particular tariffs, she must change her laws respecting England, for it will be awkward if she places England in a worse situation than France: and this too will hold as to us with respect to Ireland whose woollens cottons &c. we prohibit though we admit those of France:—I see no mischief in those points; they will gradually forward some right settlement between the two islands." I propose to state the future comparative situation of the two contracting parties pursuant to the general principle as affecting reciprocally particular manufactures, and I expect to find many incongruities. "Mr. Hailes

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has communicated to me from Lord Carmarthen the instructions to Col. Cathcart, written evidently under the pressure of a panic founded on misinformation. They propose rather an apology from our people as from a subordinate Factory than a discussion between a sovereignty and a Factory. Lord Carmarthen does not mention the *accord* which I understand from M. de Vergennes had taken place. If it is in the same spirit with the instructions it must be ill calculated either for the present interests or future tranquillity of the Company. The pretexts alleged for searching the French vessel sent notoriously to dispute our right;—the offer of any establishments which any two credible French witnesses may demand;—the notion that the Dewanneeship is a delicate topic which might give offence to ears polite at the Mauritius;—and indeed all the instructions are in a wrong tone. This nonsense will give advantages against us here in the future discussions of the 13th Article. M. de Vergennes however has a settled dislike to negotiations between trading companies, or subordinate parts of empire, and will wish therefore to revise this transaction.”

1786, December 6. Lambeth Palace.—Right Honourable William Eden to the Right Honourable William Pitt. “In order to derive the full benefit from all our discussions since my arrival, it is material that I should have repeated opportunities of conferring with the French Government, and of reporting the result to the King’s ministers previous to the meeting of Parliament. If you think proper to submit this I conceive that his Majesty will approve of my taking leave on Friday next. . . . I believe that orders are given for the usual present to M. de Rayneval; if it can be finished before I go it may be proper that I should carry it with me. I sometimes wish that means could be found without alarm to M. de Vergennes’ delicacy of giving to him in some acceptable shape a mark of his Majesty’s sense of his honourable conduct in the late laborious transaction.”

1786, December 23.—The Marquis del Campo to the Marquis of Carmarthen. (*Copy*.)

1786, December 24. Hendon.—The Marquis of Carmarthen to the Right Honourable William Pitt. (*Private*.)

Same date. Stanhope Street.—The Marquis del Campo to the Marquis of Carmarthen. (*Copy*.) (All these three letters relate to the time of the evacuation of the Mosquito shore.)

1787, February 15.—Mr. Miles to Lord [Carmarthen?] concerning his pamphlet in defence of the Commercial Treaty, and asking “to be removed from this Principality. My motive for urging this request can be no secret to you when you recollect the error into which I have fallen by repeating the assurance you gave me in Downing Square to his Highness the Prince that he might depend upon receiving an answer to his letter.” My character “has been materially injured by my confidence in your Lordship’s promise. The pointed mortifications I have recently received and the reproaches of the Prince make me sensible to what a degree I am humbled in the opinion of his Highness with whom I have hitherto lived in the closest intimacy.” . . .

1787, February 19.—Mr. Miles to the Right Honourable William Pitt. “Mr. Goring, whom I have already mentioned . . . came to me on Tuesday evening last in raptures at the part you had taken on the motion of Mr. Sheridan, and declared his intention of instantly transmitting you much important information, . . . as he was *now*

convinced you had the interests of your country really at heart. . . . He would point out a variety of abuses and the mode of reforming them, especially in the investments of silk and piece goods in which he would engage that a saving of 30 or 40 per cent. would be made to the Company. . . . How far he will be able to realize those splendid promises I cannot pretend to say. . . . A long residence in India and in offices of the highest trust must have given him a perfect knowledge of the Company's affairs." . . . I repeat my request to be appointed one of the Consuls in France.

1787, August 1. The Hague.—Right Honourable William Grenville to the Right Honourable William Pitt. I arrived yesterday evening, and had a great deal of instructive conversation with Sir James Harris on the points on which it was desired I should inform myself. "The intelligence which you will receive from him by this post respecting the proposition made by the King of Prussia for a joint mediation with France to the exclusion of Great Britain certainly conveys a very unfavourable impression of his disposition on this subject, especially as there is no room to doubt that M. de Ghuleymeer has acted in this particular in exact conformity to the orders which he received from his Court. At the same time the terms which the King of Prussia has stated to France as the grounds of a mediation are so conformable to what he must feel to be the wishes of His Majesty in this respect that I should hope there may still be a possibility that he may close with the offer now made to him of acting in concert for the attainment of those objects in which the two Courts are so much agreed. No account has yet been received by Sir James Harris of the effect produced by Lord Carmarthen's despatch to Mr. Ewart of the 17th instant authorizing him to make to the King of Prussia an offer of communication on the present state of the Republic. But as we shall probably know by Friday what answer has been given to this proposal it appears clearly proper that no steps should be taken for going to Nimwegen till after that day, as the language to be held there may depend so much on this point." I fear the interval will be insufficient for me to inform myself on many material points of the disputes between the different Provinces and of those relating to the Stadtholder. I have been promised the Commissions of Stadtholder and Captain-General granted in 1747 and 1766, but those I understand are different in the different Provinces, and are besides far from definite as to the extent of the power they convey. "The right of appointing magistrates in the different towns of Holland was one of the points on which it was proposed to concede when a union was projected of the Aristocracy and the Prince's friends at Amsterdam, and defeated by the obstinacy of the latter. . . . It will in any case be difficult to maintain the right of absolute appointment as no more is given by the Constitution than the right of choosing one person out of three named by the Councils of the towns. The *Reglemens* were made in the time of King William for the express purpose of counterbalancing the Power of Holland by giving influence and authority to the Stadtholder. They convey to him in the three provinces of Guelderland, Utrecht, and Overysse large powers both in the appointment of magistrates and in the choice of deputies to the Provincial States. M. de Montmorin in his letter to M. Barthelémy speaks of four Provinces to which the *Reglemens* apply. This is done with a view to include Frizeland, where there is a *Reglement*, but of a different nature from those in the other three Provinces. There has never been in Frizeland any dispute on the subject of their *Reglement*; whereas in Overysse the *Reglement* has actually been

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overthrown, in Utrecht it is the point on which the Province is now in arms, and in Guelderland it is the opinion even of those who support the Prince that some concession ought to be made by him on this head. From the very statement of the original view with which those *Reglemens* were made it seems apparent that the Prince has a strong interest in maintaining them as much as possible in their present form. But if this is inconsistent with the ideas of his own supporters I apprehend that it would in the next place be important that in any arrangement of the affairs of the Republick this point should be left to be settled by the Prince with the States of the several Provinces to which the *Reglemens* apply, and not with the States of Holland, who have clearly no right to interfere in a matter entirely relating to the interior Government of the other Provinces. This was the answer made by the Prince and Princess of Orange to M. de Rayneval's proposition on this head. The same object is now made one of the terms contained in the King of Prussia's proposal to France; and it appears entirely consistent with the language held in the last dispatch to the Duke of Dorset which states the Constitution of 1766 as the basis of negotiation, and mentions the other points as proper matters for discussion in the Republic with or without the mediation of other Powers." I thought it right to advert thus generally to the chief points in dispute and I shall endeavour to procure such particulars as will enable me to return with the sort of detailed information it was wished I should acquire. I fear the greatest difficulty will be in settling the extent to which concessions may be made on the points on which they seem reasonable, as Sir James Harris considers there are no persons here of sufficient weight to answer for the rest.

P.S. "There is also a *Reglement* in Groningen by which considerable powers are given to the Stadtholder. Sir J. H. is however clearly of opinion that the expression of France was used with a view to Frize-land. The general term of *Provinces à reglement* is understood here to apply only to the three Provinces of Guelderland, Utrecht and Overysse. The claim stated in M. de Montmorin's letter of the *Bourgeoisies* to interfere in the election of the Regents is one which has not been brought forward for more than a century, and is in direct contradiction to what is understood to be the Constitution of Holland and of its different towns. It goes in effect to change the form of Government from a aristocracy to one purely democratical, as is evident by the manner in which this principle has been applied at Amsterdam and Rotterdam, where the magistrates elected in the old form have been dismissed and others substituted in their room by an armed mob."

1787, August 3. The Hague.—The same to the same. Sir James Harris is sending over the Resolution of the States of Zealand on the proposed mediation and is stating "the strong wish of our friends here that some memorial should be delivered to the States General on our part of a similar nature to that of France in consequence of the resolution of Holland." As I do not think any considerable objection was felt in England to this when first proposed I imagine this will be thought a sufficient reason "for adopting a measure in itself so indifferent, and which can probably have no other effect than that of showing that Great Britain interests herself in the present situation of the Republic," . . . which is contradicted here with great pains and some success. "The resolution of Zealand is, I think, drawn up with force and judgment. It seems right that similar resolutions should now be brought forward in Gueldreland and at Amersfort, in order to anticipate any effect which the approach of the King of Prussia's army might produce on the

deliberations, if he should still be desirous of excluding Great Britain from the mediation as appears to be the case by the note received from the Princess of Orange. . . . The instruction given to the Flemish deputies seems likely to encourage the King of Prussia to proceed as it proves that without the greatest concessions on the part of the Emperor his principal attention must still be directed to that object."

1787, September 8. Downing Street.—Right Honourable William Pitt to the Right Honourable William Eden. *Private*. Printed in *Journal and Correspondence of Lord Auckland*, i. 191, omitting the following passage between the words "your stay at Paris" and "we have declined" on page 192.

"The arrangement alluded to in your letter of the 2nd would in many points be very desirable, but there are as you seemed to feel, insuperable difficulties. There is no opening for the Duke of Dorset at home, and the idea of Sir James Harris's going to Spain would be impracticable, as they have expressed a very unfavourable opinion of him personally; and complain bitterly (in consequence of the impression given by France) of his conduct in Holland. If it be possible for you (without too much personal inconvenience) to stay some time beyond the period you proposed for your Spanish Journey, it would be highly desirable indeed. But however less time will be necessary than Mons^r de Montmorin points out, as surely before the end of the month not merely the plan for the armistice might be settled, but all the grounds of mediation fully discussed. There is no good reason for delay, and abundance of mischief to be expected from it." Having been prevented from seeing the King am unable to give any answer respecting M. de Lucerne. "I must mention to you an incident just come to my knowledge, and which gives me great uneasiness. A dispatch has, *I know*, just been received by Count Lusi, stating that notwithstanding all the assurances given from hence of our approbation of the King of Prussia requiring satisfaction from Holland, and of our desire to cooperate in preserving the rights of the Stadtholder and the Constitution of the Republick, the Court of Berlin is much disconcerted by learning that you had said either to Count Goltz or Prince Galitzin, (it is not clear which), that the satisfaction was not a point worth enforcing by arms, and that the march of the Prussian Troops must be in the way of the mediation. Such a language (if held at all) must, I am persuaded, have been only as the expression of your own personal sentiments; but the report of it may have produced the most serious, and in my opinion irreparable consequences, if communications since made from hence have not fortunately arrived in time to counteract it. This circumstance seems so important, that I could not for a moment conceal it from you; and you will see how material it may be, that I should be apprised of what you recollect concerning it. You will however be so good to be particularly careful not to let any of these particulars transpire.

"The jealousy which the Court of Berlin would be too apt to conceive in this critical situation would be much increased, if we were to enter into any communication on the affairs of Holland, the substance of which could not be communicated to them as circumstances may require. On this ground." . . . (*Copy*.)

[1787, September.]—[Right Honourable William Grenville to the Right Honourable William Pitt.] "M. de Montmorin in his conference with me on Tuesday last adverted earnestly and without reserve to the present appearance of alarm between the two king-

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doms as resulting from the state of the troubles in the Dutch Provinces. He intimated to me though in a conciliatory language that the peace of Europe would infallibly be disturbed if it was meant to support the P. of Orange in measures considered here as destructive of the Constitution of the United Provinces. He said that the motive of parentage, which might be supposed to have some weight with the King was very different from the principle of a recent national alliance affecting the honoured faith of his Most Christian Majesty. But the allegation of the Stadtholder's party that France was seeking to subjugate the Provinces to herself under the government of a faction and virtually annihilating the Stadtholder was utterly unfounded in truth. That it was the sincere desire of France to assist in restoring tranquillity between the Provinces respecting each other *in the first place and then* to secure to the Prince every right that his family can claim under the Constitution, and as much power as he can desire if he means to make a right use of it. This was the general substance of what was said as nearly and accurately as I can recollect it. M. de Montmorin added that a few days would probably throw new lights upon the state of the business, and that previous to my departure . . . for England he would confidentially state to me the sentiments and views of H[is] M[ost] C[hristian] M[ajesty] according to the most recent advices which might then be received in the hopes that something useful might result from such a communication.

"With respect to our supposed armament, which he said according to his last advices was to consist of seven ships, he said that he much lamented a step which led to the recommencement of jealousies and expenses between the two kingdoms. He then assured me positively and nearly in the terms which I have already transmitted from another quarter that France to that hour had made no naval preparations whatever, but had merely and as usual one ship of war with a few small vessels exercising towards Cape St. Vincent. I did not collect with certainty whether he meant to intimate that provisional orders were now to be given. I incline to think however that they mean to wait for further intelligence, though the Report at Paris is different. . . . I have reason to believe that the Conference profess a disapprobation of the P. of Orange's conduct in M. de Rayneval's negotiation, but accompanied with an extreme desire to strike out some new mode of accommodation." (*Copy*, in the hand of Mr. Smith.)

1787, September 26th and 27th. Paris.—Right Honourable William Grenville to the Right Honourable William Pitt. *Private*. . . . "Your letter of the 23rd and Lord Carmarthen's dispatch of the same date mention the two lines which are now thought the most likely for the conduct of France. The first that of a silent acquiescence in what has been done, the other that of her consenting to join with us in a guaranty of the Constitution of 1766. You state a doubt which of these two would be most desirable, but I think the reasoning of both letters seems to point to the Guaranty as preferable to the other. It is most probable that the option will not be with us, and that the answer which I shall receive from Monsieur de Montmorin when I see him will be conformable to that which he has already made, declining to enter into any further discussion of the business in the present situation of affairs. We may however, I think, now look with confidence to the complete acquiescence of France, either implied by their taking no further step and leaving the D. of Brunswick to finish what he has begun, or perhaps even expressed by an agreement to disarm, notwithstanding that those very circumstances have happened, the fear of which was their professed

reason for arming. And either of these would I take it for granted be thought a turn of the business with which we should have no reason to be dissatisfied whatever your wishes might be with respect to a guaranty. . . . I confess the acquiescence of France, if sufficiently secured, appears to me more desirable than even her concurrence in the measure of a guaranty, supposing this latter could be obtained. To make it possible for France to accede to such a measure, we must hold out some concessions, and we must bind ourselves to abide by the Constitution of 1766. The concession which you justly think France would be most anxious to obtain is that of an Amnesty for her friends. But the Dutch Ambassador here has expressed himself to Mr. Eden in such a manner on this subject as shews that he understands this to have been already held out by the Prince of Orange. With respect to any other stipulations of this nature they must relate to the *Patentes*, the military jurisdiction, and the *Reglemens*. You know the difficulties we have had in stating the particulars of these, and I imagine that they will be much augmented by the turn which things have taken. There is also a consideration on the subject of the Constitution of 1766, which seems to me deserving of attention. No one can certainly wish that we should encourage any measures for the gratification of the Prince of Orange's ambition and still less of his revenge, supposing him actuated by either of these passions, which I most sincerely believe he is not. But if the acquiescence of France were secured, and men of reason and moderation in the Republic were disposed to extend the privileges of an office which is so essential to be maintained, and so little able to maintain itself, we surely are not prepared to say that we should wish to have bound ourselves to oppose every such alteration.

"With these difficulties on one hand I own that on the other the advantage of a guaranty does not appear to me so considerable as it is felt by others much better able to judge of it. Under all the circumstances of vexation and disgust which France must feel at the event of her Dutch intrigues, may it not well be doubted whether the French Government will still continue to pursue M. de Vergennes' system in Holland, especially while foreign affairs remain under the direction of M. de Montmorin, who has expressed himself so decidedly averse to the whole measure. If they should, I cannot think that a guaranty would prevent them from acting by the same underhand measures as before, nor that they would have any difficulty (when things were again brought to their crisis under more favourable circumstances) in finding pretexts for doing once more exactly what they have now done. But on the other hand if they should be disposed in great measure to abandon the business would not a guaranty tend very much to prevent this by entangling them in every discussion and making them a party in every quarrel that may arise? . . . In addition to these considerations I have a strong impression that the whole transaction would have a much more complete and creditable appearance for us in the present moment, if it was terminated not only in exact conformity to our wishes, but without even the intervention of France. I again repeat however that although it may be advantageous to discuss this question thoroughly, the decision of it will in all probability not rest with us."

27th . . . I have received M. de Montmorin's answer appointing me for tomorrow. I think this delay additional ground for believing he will not agree to any negotiation on these points. If so I submit that there would be a considerable degree of impropriety in my remaining longer

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there than was necessary to receive the answer to my account of that conference.

1787, September 27. Séve near Paris.—Right Honourable William Eden to the Right Honourable William Pitt. “I agree with you in forming great hopes that you will have carried a most important point and possibly without any expense worth naming: you will also agree with me, that in pursuit of it you have been obliged to look war in the face and rather closely.—I am not sure yet that we are clear, but I hope the best, and shall be able to form some conjecture with confidence before this day is over, for I expect M. de Rayneval to dinner, to meet several of our mutual friends and to endeavour to get into good humour; but he comes so late (after the *Conseil*) that I cannot detain the messenger for him—you must therefore suspend your curiosity till Monday morning. In truth the end of the business is not flattering to them, and they are teased by the impertinencies which are circulated respecting their conduct and the superiority of your management. M. de Rayneval’s note to me last night was so cross that it is quite laughable to have come from a man of his experience and superior understanding *La voici!*—‘*Je vous envoie, Monsieur, la réponse pour M. Grenville. M. le C[omte] de M[ontmorin] lui donne rendez-vous pour Vendredy, et lui propose de diner chez lui. Il lui a été impossible de lui indiquer une heure pour demain*’ (which I had desired). ‘*Il laisse entierement à votre choix de vous trouver ou non avec M. Grenville. M. de Mont. desire que vous y soyez; ainsi vous déterminerez selon vos rapports avec votre compatriote—Je n’attends rien de sa mission.*’

Postscript. I have this moment received an excuse from M. de Rayneval to say that he cannot come to-day. I begin to suspect mischief.”

1787, October 1. Same place.—The same to the same. “The contents of Lord Carmarthen’s last dispatch added to the general circumstances of the moment and the apparent wish of M. de Montmorin have all together decided me to remain here five or six weeks longer.” After stating the inconvenience caused him by the change of plan and hoping he will not be let suffer for his zeal for the service. “I have had an accident this moment whilst I am writing which vexes me beyond description. A servant brought me the dispatches for the Duc de la Vauguyon without saying what they were, and I opened them without looking at the direction. The servant called out, but too late. I have sent them back to Versailles to be re-sealed; but both Grenville and Mrs. Eden assure me it will not be believed that we have not perused the contents. It is exceedingly disagreeable—to have happened to those dispatches particularly—and so intrusted to me.

Secret. I have often hinted to you that in the midst of all the apparent ill will between the Courts of Berlin and Versailles, I nevertheless suspect that there is an understanding and occasional confidences: I was much confirmed in this suspicion today by several circumstances.

I am afraid that our business is but half done at Amsterdam and that the Regents are left. It will be a glorious transaction if all this great business ends well. You attribute it entirely to the spirited activity of your arming.

N.B. According to the prospect of business which Grenville and I have before us it would be better if any acceptable means could be found to postpone the D[uke] of D[orset]’s coming for three or four weeks longer.”

Same date. Paris.—Right Honourable William Grenville to the Right Honourable William Pitt. I had written a long letter but much of what I had said had been superseded by the result of Eden's conference with M. de Montmorin and the rest will be better explained in person. I trust I am not wrong in coming over at this crisis, as nothing can be done till Mr. Ewart's letter is received which cannot be till the 12th at soonest, and there may be advantage in my seeing you in the interval.

"My situation has been sufficiently uneasy, especially since the language here has been so warlike. My first conference was particularly difficult because I was obliged to determine what line to follow, without any instructions from home that could at all assist me. I guess from what we have received from England today that I shall be thought to have leant too much to the idea of present negotiation, and this is the more unfortunate because what I said on this head was against my own judgment, but in order not to preclude that line if it had been determined in England that it ought to be pressed.

"At present the appearance certainly is that as soon as Ewart's letter is received we shall all disarm. It is a great question then whether to wish negotiation or not, and this must be in a great degree decided on what Harris says of the situation in which Holland will be left.

"You will however I am sure feel that while the thing is still so uncertain and France expressly tells you "*qu'il nest pas possible de ralentir*" which were Montmorin's words to Eden, it is of the utmost importance that we should proceed with as much vigour as if war were certain.

"Pray turn in your mind the point about Russia and the Porte. It is very probable that Montmorin may say something upon it tomorrow."

1787, October 22. Phoenix Lodge.—The Duke of Rutland to the Right Honourable William Pitt. *Secret*. Am anxious for the event of the preparations being made and trust you will give me the earliest information when you can say it will be peace or must be war. Had understood it was intended to lay an embargo on the exportation of Provisions from Great Britain. Should be glad if that measure were taken "as it would remove many unpleasant circumstances in following a similar measure here, and you certainly will not be able without it to make the embargo in this country effectual. My informations from the South give me as yet no reason to think the French supplies are in forwardness, the slaughtering having so lately begun." . . . I apologise for employing an amanuensis as my strength has not sufficiently returned for me to write much. [He died two days afterwards.] I ask for two lines on the subject of this letter and in answer to my last about a successor to Mr. Orde.

1788, January 10. Whitehall.—Right Honourable William Grenville to the Right Honourable William Pitt. Enclosing a letter from the Secret Committee to the India Board on the subject of an order of the Impeachment Committee for the production of all the Bengal consultations. I had prepared an answer for Rouse to send saying there was not a sufficient number of Commissioners in town to form a Board, but that he was directed by those who are in town to submit to the Secret Committee the propriety of waiting for the opinion of a board before they produced *these or any other papers* leading to the disclosure of orders which they had sworn not to disclose without the authority of the Commissioners. I had been prevented sending this by finding that Lords Sydney and Walsingham were in town but I do not consider them and myself sufficient to form a Board for any purpose, much less for resisting an order of the Committee of the House of Commons.

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My own opinion would be "to remind the Secret Committee of their oath and to take upon ourselves the refusal of *all papers in any manner* connected with the orders which have been sent through the Secret Committee." Am prevented however by a doubt respecting the opinion of my Colleagues. "For though I am myself perfectly clear respecting the extreme impropriety and even indecency of this order, I am ignorant how far it may have been made with the knowledge and consent of yourself and Dundas." Am a good deal apprehensive that the Secret Committee confine their doubts to the case of the Guntoor Circar and are not aware of the objection to the production of many other papers of at least equal importance—that for instance which relates to the line to be observed towards France in the East Indies and many others. You must decide whether the messenger should be sent on to Dundas and Mulgrave, or whether you will send him back with any and what answer. The substance of the oath taken by the Secret Committee is given, which however was only taken in 1786 subsequent to the orders about the Guntoor Circar. I have since seen Motteux. Neither the Committee of the House of Commons nor the Court of Directors know anything of the letter of the Secret Committee. . . . "In the present temper of the directors which you will learn from Motteux's account of their proceedings of yesterday, it is very probable that on Tuesday they may direct all the papers to be laid before Burke's Committee, and if a doubt is stated by the Chairman or Deputy may be still more inclined to do so. I never was clearer of anything than that the H. C. Committee have nothing to do with the proceedings subsequent to Hastings' departure. This seems to me to be only a beginning of what we are to expect."

1788, January 28. Paris.—Right Honourable William Eden to the Right Honourable William Pitt. *Private*. Enclosing original letter of the 19th instant from Mr. Liston "because it may be material to you to be apprized that the disposition of the Spanish Minister respecting the Slave Trade is similar to that of M. de Montmorin. I have recently had another conversation upon this subject with the latter; he again expressed great doubts as to the practicability of the measure accompanied however with an extreme anxiety for its success; and he desired me to say that if the words of his answer to me could be made of any utility, he had no objection to its being produced. He observed that the clamour and opposition would be great if the measure should originate here, and '*that the present temper of this country is unfavourable to any attempt of difficulty*;' but that if England on discussing the point should be disposed to make a sacrifice of interest to the shrine of humanity, France has too much just pride not to keep pace with her in such a race. I could arrive at nothing more specific; he fairly and frankly said that he was unauthorised to go farther till the subject is better understood.

Mr. Liston's third paragraph strikes me as deserving your attention. M. de Florida Blanca had some weeks ago dictated a message to me, desiring some communication and concert thro' M. de Montmorin respecting the Turkish business. . . . I have since observed that you have (as far as I can conjecture) adopted the system respecting the Imperial Courts and the Porte of waiting for events—Perhaps it is the wisest and best system. . . . I own nevertheless that it strikes me in a different light, and I should have thought it good policy in the present moment to have entered into a real and ostensible good understanding with the Bourbon Courts:—if Spain had met us in this way she would have met us honestly; and whether it may or may

not be true that there is duplicity and insincerity in the professions and conduct of the French Court, it has appeared to me possible to confine them necessarily to a direct line of conduct." . . .

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[1788.]—(The letter probably refers to the East India Troops Bill, which was before the House of Lords in March 1788. See *Lords' Journals*, xxxviii. 117, &c.)

March 2. Camden Place.—Lord Camden to the Right Honourable William Pitt, in reply to a question relating "to a doubt that might be conceived of the King's right to raise troops for the service of the East Indies without the consent of Parliament which might be thought unnecessary as they are not to be paid by the revenue of this country." I do not think the question likely to be started in the present instance as troops have been allowed without objection to be transported to the East Indies and to serve there in time of peace as well as war, and the four regiments now to go have already been stated in the estimate, which is notice at least to the House of Commons and might fairly pass for consent if not objected to or the objection overruled. But it is worth observing that in the first clause of the Mutiny Bill the whole number of troops to be raised are expressed as necessary to the safety of the kingdom *the defence of the possessions of the Crown of Great Britain* and the preservation of the balance of power in Europe. It might possibly be too much to say that the East Indies are part of the possessions of the *Crown*. If that construction should be allowed then the measure would appear on the face of the Act, and be ratified by the consent of both Houses. If not these words might be added *and the territory now in possession of the United Company, &c.* At present it would be unnecessary and illjudged to discuss a point of Prerogative before the King puts forward any such claims but should anyone think fit to go out of his way to draw the matter into debate upon a mere surmise that the King may attempt to raise an army without the consent of Parliament, and it should be necessary to declare an opinion, "I should be very strongly inclined to think that he could not." It being contrary to law in time of peace to *raise or keep* a standing army within the kingdom without consent, to say that "raising troops would not be illegal unless they are likewise kept within the kingdom would be a mischievous and a dangerous construction, for if under the pretence of transporting them they might be raised and the Crown be able to pay them without the aid of Parliament it might be a little too late after they are in the field to disband them by argument, and by this means the Constitution might be subverted." This is the reason in my opinion that the Act always states the whole number wanted for the foreign dominions. Again if they can be raised for the purpose of transporting how are they to be governed before they go. Not by martial law, no offence can be punished, they cannot be billeted and are under no kind of discipline.

"It is very true that the King by treaty may bind himself to supply a number of troops to his ally upon the consideration of reciprocal succour," in case of attack "and such a treaty would be valid without the consent of Parliament, but whenever the *casus fœderis* existed it ought to be considered as a time of *war* and the High Prerogative of making treaties would overrule the Act of Parliament as neither within the words or meaning of it." . . .

1788, May 1. Great George Street.—H. Beaufoy, Esq. to [the Right Honourable William Pitt]. Asking on behalf of Dr. Kippis, permission to dedicate his Life of Captain Cook to the King.

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[1788.]—(The Committee referred to was moved February 18, 1788, *Lords' Journals*, xxxviii., 82.) Lord Chancellor Thurlow to the Prince of Wales. "Having been taxed in the presence of your Royal Highness with the folly and impertinence of disputing the point of Precedence with the Prince of Wales, permit me succinctly to lay before your Royal Highness a more distinct account of that doubt I entertained upon the order which now prevails in the House of Lords of walking from the Chamber of Parliament to Westminster Hall, than perhaps I had the good fortune to convey in the conversation" with your Royal Highness.

"That doubt arose from the confusion of the precedents which seem to differ no less from themselves and from each other than from the nature and name of the thing. I allude to those wherein the question is put upon the footing of Precedency and this is given to the Lord High Steward above the Royal Family.

"No office or distinction known to the laws of this land brings up any other subject to the level of the Royal Family. Therefore the Lord High Steward's (? Chancellor's) walking after a Prince of the Blood on the claim of Precedency was absurd, how correct soever it might have been on other accounts, which I now proceed to examine. The Peers sit in Parliament in the following order. The Princes of the Blood by themselves, then the rest namely, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Chancellor, the Archbishop of York, other great officers, Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Viscounts, and Barons. By this order the Chancellor's place is on the Side Bench above the other great officers and next to the Royal Family. The Speaker's place in the House is the Woolsack from which he always speaks in the name and by the authority of the House. If the Chancellor, who is the ordinary Speaker of the House, has occasion to address the House not as Speaker but as a Lord of Parliament, he must leave the Woolsack and go to his place on the Side Bench, and speak from that place. When by Commission any other Peer is Speaker, he in order to address the House not as Speaker but as Lord of Parliament must go to his own place. When a Commoner is Speaker, he has no place in the House, but must still sit on the Woolsack and has no voice in Parliament.

"By the usual orders for moving from the Chamber of Parliament the Lords are to go two [and two] according to their Precedency and to place themselves in Westminster Hall according to their Precedency in the House. The Sergeant at Arms is to go before the Lord Chancellor. The only question seems to be this, does this arrangement include the Speaker and direct him to walk in the order of his precedence, whatever that may be as a Lord of Parliament or does it direct him to walk as Speaker and out of his place as a Lord of Parliament?

"Should the Speaker walk not as Speaker but as a Lord of Parliament when he happened to be one, he ought, when Chancellor, to walk between the two Archbishops, when a Lord of any other class, to walk among those of his own degree, if he happened to be one of the attendants on the House, which is often the case, he ought to walk among them. If he were a Commoner of any other description, no place that I know of is assigned him but the Woolsack, when the House sits.

"There is nothing incongruous in this, but it has not obtained. The Lords walk according to the order prescribed two and two. These files are closed by the two Arch-Bishops, the Chancellor not being interposed between them as the order of his Precedency would require. After the two Arch-Bishops go the Garter and Black Rod, which further shows that the Procession of the Peers is closed, and then the

Chancellor walks alone, with the Seals and Mace carried before him as Speaker.

"This arrangement seems to have been meant for the sake of order, namely, that all the Lords of Parliament should take their respective places in the House before the Speaker should take his place on the Woolsack and resume the House.

"Thus there are two Orders of Proceeding, either might have been adopted, but neither has been followed.

"In this view of the matter it occurred to me to doubt whether the Royal Family walking after the procession of the House seemed to be closed with the two Arch-Bishops attended by the Garter and Black Rod and after the Speaker attended by the Mace would be deemed to walk as part of the House.

"This doubt which was in truth suggested by others, . . . was the only one I ever entertained on the subject. This doubt when required by your Royal Highness I had the honour to communicate to you. It was your Royal Highness' pleasure that Precedents should be searched, and by your Royal Highness' express command I moved for a Committee for that purpose, which without such command it would not have occurred to me to do, and when your Royal Highness thought that no longer necessary it dropped.

"My present solicitude is by no means to prove that my ideas were correct, but to satisfy your Royal Highness, if that should be necessary, that so far from entertaining the ignorant presumption of comparing the place of any other subject to that of the Prince of Wales I did [not] mean even to encroach on the precedence of the Archbishop." . . . (*Copy*.)

1788, July 1. The Hague.—Sir James Harris to [the Right Honourable William Pitt?]. *Private*. Concerning the Indian Convention with the Dutch. "Some private letters, but of high authority from Berlin, express a great eagerness on the part of His Prussian Majesty that Mr. Ewart should receive instructions to enter upon the main treaty of defensive alliance between the Courts of London and Berlin, and till this is actually under negotiation, that his ministers will not be quite in charity with us for having concluded the provisional convention at Loo

"I have had an opportunity of ascertaining to a certainty what I believed was the case before that Lord Hertford's *whole* family is free to act in political matters as they think fit. I have also repeated to Lord Beauchamp what passed between us in London, and which he naturally expressed his sense of your very polite and handsome behaviour."

1788, August 7. Portman Square.—M. Barthelemi [the French Minister] to Joseph Smith, Esq. Requesting an interview with Mr. Pitt.

1788, August 14. Berlin.—Extract from a dispatch of Mr. Ewart, describing his audience of the King on presenting his credentials. The original is among the Foreign Office papers in the Record Office.

1788, September 12. Berlin.—Joseph Ewart, Esq. to the Right Honourable William Pitt. Describing the King's satisfaction at Mr. Pitt's letter and stating that "he desired me to repeat to you the strongest expressions of his esteem and regard on personal as well as public motives, together with the renewal of his congratulations on the complete establishment of a system which possesses such advantages to both countries," and also describing how "Count Hertzberg was overjoyed with your obliging compliment to him, and desired me to repeat the strongest

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assurances of his cordial esteem and attachment," and acknowledging on his own behalf the approbation expressed of his feeble endeavours.

1789, February 25. Plymouth Dock.—A grey-headed old seaman to the Right Honourable William Pitt. Recommending him "to get a couple of small cannon-balls of *six* pounds weight, slung with small cords twenty inches long, and in the most airy room in your house in *wet* weather vibrate them by the action of your arms, swinging one before you and the other behind you alternately, in moderate quick succession, keeping the time nearly of the pendulum of a good house-clock." A paper to be submitted to Dr. Willis, with suggestions for the treatment of the King is enclosed.

1789, March 2. 105, Brittain Street, Dublin.—A. B. to the Right Honourable William Pitt. "Nothing but official misrepresentations can induce you to acquiesce in measures tending to involve this country in confusion. The accounts first *of course* transmitted to you must in the present temper of the times be *of course* the reports of prejudice and personal animosity. Your wisdom will enquire beyond the reach of such reports and then you will find the real state of Irish affairs to be this. The Irish Parliament feel a veneration for his Majesty, and are utterly incapable of forming a Cabal against his Government in the hands of whatever ministers he may be pleased to appoint. But the late Regency business here produced at first some difference of opinion and afterwards open and direct hostility between the Marq[uis] of B[uckingham] and the two Houses of the Irish Parliament. His Excellency censured their proceedings as illegal; they voted his censure an unwarrantable insult on their rights. Without entering into the merits of these reciprocal charges you must feel too much for the pride of Parliament to think it possible that after this the Irish Parliament could possibly go on with the Marq[uis] of B. He may gratify his revenge but he cannot carry on the public business. Early in this contest his Excellency was pleased to tell a Member of Parliament '*That he would make him the victim of the vote he gave.*' This declaration naturally induced all those under his power and discipline and all the greatest and most powerful interests in this kingdom to unite under a *Covenant of common defence* against the resentment which they had reason to know was rooted in his Excellency's mind. All efforts conciliatory and otherwise to dissolve that connection have been found fruitless and ever will prove so while the Marquis remains here, because no man will trust to his promised lenity, should his power be re-established and the strength of his opposition broken. Whereas should another Lord Lieutenant be immediately sent over without any effort *but oblivion* he would instantly dissolve the connected Opposition and find all the strength of the country unite in support of his Majesty's Government. If on the other hand you should be persuaded to indulge the passions and gratify the animosities of the Marquis you may punish but can't subdue his enemies, for they are numerous and they are strong. Instead of dissolving you will bind together a powerful confederacy, and though you may give a triumph to his resentment you can't give tranquillity to his government. . . . Be assured this is written by one only interested in the public tranquillity and a person attached to the name of Pitt."

1789, April 29. Thomas Irving to ———.—Enclosing a paper containing an account of the number of negroes imported into and exported from the British West India Islands with the number retained in the whole of the islands and in each of them for five years from 1783 to 1787

inclusive, and also an account of the quantity of sugars imported into Great Britain from the British West India Islands in a period of four years immediately preceding the late war and also in the last four years.

[1790], January 7. Bederlem.—Lord Auckland to the Right Honourable William Pitt. With regard to the attempts which will be made on the part of the Protestant Dissenters and of the Roman Catholics, “I trust that I have neither a narrow or a prejudiced mind on this subject, and I went great lengths respecting it in 1781 in Ireland; but as far as individual opinion goes, mine is very strong for your resisting in gentle expressions but in the firmest and most decided manner every part of this business in the ensuing session:—You will be told that it will affect your parliamentary interest, but that is not true; I believe that the kingdom in general will approve of your resisting in the present moment anything tending to innovation. Perhaps it would even be right for you to see the Archbishop on the subject.” . . . After a reference to the coming Bristol election, and a suggestion made to him to stand which he had declined:—“I had a letter from Madrid today which says, ‘that the Court of Spain is under uneasiness about the conduct of some of the Northern Powers in regard to the disturbances in Brabant, and the unwillingness of those powers to see an accommodation take place in the East.’ This idea is well suited and preparatory to the steps on which you speculated yesterday. It is a pleasant circumstance that the Spanish Inquisition has issued a thundering prohibition against ‘*Un Tratado en Frances, intitulado, L’Importance des opinions Religieuses par M. Neckar*’—‘*Les Tres-serieuses remonstrances des Filles du Palais Royal*’—‘*Le Diable dans l’eau benite*’—and all other similar books containing false, impious, and seditious doctrine.”

1790, May 20. Paris.—Right Honourable Alleyne Fitzherbert to the Right Honourable William Pitt. *Private*. I have not been able “to renew my acquaintance with M. de la Fayette, but I have learnt from several of his intimate friends that the opening a free intercourse between the nations of Europe at large and the Spanish colonies is still one of his favourite objects, and therefore it is by no means to be presumed that he and his party will be disposed to concur in a war, which, when the causes of it shall come to be clearly explained, will be found to be undertaken upon principles so diametrically opposite. Indeed I have had occasion to observe in general that while the aristocratical party continue to be guided in their Foreign politics by that malignant jealousy of G. Britain which for these last forty years has been the leading principle of this Government, their opponents are actuated towards us by sentiments of much more liberality, and as their interests will moreover for some time to come render them extremely anxious to keep well with their neighbours it appears to me that by proper management, they might be rendered extremely useful to us. By management I do not mean the endeavouring to gain them by money, as not to mention other objections, it would be next to impossible to conduct a plan of that sort with the requisite secrecy, but they are extremely desirous of the good opinion of all leading persons of our Government and particularly, Sir, of yours, and are moreover wonderfully attentive to everything that happens to be mentioned on the subject of French Politics in either of our Houses of Parliament, so that if it should ever happen to be in your way to drop a word in their favour, were it ever so vague and general, it would produce, I am confident, the most salutary effects. I take the liberty of enclosing some of the late *Moniteurs* (which are here what Woodfall’s *Diary* is

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with you) containing the debates of the National Assembly upon the great question that has been agitating them for the last five days, respecting the King's right of declaring peace and war, and I think you will find if you have leisure to peruse the speeches of the leaders on both sides that their sentiments confirm in great measure what I have taken the liberty of stating to you. . . ."

1790, July 7. Hardlabour, near Haverford West.—John Napier to the Right Honourable William Pitt. Suggesting that he should endeavour to procure the cession of Porto Rico and Trinidad in satisfaction of the British demands on Spain for the expenses relative to Nootka Sound, the Manilla Ransom, &c. Describing the natural advantages of the islands and predicting that "this immense country can't be long under the dominion of Spain as the inhabitants in general from Orinoco through the Province of Caraccas as far as Maracaybo . . . in particular the Indians, in short inhabitants in general from the city of Caraccas to Santa Fe . . . are much dissatisfied with the Spanish Government."

1790, August 9. Goodwood.—The Duke of Richmond to the Right Honourable William Pitt. *Private*. Acknowledging an abstract of the agreement at Reichenbach between the Kings of Hungary and Prussia and a notice for a Council tomorrow, and instead of coming giving his sentiments by letter on the subject of becoming a guaranty to which on the whole he objects, especially when they are not confined to possessions but extend to Constitutions. If however Great Britain's guaranteeing the Constitution of the Netherlands is the desire of sovereign and people and can facilitate a reconciliation I see no harm and some good in it, but I think the request should be distinctly specified, and great care taken not to leave any pretence for a reciprocal guarantee even of possessions, but still less of constitutions. Am against any active interference in the Low Countries.

1790, October 26. Windsor.—George III. to the Right Honourable William Pitt. "From a thorough conviction how essential Peace is to the Prosperity of this Country it is impossible for me to object to any means that may have a chance of effecting it; though not sanguine that Mr. H. Elliot and his French Friend [Mirabeau] are likely to succeed where caution and much delicacy are necessary. While our Ambassador and Official Correspondence are kept clear of this business it will certainly be wise to keep up the proposed Communication for the sole purpose of restoring peace, but no encouragement must be given to forwarding the internal Views of the democratical Party. We have honourably not meddled with the internal dissensions of France and no object ought to drive us from that honourable ground." (*Holograph*.)

1792, March 2.—"Clericus" to the Right Honourable William Pitt. On the Parish Register Tax on Births, Marriages and Burials of 3*d*. each, and suggesting that marriages by Banns be exempted, that 5*s*. be levied on those by License and 5*l*. on those by Special License, and proposing instead of the tax on every burial a tax of 1*l*. on every burial within a church or in a vault in a churchyard and of 5*s*. on every coffin covered with velvet, cloth, or baize, and further proposing to double the penalty of 5*l*. for burying in Linen, now "divided between the informer (who is generally of the family of the deceased) and the poor of the parish." I am wholly averse to a tax on births or baptisms, but if something must be raised from them I propose a Government fee of 5*s*. on every baptism performed in a private house. "This practice

of performing a public office privately much prevails in the metropolis, and universally among families of fashion."

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1792, August 16. Paris.—General M[irand]a to John Turnbull, Esq. "The events of the 10th of August have produced here such a change that everything is altered. My friends have obtained the confidence of the nation and also the administration and make me very advantageous proposals in order to join me to them in supporting the cause of liberty which, as you know, is my divinity. It is only this high motive that detains me, and tomorrow I hope to have decided either to stay or to leave next Sunday with Mr. Forbes." . . . (*In French.*)

1793, April 14.—Memoir and observations of the Duc de Choiseul on the state of affairs in Belgium. (*Copies.*)

1796, July 30. New Norfolk Street.—Sir R. Woodford to Joseph Smith, Esq. *Most private.* "I leave it entirely to your discretion to convey to Mr. Pitt that there is lately arrived here a French gentleman, with whom I have conversed, and whom I knew formerly in the Chancellerie Française in Barthelemi's time, with whom he has been since, a clever man, who tells me he is in intercourse with some of the *Directoire* at Paris, and could make it clear that he is grounded in asserting, that they are disposed to treat for Peace, and would lend themselves to any reasonable proposals for entering upon the negotiation with due decorum either in the mode of appointing persons in the way of M. Bussy and Stanley, or if persons of superior rank should be nominated to negotiate, they should cross the water at the same time."

1796, August 3.—[Substance of First Conversation with M. Nettement.] No. 1. *Note.* "The French Administration convinced that the view of the Government of England is [reading *est* for *et*] to put an end to the evils of the war, and foreseeing that a separate peace between France and the Emperor might be such as would be in no wise consistent with its true interests, and that it would thereby inevitably prolong a disastrous war, proposes to the English Government to send reciprocally two accredited persons in order to lay the foundations of a general negotiation." (*In French.*)

1796, [? Same date.]—No. 2. "If the Note No. 1 is approved of by the British Administration——will address himself directly to the French Administration, that it may give adhesion to a similar note, which would be sent here and exchanged with a corresponding one of the British Administration at the same time and place." (*In French.*)

1796, August 15. At Mr. Charretié, Walcot Place, Walnut Tree Walk, Lambeth.—M. Nettement to Joseph Smith, Esq. Informing him that since their last interview he has received a letter imperatively obliging him to go Paris on family affairs. "If my frankness and the rectitude of my intentions have been able to inspire you with any interest and if I have been able to forward the wise views of your Government, whose moderation I admire, I venture to ask you to give me a mark of your particular goodwill, by procuring me a Passport for going to Paris by way of Dover and returning to London." My reason for wishing to return is that I have been too well received not to desire to come back as soon possible. "You have doubtless observed in the papers that Laréveillère is President, and you know that he belongs to the moderate party." . . . I ask that the notes in my handwriting may be returned. (*In French.*)

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[1796, August.]—Three papers in French in the hand of M. Nette-ment, two of which are marked Secret No. 1 and No. 2. The third is unmarked. No. 1. "The five members who at present compose the Executive Directory have been named by the faction of the Jacobins, and that choice did not have the approbation of the moderate party and the majority of the nation. But they have overcome so many obstacles since they have been in place, that the Moderates have disregarded the *names* of those who govern in order to make common cause with the government. People have thought this was the only means of extricating themselves from the evils of anarchy, and of destroying Jacobinism in France. It is then the interest of the Moderates and the Directory to make common cause with one another. The moderate party with the majority of the nation is inclined for a general pacification. If the Executive Directory having more regard for its hatred against the British administration, its private ambition, and even its own authority than for the interest and inclinations of the French nation should haughtily reject the conditions of peace proposed by England, I should not be surprised by a union between the Moderates, who wish for peace, and the Jacobins, who do not love the Directory, in order to replace them by other governors. But as long as the British Administration has not made known its views in an authentic manner, they will be protected from every sort of influence, and will govern the armies and the people despotically. Then there will be between France and England a war to the death, which the ambitious Catherine will not fail to applaud.

"The British Envoy to Paris should therefore make himself popular with the two parties, who will ultimately influence the Directory, should it prove intractable. He will do well to attend the sittings of the two Chambers. He will be affable, and generous and frequently entertain mixed parties of Jacobins and Moderates, and will make a point of saying that he belongs to no party. He must expect to have spies upon him, and must be on his guard against the traps that may be set for him. He will bring letters of recommendation to different Bankers of Paris, through whose intervention he will meet the most important personages. While the negociation is going on he will not be admitted to audiences of the Directory, but may ask for private interviews with them. He will say nothing in favour of the *Émigrés*. He will throw on Robespierre the responsibility for all the horrors of the war. He will refute all that has been said of the exhaustion of the resources of England, and will present a picture of all that she has remaining. Above all he will make it his business to prove that it is the interest of the only two free nations in Europe to stop for ever the scourge of war, and above all to direct it against Russia. I believe that by these means Mr. Pitt will succeed in making an honourable peace and in putting his enemies to silence."

No. 2. "It is very important that the British Envoy at Paris should have the talents and address not to force an immediate answer. He will be sure to obtain with a little patience and moderation what might be refused in the first instance. He must make it his principal business to inspire the Government with confidence, and must wait till public opinion is strongly in favour of peace before declaring the final intentions of his Court. People commence by disputing over details before coming to the important points. Above all he must direct the attention of the French Government to the Neutral Powers, who alone are interested in prolonging the war. It might perhaps be successfully put before the Executive Directory, that it belongs to England and France

to maintain for ever the balance of power in Europe. It is certain that the prolongation of the war cannot prove advantageous to either of the two powers. If England waits for the result of the peace forced upon Austria, I see no hope of a sincere reconciliation between the English and the French. A frank declaration of the British Administration on that subject cannot fail to be well received."

No. 3. "The deportment of the British Administration towards the Executive Directory should be such that the latter should be forced to declare openly if it desires peace or wishes to continue the war. The more frankness Mr. Pitt shows in his declaration, the more power he will have over his adversaries.

"Hitherto *they have believed or professed to believe*, that the British Administration was laying traps for them. If they sincerely desire to enter into negotiations, they will immediately give the passport that will be demanded for an envoy of His Britannic Majesty, and their reply to a frank declaration will show how far they are sincere in their declarations. One has a great advantage over an adversary when his measure has been taken.

"If on the contrary the Directory intends to continue the war, it must be made to contradict itself and to prove to Europe, and above all to France, that it is only itself that wishes to make the war perpetual. Mr. Pitt will attain that end if his declaration is such that they cannot persuade people that it is still intended to lay a trap for them.

"It appears to me therefore demonstrated that the Note of the British Administration should be expressed in unequivocal terms and sent in the most direct manner.

"There might be great inconvenience in sending an Englishman to France without having previously advised the Directory. It might be possible they would send him back unheard, and they might perhaps accuse the English Government of having wished to feel the strength of opinion against their authority. They are jealous of their prerogatives, and do not like publicity in negotiations.

"The following is the only method that seems suitable to me. Lord Grenville should declare in a note addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs that the British Administration is as desirous as the Executive Directory to terminate the evils of the war, and that with this object His Britannic Majesty intends to send to Paris Mr. ——— with the powers and instructions necessary for treating with the French Government with a view to a lasting peace, and should therefore request the Minister of Foreign Affairs to send him a passport for Mr. ———. This note should be sealed and addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Paris. I shall be considered to be ignorant of its contents." After further details about the manner of sending the note, he concludes, "This is the true method in which the affair should be conducted to ensure the result being favourable to Mr. Pitt, whatever may be the answer of the Executive Directory and to secure the most inviolable secrecy."

1797, September 27. Paris.—General de Miranda to Joseph Smith, Esq. Introducing the bearer M. Caro. (*In French.*)

1797, November 17. Temple.—Rev. W. Pearce to Joseph Smith, Esq. Expressing his gratitude to Mr. Pitt and his readiness to resign the Mastership of the Temple, whenever he wishes.

1798, February 14. Strand.—Edward Antrobus, Esq. to Joseph Smith, Esq. Expecting to be able to supply to a moderate extent the application for specie for Ireland.

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1798, February 15. Hanover Square.—The Duchess Dowager of Rutland to Joseph Smith, Esq. Mentioning certain places, one of which she asks for her friend Mr. Dawson. Also asking that the window-tax gatherership and postmastership at Newmarket may be given to certain persons on the death of the present holder.

1798, March 2. Hackwood Park.—Lord Bolton to Joseph Smith Esq. *Private*. Had lately come from the Isle of Wight. Had felt no small vexation in the difficulty of moving any disposition to contribute. "The Corporation of Newport had been excited to a *pretended* intention of giving 500*l*. but it was necessary to borrow the money and give security. Ld. Holmes and Dr. Worsley his son-in-law refused to give the security although they secured above 8,000*l*. for the last sale of the seats, which they had stolen from Government." . . . "I have been entertained with the Newspaper account of the alarm in the Isle of Wight last week. To do but justice to the Inhabitants their only hurry was zeal to offer their services."

1798, Monday, March 5. At Governor Pownall's, Rodney Place, Clifton.—General de Miranda to Joseph Smith, Esq. Had left on Saturday at 4 a.m. and reached Bath at 9 p.m. Referring to Turnbull's book on Antient Painting, and reminding him to lay before Mr. Pitt the Tables of the Population and Commerce of America, and to procure for him a decision of some sort or other. (*In French*.)

1798, July 5. Hanover Square.—The Duchess Dowager of Rutland to Joseph Smith, Esq. Soliciting that Mr. Preston should be quartered on some place for 100*l*. a year.

[1798], August 8. London. — General de Miranda to Joseph Smith, Esq. Congratulating him on his marriage and requesting that the sketches of his plans of Country houses, which he has lent him should be returned, as Mr. Bonomi, a pupil of his friend Clerisseau, has promised to arrange something wanting in them.

1799, April 25. Union Street.—Colonel Francis North to Joseph Smith, Esq. Forwarding the resolutions of the last Court.

1799, November 7. Belvoir Castle.—The Duke of Rutland to Joseph Smith, Esq. Soliciting two places for a Mr. Pattison and a Mr. Bawdon.

1800, July 19. Sackville Street.—The Duchess Dowager of Rutland to Joseph Smith, Esq. Repeating her solicitations in favour of Mr. Preston, the late Bishop of Ferns' nephew, who is at present a very heavy charge on her, and is so very helpless and unequal to the performance of any office that she fears the only way to be of any use to him would be to give the place to another person with the proviso of his giving him 80*l*. or 100*l*. a year out of it.

1800, September 19. Bath.—Lord Bridport to Joseph Smith, Esq. Replying to his congratulations on his appointment as General of the Marines.

1800, September 24. Bolton Hall.—Lord Bolton to Joseph Smith, Esq. Commending the bearer "the son of his old friend and tutor Dr. Bates."

1800, October 5. Cheveley Park.—The Duke of Rutland to Joseph Smith, Esq. Expressing his perfect satisfaction at Mr. Pitt's intentions concerning Mr. Good.

1800, November 15. Belvoir Castle.—The same to the same. Thanking him for reminding Mr. Pitt of his former application on behalf of Messrs. Preston and Dodsworth.

1801, February 15. Sackville Street.—The Duchess Dowager of Rutland to Joseph Smith Esq. Thanking him and desiring him to express her thanks to Mr. Pitt on the appointment of Mr. Preston as Commissioner of the Lottery.

1801, February 18. Belvoir Castle.—The Duke of Rutland to Joseph Smith, Esq. The same subject as the last.

1802, March 13. Stowe.—The Marquis of Buckingham to Joseph Smith, Esq. Referring to business connected with a proposed canal.

1806, May 2. Cambridge.—Dr. Herbert Marsh to Joseph Smith, Esq. Soliciting his influence on the approaching vacancy in the Margaret Professorship of Divinity.

A bundle containing a number of Lists of the House of Commons.

I. A List of the Irish House in May 1784, classified thus: For, 184; Doubtful, 39; Against, 74; with one absent, one vacant, and one Speaker. In many cases a member's "Object," for instance, "Advancement in the Law," is entered against his name.

II. Analysis of the English House on May 1, 1788:

1. Party of the Crown - - - - - 185

This party includes all those who would probably support his Majesty's Government under any Minister not peculiarly unpopular.

2. The Party attached to Mr. Pitt - - - - - 52

Of this party, were there a new Parliament and were Mr. P. no longer to continue Minister, not above 20 would be returned.

3. Detached Parties supporting the present Administration:

1. Mr. Dundas - - - - - 10

2. The Marquis of Lansdowne - - - - - 9

3. The Earl of Lonsdale - - - - - 9

4. East Indians - - - - - 15

4. The Independent or Unconnected members of the House 108

Of this Body of men, about 40 have united together in conjunction with some members of the House of Peers in order to form a third Party, for the purpose of preventing the Crown from being too much in the power of either of the two other Parties, who are contending for the government of the country; and who (were it really necessary) might with the assistance of the Crown, undertake to make up an administration to the exclusion of both Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox and of their adherents.

5. The Opposition to the present Administration:

1. The party attached to Mr. Fox - - - - - 138

2. Remnants of Lord North's party - - - - - 17

6. Absentees and Neutrals - - - - - 14

III. Printed List of the Division on Mr. Pitt's motion on December 16, 1788.

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IV. 1790, July 15. Comparative List of the Late and Present Houses arranged according to Counties.

V. Another List of the House elected in 1790 arranged in Alphabetical order of Constituencies.

[1786?]—State of a sugar Plantation in Jamaica with reasons against the suppression of the Slave Trade by Mr. E. Long, giving statistics of the acreage, produce, number of white men and slaves employed, and the rate of mortality and principal diseases of the latter.

A bundle of papers mostly printed but two or three written, among them Proclamations of the Duke of Brunswick, the Prince of Coburg, Gen. Dumouriez. Reports of Speeches of Louis XVI. to the Assembly of Notables and the Parliament of Paris, of Napoleon on his appointment as First Consul for life, &c.

Another bundle containing proposals for the establishment of the Army and Navy, information about the French Navy and Seamen, some anonymous and other letters, verses addressed to Mr. Pitt by Mr. Hayley, a return of the Public Houses in various places in England, suggestions of Dr. Sturges for effecting a commutation of tithes, an anonymous letter to Pétion, the Maire of Paris, &c.

F. H. BLACKBURNE DANIELL.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE BISHOP OF ELY.

The Records of the Bishopric of Ely are preserved in three depositories, each of which may be said to have a character of its own. These are (1) the Muniment Room in the Palace at Ely; (2) the receptacle at St. Mary's Church, Cambridge; (3) the Strong Room at Ely House, Dover Street.

MSS. OF THE
BISHOP OF ELY.

No one of these places can be said to be well adapted for the storing and convenient arranging even of the collections of MSS. which they severally contain, but if they were all gathered into one place it would be necessary to provide a chamber of considerable dimensions in order to make this great mass of documents conveniently accessible to historical students. The Records at Ely and Cambridge indeed have quite outgrown the shelf room provided for them, and the strong room at Ely House is even less adapted for the purpose which it serves than the other two depositories are.

The assemblage of MSS. in the Palace of Ely is very large and of a very miscellaneous character. In the main it is concerned with the temporal jurisdiction of the Bishops of Ely over the county of Cambridge, which, till 1837, was well nigh commensurate with the limits of the see of Ely. The ancient franchise of the Bishop of Ely was second only in importance, and in the powers and privileges belonging to it, to that of the Bishop of Durham; and in the Appendix to Bentham's Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Ely (No. xxvii.) will be found a concise Historical Account of the Jurisdiction claimed and exercised from early times. It is evident that the Records which have come down to our own times anterior to the 16th century constitute but a small fragment of the great mass of documents which were once kept together in the archives of that see. Very few of the evidences date before the reign of Edward III., though the Records of that reign and of Richard II. are fairly continuous and are full of interest, not only for the local antiquary but for the intelligent student of legal and constitutional history. The Rolls of the various Courts, each with its own organisation and peculiar customs and territorial jurisdiction, are very numerous. They comprehend the Rolls of the Hundred Courts, Courts Lete, Manor Courts, and Halimotes, and some few minor courts which may have been mere survivals of local franchises, or may represent mere sporadic growths when the frequency of disputes of a technical character demanded that they should be adjudicated upon by what we understand by a *committee of experts*.

The most important and most complete series of Rolls is that which has to do with the town of Wisbech. They are in excellent preservation, and fastened together in large bundles, each bundle arranged according to the regnal years of the Sovereign, in conformity with the usual practice; the Rolls of the Hundred, the Lete, &c. being kept separate, those of the *curia mercata* and the *curia bondorum* being but few and occurring only occasionally. If there are any of these Rolls earlier than the reign of Edward III. they escaped my notice. There is indeed one bundle which some one has erroneously labelled "4^o Ed. I. 1276," but, on examination, I found to my disappointment that it contained nothing that did not belong to the reign of Edward IV. I

had noted that the series of Wisbech Rolls at the Palace at Ely were fairly continuous from the beginning of Edward III. down to the end of Henry V., and that at this point there appeared to be a break, the series beginning again only at the end of the 15th century. When, however, I came to examine the Records at Ely House I was glad to come upon several bundles which to a great extent supplied the missing documents, and I believe that a minute scrutiny of the whole series would show that it was remarkably complete for at least two centuries and a half. At Ely House, too, I found a bundle of Rolls of the Court Lete of Wisbech of the time of Edward II.

The Rolls of the Hundreds of Wychford and Isleham and of the Manor Courts of Tyd, Leverington, and other townships in the Isle of Ely are very voluminous; indeed, the collection of Court Rolls would probably prove unusually interesting and afford us an insight into the methods of tillage and other customs among the inhabitants of the Cambridgeshire fens in mediæval times, which is much needed. Hardly less numerous than the Court Rolls are the Bailiffs' accounts of the Episcopal Estates from the beginning of the 14th century downwards. Among these, as falling under the same class, may be included the Rent Rolls, one or two manorial extents, balance sheets of the surveyors of the great dykes and drains and other stray papers more or less connected with the finances and revenues of the Bishop. One roll of the *custos fossatorum* for the 1st year of Henry V. enters rather minutely into details regarding the system of drainage then existing and which had been in operation for centuries before. A Rent Roll of 4 H. IV. gives us what may almost be called a Commercial Directory for the town of Wisbech for this year, and it would be interesting to compare this with another and equally elaborate Halimote Roll of the 7th H. VIII., which again furnishes us with a list of all the householders and their several occupations just a century after the date of the earlier document. The Bailiffs' accounts, however, would prove on examination to be the richest mine of information on almost all matters that concern our social history and the habits of life of the people. Thus we may note that the interchange of letters from time to time was much more frequent than we should have expected to find. In the 20th year of Edward III. a busy correspondence was kept up between the Bailiff of Wisbech and Edmund de Gonville, the first founder of Caius College. Gonville was at this time Commissioner of Marshlands, in the Isle of Ely, but resided, as appears from this account, at Rushworth, in Norfolk, where he had founded and endowed a College of priests in 1342. The letters from Wisbech to Rushworth are always charged for in terms of the day's labour for which the manorial tenants were liable, six *opera* for the journey to and fro, three *opera* where no answer seems to have been returned. From another account two years later we get the money equivalent for these charges by finding the writer's day's work set down as standing for a halfpenny. In this latter account, too, we find that in the Barton of Wisbech a practice prevailed of selling the feudal services "in gross" year by year; and in this year 1348 (*i.e.*, the year before the Black Death) the whole amount received under this head was 8*l.* 11*s.* 2½*d.* Seventy-five years later (1° H. IV.) the sale of services in the same manor brought in 10*l.* Illustrations of the severity of the plague in Cambridgeshire are frequently to be met with. At Barton we learn that no less than 352 acres escheated to the lord, and that 62 acres remained unlet, *causa pestilentie*. From the frequent mention of boats and boat hire it would seem that the ordinary "sewers" through the fens were used as canals and were the highways from place to place, the saturated fen land not being furnished

with roads along which much traffic could be carried on. The sea evidently came much nearer to the town of Wisbech in the 14th century than it does now; the smaller *cetacea* seem frequently to have been cast ashore in the shallows of the Wash; when caught they were salted and packed in barrels to be consumed as food, and the capture of a grampus, porpoise, or even "*unius piscis vocati sele*" was welcomed as cheerfully as the occasional netting of a sturgeon. These Bailiffs' accounts are of great length, the rolls frequently extend to six or seven feet, and are usually written on both sides of the vellum. The series is so large that they could not but prove a very valuable *apparatus* for a student desiring to pursue researches into the daily habits, means of livelihood, and devices for getting a precarious sustenance out of the land in a district which, in these early times, must have been very uninviting to any but such as had been born and bred on the soil they were attached to.

The Jail Deliveries and other Sessional Papers which, as far as I have noted, do not begin before the 14th year of Queen Elizabeth, make up a huge aggregate of Records which have chiefly to do with the crime and litigation of the county of Cambridge down to recent times. In so large a mass of documents it would be very rash to hazard a guess at what may not be found, but I was surprised and disappointed to come upon no notice concerned with the doings or sufferings of the Recusant gentry and R. Catholic Priests who were confined in the castle of Wisbech during the latter half of Queen Elizabeth's reign. It is difficult to believe that a more careful search into this collection of muniments would fail to bring out some fresh light upon the very interesting subject of the treatment which the Recusants received and the severity of their long imprisonment. In the next century again, during the interregnum, it is noticeable that the sessions continued to be held with monotonous regularity, but very soon after the Restoration at the Sessions held in Ely 18 April 1661 we meet with indications that the reinstating of Bishop Wren into his Bishopric and his return to his diocese was speedily followed by a vigorous attempt to revive the old Church discipline, and the old strictness which had proved so disastrous twenty years before; and accordingly among the presentments of the Grand Jury, 15 men of Ely are presented "for not coming to the Parish Church," and another—Simon Goodman of March—"for suffering his son and other boys to play in his outhouse upon the Sabbath day and in divine service time."

In this Muniment Room at the Palace there are but few documents which have much to do with the Ecclesiastical History of the See of Ely, and what there are, are chiefly concerned with the 18th century and possess little interest. There is, however, one paper book of the Elizabethan era which must not be passed over without a word. This is a Return of the *Comperta* of Bishop Cox's Visitation of the Diocese in 1561. We have here a minute account of the condition of the Parish Churches throughout the Diocese and a curious body of evidence regarding the attitude of the people in this part of England three years after the death of Queen Mary, which obviously possess something more than a merely antiquarian interest. From these returns it is clear that the enactments for defacing the churches, and even those for enforcing uniformity of ritual had not been attended to generally nor generally carried into effect. There had been a widespread reluctance to destroy the Holy Water stoups in the church porches, and to daub over the walls of the churches with whitewash. The frescoes in many instances are reported as still remaining intact. There was a great deficiency of Anglican service books; the homilies

are so frequently noticed as not to be found, that it would appear they were held in dislike. In many Churches there was not even a Bible. There are frequent complaints that no Parish Register book had been provided. In many Parishes there was no preaching and nothing in its place. At Stanton St. Michaels there was no pulpit; at Orwell we read "the *Crucifixorium* remaineth in statu quo prius;" at St. Botolph's Church, Cambridge, there was not even a chalice. Such a picture of the condition of an English Diocese at this period I have not met with elsewhere, and a much more extended and careful examination of these Comperata than I could afford to give to them could hardly fail to repay a competent student. Nor indeed are the stray papers of the 18th century without their interest and value, such, for instance, as the correspondence regarding licences to Dissenting Meeting Houses—from 1736 to 1792—which would throw much light upon the History of Non-conformity at this period;—or a collection of letters and answers to enquiries on the question of establishing Sunday Schools in 1785, or the Particulars relating to the Ordinations held at Ely during the Episcopate of Bishop Yorke (1781–1808).

(2.) The next Collection of Muniments belonging to the See of Ely which I examined is to be found in a space boarded off at the north-west corner of St. Mary's Church, Cambridge. These records are kept in eleven large cupboards, closely packed with MSS., the keys of which are kept by the Verger of the church. The collection as a whole is in excellent preservation, is unusually free from any signs of damp or neglect, and constitutes in its entirety an extremely valuable *apparatus* for the History of the Diocese and Archdeaconry of Ely from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign down to recent times. The collection of tithe maps and terriers is very large, and the transcripts of Parish Registers handed in at the Episcopal and Archidiaconal Visitations have been scrupulously preserved, and appear to have been arranged by some early custodian with extraordinary care and intelligence. They are sorted in bundles parish by parish, and though, as has been said, the mass of documents is far too large for the space into which they are crowded, even now there would be no great difficulty in consulting them for a searcher with the requisite patience for such a labour. It would require a long expenditure of time to give any adequate Report upon the contents of this depository; there is, however, no appearance that any very early rolls or charters are to be found there.

In addition to the bundles of loose papers, there is here also a collection of MS. volumes of various dates and of a very miscellaneous character. The most important are the Registers or Act Books of the Consistory Court. These contain not only depositions of witnesses examined during the trial of causes adjudicated upon, but copies of, or extracts from, Wills proved or disputed, inventories of personal property administrations of the goods of persons dying intestate, sequestrations, marriage licenses, Churchwardens' presentments, and other matters of a kindred nature.

The most ancient of these MSS. volumes is a folio of 84 leaves of vellum in good preservation and perfectly legible, which has a history of its own. It was one of a lot of *waste books* which Samuel Pegge the elder recovered for St. Mary's archives under circumstances which unhappily must be confessed to be less unusual than could be wished. In one of these books Mr. Pegge has written ". these old papers I call No. 1 of the Bishop's Registers; intending to examine and remark upon the many books I bought by weight of a grocer who had them for waste paper. Signed, S. Pegge, June 1767."

The writer seems never to have carried out his good intention, nor does it appear how many of the volumes in this collection were restored by him to the existing muniments. This volume is a Register of the Consistory Court of Ely for the six years between 1375 and 1381, *i.e.*, for almost half the episcopate of Thomas Arundel. As might be expected the contents of the volume for the most part deal with matters of routine; occasionally, however, documents of great interest occur, and notably so among the letters which refer to the elections of Proctors to serve in the ecclesiastical assemblies, and the frequent correspondence concerning the Diocesan Synods held twice a year in the Diocese. So little is known of the authority, influence, or procedure in these meetings that any fresh information that may be afforded concerning them would be a gain.

The other Act Books are almost all of the 16th century. They do not form a consecutive series, but nevertheless they are sufficiently so to make up a group of some value. They consist of—

- (1.) A *Deposition Book* containing fragments of depositions taken at Courts during the years 1532, 1535, 1537, and 1538.
- (2.) A similar book for the period between 1574–1580.
- (3.) A well preserved *Act Book* of the Consistory Court for the year 1563.
- (4.) Ditto for the years 1579–1581.
- (5.) Ditto for the year 1582.
- (6.) Ditto for the year 1584.
- (7.) Ditto for the year 1598; a fragment.
- (8.) Act Book for the Deanery of Wisbech, 1593.

The Visitation Books, which are similar in character to that already noticed among the muniments in the Palace at Ely, deserve special attention, because they afford us an insight into the moral and religious condition of the country parishes at intervals of time convenient for comparison—during the century preceding the outbreak of the great rebellion and in a part of the country where it is believed that great changes in the sentiments and convictions of the people were going on. These books include:—

- (1.) A Visitation Book of the Archdeaconry of Ely during the year 1539. This volume furnishes us with a report of the condition of the Archdeaconry three years after the suppression of the smaller Religious Houses and during the year when the Act of the Six Articles was passed. Thomas Thirlby was at this time Archdeacon of Ely, the same who afterwards became successively Bishop of Westminster, Norwich, and Ely. The book deserves to be examined with much more care and patience than could be bestowed upon it in the time at my disposal.
- (2.) A Visitation Book of the Diocese of Ely by Bishop Cox, for the year 1564, *i.e.*, three years later than the Visitation Report, at the palace noticed above. It contains the usual complete lists of clergy, schoolmasters, churchwardens, and other officials of every parish with the presentments and comperta arranged according to the several deaneries. The impression left upon me by a rapid comparison of this book with the Visitation of 1561, was that the defacement of the parish churches recommended in the earlier volume had been generally carried out in the interval, but that the moral condition of the people had by no means improved.
- (3.) Visitation Book of Dr. John Parker, Archdeacon of Ely (1568–1592). This contains very little more than a Return of the Incumbents, Curates, Schoolmasters, Churchwardens, and *In-*

quisitores arranged in deaneries, with an alphabetical Index. Bound up with this is a collection of notes and memoranda, apparently referring to the business of the Archdeaconry in Dr. Parker's time; among them is a collection of forms of legal instruments used in the Archdeacon's Court, entitled "*Libelli querimoniales secundum usum Curie Anglicanæ*." This tractate fills 64 folio pages, and contains some curious entries; among them I noticed a form of licensing a Midwife with the elaborate directions and conditions imposed serving as a kind of examination into the qualification of the applicant for a license.

- (4.) A Visitation Book of "the *Venerable* Richard Swale, LL.D.," Vicar General of Archbishop Whitgift and Commissary of the See of Ely—*sede vacante*. This Book covers the years 1596–1599. The returns are drawn up with unusual elaboration, and the Report upon the Cathedral Church of Ely supplies a complete nominal list of the members of the Chapter, including the lay clerks, bedesmen, scholars (24), choristers and others connected with the Church in any way. The Visitation was conducted in a very searching and systematic manner, and the picture supplied of the diocese during the closing years of the 16th century leaves little to be desired. At Ely House there are two Visitation Books of Bishop Heton; one for the year 1604, the other,—a fragment,—for the year 1607, which contain similar nominal lists of the Cathedral establishment at Ely and which indicate that a collegiate life was kept up in the precincts down to the beginning of the 17th century, at any rate. Even in 1607 we find included as regular servants of the House, 1 Barber (tonsor), 1 Cook, 1 Under Cook, and 1 Obsonator, *i.e.*, the purveyor or house steward.
- (5.) Visitation Book of Bishop Martin Heton for the year 1603. Somewhat formal in character.
- (6.) Visitation Book of William Gager, LL.D., acting as Vicar-General, first of Bishop Heton, during the last few months of his episcopate, and next of Bishop Andrewes during his first year. The record begins abruptly on the 9 Jany. 1608–9; the latest entry belongs to 1610. The Visitation, which was spread over a period of more than a year, was carried on in St. Mary's Church, in Cambridge, on successive Mondays from week to week. An entry of the 17th July 1609 notes that Bishop Heton died at Mildenhall, and apparently suddenly, *in ædibus Magri Jacobi Weston Ar.*, a fact which has not I think been mentioned elsewhere. At this point the visitation is interrupted and is not resumed till 27th Nov. 1609, when Dr. Gager resumes it as Commissary of Bishop Andrewes. Some of the reports in this volume may instructively be compared with the *comperta* of half a century earlier, and indicate the change of feeling and habits that had come upon the villagers. Thus it appears that the old strictness in observance of festivals and saints' days was disappearing, though the attempt was still made to enforce the antiquated customs. At Baburgh Ralph Shirte, gentleman, is presented for fetching home a chaldron of coals on St. Luke's day; at Barrington, Edward Prior is reported for carting on Michaelmas day; at Duxford, John Willows for doing the like on the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, and the same offences are presented again and again elsewhere as worthy of censure.

The presentments for sleeping in Church are frequent, and the complaints of brawling and actually fighting during divine service are not rare. At Balsham two men are "named upon a common fame to be of the Family of Love." At Cottenham, Richard Coverley taketh upon him to be a cunning man, being neither Physician nor Chirurgeon . . . to him divers do resort as to a cunning man or wizard. At Dallingham there appear to have been great disturbances in consequence of the Churchwardens having apportioned the seats in the Church according to their own notion of what was fitting. At St. Edward's, Cambridge, Robert Throckmorton, gent., is presented "for that contrary to the canons he doth leave his parish Church of St. Edward's to which his house doth belong, and doth go to Benet Church to hear divine service." At Over, Ezra Purkiss, the school master, "not being in any orders at all," had for some time been conducting the service in the Church, preaching twice on Sundays, burying the dead and churching women, &c., and to all appearances might have gone on posing as a clergyman but that "in reading the collects he did in one of them leave out this word *Bishop* and instead thereof did read this word pastor or pastors." At Waterbeach Henry Greely, the parish clerk, had been acting nearly in the same way in the absence of the Vicar, who appears to have connived at the proceedings. Complaints against the clergy are very seldom made, though it would be difficult to say what misconduct was not thought sufficient to form the subject of presentment at these visitations.

There are besides these books, which are in good condition, several fragments of similar visitation books for the years 1611, 1624, 1634, a deposition book of the Consistory Court for 1563-4, and a few miscellaneous volumes which, with one exception, are of no great interest. The exception is a *Formulare* or book of precedents drawn up apparently by some ecclesiastical lawyer of the 15th century, connected with the diocese of York. It contains a large number of forms of citations, monitions, sentences, &c., among which the following deserve notice:—

- i. A form of absolution for celebrating a clandestine marriage.
- ii. A form of letter for removing a nun from one house to another.
- iii. A letter from the canons of St. John's Church, Beverley, authorising one of their members to beg through the East Riding for funds to complete the fabric of their Church.
- iv. A commission of the Archbishop of York "ad inquirendum de Lollardis et ad procedendum contra eos."
- v. A monition to parishioners to contribute towards the restoration of their parish Church.
- vi. A form of letter of manumission by a Bishop with confirmation by the Cathedral Chapter.

The beginning of the volume has been somewhat injured by damp.

Though I spent some time and some pains in looking through the MSS. I am by no means sure that there may not be still among them some ancient writings which escaped me and which may prove worthy of notice, and as valuable to the student as those I saw and handled.

III. The Muniment Room, or as it is called the *Strong Room* at Ely House, Dover Street, is a square chamber of brickwork, with an iron door, into which little or no light can enter, and not much air. It is in the basement of the house and is a very unfit depository for such muniments as it contains. There is a large mass of wholly useless papers in this strong room, e.g., bundles of forms, with signatures attached, on matters of very trivial moment, and bulky returns of information which has been copied and preserved elsewhere. It is

difficult to see what purpose can be served by keeping such heaps of what may strictly be designated waste paper when the really Historical Records, and those which are in process of becoming such, can with difficulty be accommodated with bare shelf room, and still less can they be arranged in such a way as to make them easily accessible.

The rolls in this collection are few; they include some of the Court Lete of Wisbech and of the Lete of Elm during the reign of Edward II., a large bundle of Court rolls of the Halimote, Market Court and Lete of Ely, temp. Henry VI. and Edward IV.

A large bundle of Accounts of the Bailiff of Wisbech Castle, some of them of great length, covering more than a century, viz., from the 2nd Henry V. to the 20 Henry VIII. with fewer breaks in the series than might have been expected.

Another bundle of rolls concerned with the Halimote Lete and other courts of Elm of very various dates. The earliest I noticed was of the 14th century, the latest of 22 Henry VIII. To these must be added a bundle of accounts of Robert Frere, Bailiff of Holborn House, or, as he calls himself, "Custos Hospicii ac collector reddituum domini Episcopi Eliensis ibidem [*i.e.*, Holborn] et in Fletestrete London." These accounts deal with a few years of Richard II.'s reign and one or two of the reign of Henry IV. They would prove extremely interesting to London antiquaries as giving minute accounts of the houses and shops rented by the Bishops of Ely in Flete Street and Chancery Lane, and furnishing a great deal of curious information, from which the extent of this property and its boundaries, &c., may be gathered. The length and minuteness of these accounts may be inferred from one entry in the roll of 2 Henry IV. "Item in stipendiis Clerici huius compoti cum pergameno pro eodem iij s. iv. d."

Most of the houses and shops in Holborn and Fleet Street had gardens attached to them, but the Bishop's own garden appears to have been let about the beginning of the reign of Richard II., and together with the vineyard and some pasture land adjoining brought in a rent of 60s. a year, a considerable rent for a yearly tenant to pay at this time. It is well known, as the late Mr. Riley pointed out eighteen years ago (Hist. MSS. 1st Report, App., p. 89), that the notices we get of English Horticulture in the middle ages are not often to be met with. I was therefore very glad to find among these Holborn rolls a stray gardener's account for the last eight months of the Episcopate of Bp. John Barnet, *i.e.*, from Michaelmas 1372 to 7 June 1373, when the Bp. died. At this time the Bishop's gardener was one Adam Vynor, who calls himself "Ortolanus dñi Episcopi." Among the receipts are to be found amounts from the sale of onions, garlic, lekes, parseley, hyssop, savoury [Winter's Tale I.-IV.], peas and beans? [*de fabis and siliquis*], and cabbages [*olera*].

69s. 1½d. is charged for men and women digging in the vineyard "ac etiam pro malis herbis in curtillagio purgandis et extrahendis," and a payment of 3s. 10d. is entered for tithes paid to the Rector of St Andrew's, Holborn, "pro decima pasture magni gardini."

The MS. volumes at Ely House are very various. The most important of them are the Episcopal Registers, which begin with that of Bp. Simon Montacute (1337-1345). The latest that I found was that of Bishop Yorke (1781-1808). The series is far from complete, and the registers of Bp. Simon Langham and Bp. John Barnet, which covered the years from 1362 to 1374, were already missing when Bishop Wren went through the whole collection shortly after his translation to Ely from Norwich in 1638.

Unlike the Institution Books of the diocese of Norwich, which contain very little but the names of the clergy presented to a benefice, and the date of their institution, the Registers of Ely, at least down to the middle of the 16th century, present us with a documentary history of the diocese during the episcopate of the successive occupants of the see. It seems to have been a tradition at Ely to make the registers take the place of the old Chronicle. If the registers of the *Priory* of Ely were at once the letter books of the monastery and journals of the business translated in the Chapter House, the Bishop's register was a similar record of all that was passing in the diocese. The valuable *Priory* register so ably summarised by the late Mr. Horwood in the 6th Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission (pp. 289-300), will give the reader a very good idea of the importance of these episcopal registers, except only that in the one case we are dealing with the affairs of a single religious house, and in the other, with the administration of an important but compact diocese, with no great monastery to enter into serious disputes with the Bishop of the see and with the University of Cambridge, not yet strong enough or rich enough to assert herself too loudly. Though the relations between the University and the Bishop were very close, and could not be otherwise, my impression is that the early registers will be found to contain fewer notices of Cambridge than might have been expected, and that what there are have already found their way into well-known sources of information. At the same time it must be confessed that this is only an impression.

A minute examination of these registers would be a work of time, and a detailed report upon their contents would fill a volume. Whether such a report is called for as yet may be doubted.

Meanwhile, it may be noted that the non-juring fellow of St. John's, Thomas Baker, evidently had access to the episcopal archives at the beginning of the last century, and that the extracts he made are to be found in his MS. collections. These have been utilised by the late Mr. C. H. Cooper, of Cambridge, and by others who have made researches into the history of the University. On the whole, they must be confessed to be disappointing.

It is characteristic of the Ely registers that the lists of ordinations at the end of the volumes contain fuller information than is usually afforded in such early catalogues, which as a rule give little more than the names of the ordained. Here, in all cases, the secular and regular clergy are kept distinct, and sometimes the age and antecedents of the candidates are added. An analysis of these lists would enable us not only to form an approximate estimate of the comparative strength of the parochial and monastic clergy, but to arrive at some conclusions regarding the number of the various religious orders in the diocese during the 14th and 15th centuries. The numbers admitted to holy orders in the early registers are very startling. The lists of ordinations for 22 years of Bishop Gray's episcopate (1454-1478) fill 34 closely written folio pages. In the century before this, *i.e.*, in Bishop Simon de Montacute's time (1337-1345), ordinations were held much less frequently than in the time that followed; but on the 24th March 1340, no less than 249 were ordained, *viz.*, 67 acolytes, 56 sub-deacons, 57 deacons, and 59 priests. The contrast between this ordination and one held by Bishop Cox, 19 Oct. 1580 is worthy of notice; on this occasion there were only 23 candidates, of whom *eight were rejected on examination*. The generally received belief that during Queen Elizabeth's reign the ordination examination was a mere form, and that admission to the ministry of the Church of England was easily to be obtained by very incompetent persons,

receives no support from this register as far as the diocese of Ely is concerned.

The great power and influence of the Mendicant orders again, even during the latter half of the 14th century, may be inferred from such significant entries as that in Bp. Arundel's register, where we find that on the 7th Feb. 1375 ten Franciscans, five Augustinians, and seven Carmelite friars, after admission to the priesthood, were licensed to preach throughout the diocese. All these licensed preachers appear to have belonged to religious houses at Cambridge.

The number of Papal Bulls, Royal letters, mandates from the Archbishop, summonses to attend ecclesiastical assemblies, circular notices issued by the Bishop and bearing upon the taxation of the clergy and other instruments of more or less importance, of which copies are to be found in these volumes, is very large. As in the register of Bp. Stafford of Exeter [edited by Rev. F. C. Hingeston Randolph, 8vo., 1886], the Wills not only of clergy but of laymen are numerous and sometimes of great interest. The same may be said of the Marriage licenses, and occasional suits for dissolution or confirmation of marriages on the ground of nullity pleaded or dispensed.

The Licenses to beg throughout the diocese (usually styled Indulgences) for various objects are extremely curious. In one instance such an indulgence is granted for two years, to enable a poor man who had been stripped of his all by robbers, to recover his losses.

The great activity in Church building and Church restoration in the 14th century is strikingly illustrated by the notices of no less than ten Churches having been dedicated in Cambridgeshire by Thomas de Lisle in the single year 1351-2.

A mandate addressed by Bp. Thomas Arundel to the Chancellor and University of Cambridge, requiring them to pray for peace, the realm being threatened with invasion, dated Downham.

A breve addressed to Bp. Fordham by Richard II., ordering that prayers be offered up for Richard, Earl of Arundel and the fleet under his command now upon the sea, 13 June 1388. (Walsingham, Hist. Angl. ii. 175.)

In Bp. Gray's register (1454-1478) there is a long account of proceedings taken against Robert Spark, John Crudde, and John Baile, who had been found guilty of heretical pravity. The articles objected to are—

1. Images not to be worshipped.
2. Pilgrimages not to be made.
3. Children not to be baptised.
4. Laymen not called upon to fast if they be labouring men.
5. Consecration of burial grounds unnecessary.
6. At the sacrament of the altar no change in the elements.
7. Transubstantiation a fiction of the priesthood.
8. Confession to one of their sect profits more than confession to a priest.
9. Mental prayer in the fields is better than the same in a Church.
10. Consent between a man and woman alone makes matrimony. The marriage rite invented by the avarice of priests.
11. Extreme unction useless.
12. The Pope is antichrist and the priests are devils incarnate.
13. Every man is the Church of God, because he is said to be "the temple of God."

All abjure their heresies.

With these proceedings it would be instructive to compare the report of a similar trial for heresy in 1539-1540 in the register of Bishop

Goodrich. This long and minute report is concerned with the proceedings against William Wolsey and Robert Pygott of Wisbech, which resulted in the burning of the two men at Ely on the 16th Oct. 1555. Foxe (*Acts and Monuments*, vol. vii. 404) gives a very characteristic account of this business, but he cannot evidently have seen this report of the trial, and writes from hearsay evidence only.

Another entry in Bp. West's register (1515-1534), bearing on the same subject, shows that Thomas Bilney, who was burnt at Norwich, 19 Aug. 1531, had been proceeded against for heresy much earlier than has hitherto been supposed. "Licentia M^{ro} Tho Bilney in iure Canon: Baccal ad predicandum populo. Sed revocatur quia super hereticam pravitatem convictus est 1523."

From such a large field as these registers cover it would be easy to make a collection of curiosities which should be of service to the historian. Thus the maintenance of bridges in the middle ages was assumed to be in some way connected with the offices of religion. In Bishop Gray's register (1454-1479) we find an illustration of this in a mandate from the Bishop to the Bailiff of Brandon requiring him, whereas Thomas Passhelaw, lately the occupant of Heremitagium nostrum super pontem de Brandon, was dead, to admit John Herryman to be hermit there for his life "si bene se gesserit," the said hermit to keep the buildings of the hermitage in due repair, *i.e.*, out of the offerings received from those who should cross the bridge.

The attitude of Archbp. Bouchier towards Bp. Pecock of Chichester is well known and that he was translated from Ely to the primacy in 1454. On the 21st March 1457 the Archbp. issues a mandate to Bp. Gray his successor in the see of Ely calling upon him "ad inquirendum de libris domini Reginaldi Pecock Epi. Chich.," whether written in Latin or English.

ii. 3 Jan. 1465-6.—A license addressed to Thomas Trumpington "Sacra Pag: Prof: Præsidenti religionis Minorissarum monasterii de Denny," authorising him to celebrate matrimony in the Convent Church between William Ketterich, junior, and Marion (Marionam) Hall, domestic servants in the monastery: the banns to be put up in the parish church of Waterbeach. Denny was a nunnery of the order of St. Clare.

iii. Certain injunctions and reformed statutes determined on in the course of a visitation of the Priory of Ely, May 1466. It would appear that the house required some reformation and received it. The report and the injunctions fill five folio pages, and are of great interest.

iv. In the register of Bp. John of Fordham (1388-1426) there is a long mandate of Archbp. Courtenay, "*Contra Choppechurches*," dated 5 March 1391. They appear to have been the *clerical agents* of the 14th century, who drove a brisk trade by negotiating exchanges of benefices. The Primate denounces them as "*Simonis consortes in crimine Choppechurches vulgariter appellato*," and their head-quarters were at London "*pro maiore parte ut dicitur*."

v. In Bishop Arundel's register (1374-1388), (fol. 33), is a very strong letter addressed by the Bishop to his clergy warning them against receiving or harbouring certain "*pseudo maligne mentis homines infelices*" outwardly in sheep's clothing but inwardly ravening wolves. "*Adeo obfuscati quod quidam eorum Archiepiscopos alii vero Episcopos se falso and mendaciter pretendentes*" who had been itinerating in the diocese of Ely and elsewhere, obtaining money from the clergy and confirming children at the Churches. Such rogues were by no means to be received "*etiamsi episcopi in veritate existant*."

vi. In this same register (fol. 396) there is an entry of unusual interest setting forth that Isabella, Countess of Suffolk on the 21st March 1381[2] in the presence of Thomas Bishop of Ely, "*missam tunc ibidem solempniter celebrantis*," and of Henry [Despencer], Bp. of Norwich, assisting, made a solemn vow of chastity before the High Altar of the Priory Church of Campsey, Suffolk. The form of the vow is given at length. *Jeo Isabelle iadys la femme William de Ufforde Count de Suffl. vowe a dieu et a nre dame seynte Marie et a toux seyntz en presence de tres reverentz Piers au dieu Evesqz de Ely et de Norwigt que ieo doi estre chast dors en auaunt ma vie duraunte.* The Bp. of Ely by authority of the Bp. of Norwich received the vow and invested the lady with a ring and "*Mantellam sive clamidem*" in the presence of an immense assembly. Among the witnesses at the ceremony were the Countess's brother, Thomas Earl of Warwick, one of the Lords Appellant in 1387, and her two brothers-in-law, John, 3rd Lord Willoughby de Eresby, and Robert, 3rd Lord Scales, "*ac aliis militibus et armigeris et aliis in multitudine copiosa*." This remarkable ceremony has escaped the notice of historians so far as I am aware. The sudden death of William Ufford, Earl of Suffolk [Walsingham, ii. 48], has been assigned by Dugdale to the 15th Dec. 1381 [Baron. ii. 49]. His widow therefore took the veil just three months after her husband's death.

The other MS. volumes appear to be mere chance remnants of a collection which may at one time have been a large one. Possibly they may have been hidden away in Ely house during the interregnum when the palace was used as a prison, and subsequently as an almshouse, but they can hardly have been preserved with any care since that time. Few are deserving of any special notice. The following may be of some interest:—

- (1.) A thin folio of 40 leaves of the 15th century, containing a collection of extracts from ancient charters and other documents in support of the case of the Bp. of Ely in a discussion which had arisen between him and the Abbot of St. Edmunds with regard to certain liberties and franchises which it appears the Abbot had invaded.
- (2.) A Grant by Queen Elizabeth of lands, &c., constituting the estate of the Bishopric of Ely made to Bp. Martin Heton, in December 1598. It is a long document and deserves to be examined with care. Bp. Heton is credited with having consented to a dishonourable agreement, whereby the see was robbed of some of its most valuable estates. A comparison of this schedule with earlier records would go far to support or to confute the statement which has been current so long.
- (3.) A collection of Appeals to the Bp. of Ely as visitor of Jesus and St. John's Colleges at Cambridge in the matter of elections to Fellowships. The earliest of them is of the date 1792, the latest 1823.
- (4.) Rental of the Isle of Ely, A.D. 1600.
- (5.) A compilation professing to be an exemplification of the liberties of the Church of Ely in the 15th century. 40 folios.

There are three volumes which call for more than a mere passing notice. They are—

I. A cartulary of the Church and Convent of Ely of the 14th century, carelessly bound in the 17th (?) century, and then apparently furnished with an Index. It contains:—

- i. Privilegia Paparum, pp. 1-58,

- ii. Cartæ Regiæ, pp. 63-143,
- iii. Cartæ Episcoporum, pp. 143-208,
- iv. Donationes privatorum Nominum, pp. 213-612,

and some other miscellaneous matter. A few leaves are missing. Bentham appears to have made much use of this volume.

II. "The old Coucher Book of Ely, R." It contains—

- (i.) Fol 1-206, "*Liber de Inquisitionibus. Maneriorum Episcopatus Eliensis*," giving a minute account of all manors belonging to the Bishopric, professing to have been drawn up in the 21st year of the consecration of Bp. Hugh de Northwold (*i.e.* 1251), and may be said to be a general survey or Domesday Book of the See.
- (ii.) A cartulary containing charters, grants, final concords, reports of law suits, &c. A valuation of the benefices in the diocese. *Perambulatio de Bundes and Divisis inter Comitatus Cantabr. and Hunt A^o. Reg. Ed. 13.* A list of knights' fees held under the Bp. of Ely. A minute account of the rents and *services* drawn from tenants of the Bishopric. The inference drawn by a former examiner of this latter half of the book is perhaps correct, viz., that it was drawn up previous to the year 1330. As there is no mention of the Manor of Holborn. Bishop Wren was acquainted with this MS.

III. A closely written folio in rough calf, arranged in double columns, in the handwriting of Bishop Wren. This volume possesses a peculiar and almost pathetic interest. The first 113 pages are taken up with extracts from the registers of the See of Norwich, of which Dr. Wren was Bp. for little more than 2 years. During this short period he seems to have worked with extraordinary industry at the records to which he had succeeded, going through them page by page and noting everything that seemed to him worthy of remark. At the bottom of p. 113 he has added the following note:—

Quicquid in libro hoc chartaceo infra conscriptum est, usque ad secundam hanc columnam Paginæ 113, per me ipsum collectum fuisse ex Archivis Norwicensibus profiteor, meaque manu descriptum hinc ex eorundem perlectione et perscrutatione a me ipso factâ dum Ep^{us} Norwicensis eram, a 5 Decembris 1635, ad 24 April 1638.

Ma: Eliensis.

At p. 114 he begins his extracts from the Ely registers, which are headed "*Ex Archivis Eliensibus*." These continue uninterruptedly to fol. 360, at the bottom of which he writes:—

Hoc omne quod a Pag 114 in istoc Libro Chartaceo prescriptum est meis ipsis oculis perscrutum, perlectumque fuisse ante Aug: 30 A^o 1642 ex Archivis Ep^{atus} Eliensis, aliisque scriptis meaque ipsius manu in rudem hanc formam congestum, exaratumque fuisse necesse est me, in verbo and fide Episcopi, profiteri. Quia nunc reperio, *Partem maximam eorum scriptorum e quibus ista conscripsi, vel periisse funditus vel saltem ablatam*, subductamque esse per scelus temporum illorum quæ ab initio Anni 1643 ad A^m 1660 interlapsa sunt.

MSS. OF THE
BISHOP OF ELY.

Audiat Fides Christiana.

Audiat ipsa Veritas hoc.

Quod nunc sanete adsero, in presentia Summi Deo.

Ma : Elienses.

Octob. 15, 1664.

There is a good Index to the Norwich extracts in Bp. Wren's own hand, but the Index to the Ely notes has been drawn up by another. Wren seems to have carefully noticed the occurrence of any names of Suffragan Bishops acting in either diocese as officials for the Bishops of the see, and the names of more than one are given which do not occur in Wharton's list.

Reading between the lines of Bishop Wren's declaration at the end of this volume, and bearing in mind that the writer was the object of a very acrimonious persecution at the hands of the Puritan faction, who spared no pains in getting up charges against him, it is less to be wondered at that the muniments of the diocese of Ely should be as defective as they are than that so many records of great value should have survived. The see was actually kept vacant for more than 18 years, from 1581 till 1599, and the removal of such MSS. as may have been stored in the Bishop's palace in Holborn to the new residence in Dover Street, which was built in 1772, is not likely to have been carried out without some serious loss.

It remains for me to express my cordial acknowledgments of the great interest which the Bishop of Ely has taken in the examination which I have made of these Manuscripts, and to tender his Lordship my thanks for his generous hospitality.

AUGUSTUS JESSOPP.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF ELY.

The muniment room of the Dean and Chapter of Ely is situated over the Northern Gate into, what was formerly, the Priory Close, and is approached by a stone staircase. It is practically a fireproof room and is furnished with shelves lining the walls on all sides. The documents which it contains have been arranged with some regard to a systematic plan, and the various classes of MSS. can be referred to now with little difficulty.

MSS. OF DEAN
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The collection may roughly be divided into—

1. Charters dating from the time of the Conquest.
2. Court Rolls and Bailiffs' accounts of the various Manors belonging to the Monastery together with a few Manorial extents and *Consuetudinaria*.
3. The Rolls of the various Obedientiaries of the Priory.
4. Miscellaneous books and fragments of early registers, including the famous *Liber Eliensis* preserved for the most part in a chest deposited in the Cathedral library.
5. The Act Books of the Chapter of Ely, since its first foundation to the present time.

I. The collection of early charters is very large, and cannot be estimated at fewer than 800. As a rule these charters are found in a wonderful state of preservation and have evidently been guarded with jealous vigilance for ages. They generally retain their seals unbroken, beautifully distinct and unusually free from blemish. Some few, but a very few, of them have been printed by Bentham, who, however, evidently gave much more attention to the Episcopal than to the Capitular Archives, and sometimes went far afield in search of information which lay ready to his hand very near home.

More than 400 of these charters date from a time anterior to the accession of Richard II. and constitute a valuable *Apparatus* from which might be drawn up a fairly complete history of the external fortunes of the Monastery, its acquisition of property, its purchases, exchanges or sale of lands, its difficulties with local magnates always on the watch to despoil and make merchandise out of the religious houses—the occasional bequests and donations it received from various benefactors, steadily decreasing in number and importance after the beginning of the 13th century, its lawsuits, vexatious and costly, the favour or disfavour it met with at the hands of the kings of England, who appear generally to have been much more inclined to extort from the Priory all that could be claimed, than disposed to enrich it by any grants or privileges—and the Mandates or Breves from Popes when appeals had been made or their interference had been asked for.

Archdeacon Chapman has been engaged for some time upon the labour of love of drawing up a short calendar of these charters, and has bestowed upon them an amount of time and labour which is above all praise. He has already arranged with great care and ingenuity, and added a short analysis of upwards of 500 of these precious documents, and placed them in tin boxes in the Cathedral Library, under lock and key. Here they will be accessible to any duly qualified student who

may wish to consult them and be moved to a desire to obtain a closer view of the history of the Monastery than could be gained elsewhere. The series commences with several confirmations of earlier charters by William the Conqueror. Unfortunately such charters are only recited or referred to in the confirmations, and no pre-Norman documents of any kind have been preserved, or at any rate are now to be found among the capitular muniments.

It is observable that the earliest charters printed by Bentham are from the Bishop's and not from the chapter Archives. It would be idle to attempt any explanation of this significant fact, but it may possibly be connected with the serious disputes between Bp. Nigel, the 2nd Bp. of Ely (1133–1174) and the Priory, which we know to have arisen on the question of the ownership of estates claimed by Nigel on the one hand and by the monastery on the other.

Among these charters it would be easy to select a large number that deserve notice, but two charters of Richard I. are specially such, because they furnish us with two excellent examples, one of the first seal of the King which he used till 1194, and the other of the second which replaced it. The first of these charters is dated at Westminster 10 Octr. "Anno primo regni nostri," that is about a month after the coronation of the king, and is a confirmation of charters given to the Bp. and Convent of Ely by Henry I. and Henry II. and issued by William Longchamp, Bp. Elect of Ely, then chancellor, and is sealed with the seal figured in Rymer. The second is dated from Château Gaillard (ad Rupem Andelicii) "iii. die Julii Anno Regni nři nono," and is a renewal of a previous charter given at Gisors on the 28 March of a previous year. Unfortunately the vellum is sadly injured, but the following words are plain, and in view of the change in the King's seal, are noteworthy " tenor carte nře in primo sigillo nřo Qđ quia aliquando pđitum fuit in aliena potestate constitutum mutatum est . . ." This charter is uttered by Eustace, Bp. of Ely (consecrated 8 March 1198), and its seal differs materially from that given in Rymer. (See an article on *Richard the first's change of seal*, by Mr. J. H. Round, in the *Archæological Review*, vol. I., p. 135.)

One other charter among many deserves special notice—because it is an instrument which Oxford Antiquarians interested in the history of the University will regard as a document full of significance in its bearing upon an obscure period of Oxford history. It is the record of the settlement of a long standing dispute between the Rector of Bluntesham in Huntingdonsh : on the one part, and the Prior and Convent of Ely on the other part, regarding the right of the former to certain tithes which the Convent refused to pay. The cause was carried to Rome, and the Pope (Gregory IX.) thereupon issued his mandate that the matter should be left to the arbitration of the *Prior of Frideswide* and the *Dean and Chancellor of Oxford*. The Pope's mandate is dated Reate 23 June 1231 (*ie. Kal. Julii Pontificatus nostri anno quinto*). The actual settlement being protracted till the year 1233.

II. The Court Rolls, Bailiffs' accounts, Manorial extents, and evidences of the same character have been fairly preserved, but are not in the same beautiful condition as the charters, nor have they been guarded with the same care. They count however by hundreds and are valuable for the light they throw upon the history of manorial customs, the changes that have gone on in the tenure of land, the ownership of property, and above all the progress and decay of peasant proprietorship and of local government in small areas.

The most valuable Manorial extent that came under my notice is one drawn up in the 12th year of Edward II. which gives a very elaborate account of the tenants of the Priory in the townships of Swaffham, Wrattyng, Stapleford, Newton, Hawkeston, Haslyngford, Melbourn, and Meldreth. A note at the beginning sets forth that the MS. had been found among the books of "Dr. Hitche, late Steward to the Dean and Chapter of Ely" some time after his death, by Mr. William Clarke, his nephew, and had been restored to the *Chapter House in the Church of Ely* on the 18th Dec. 1699. In the several townships the tenants are classed under various names. At Swaffham there are (1) Free tenants, (2) Virgate tenants, (3) Cotarii, and (4) *Neche* tenants each holding in villenage so many *Cotlonds*.

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At Wrattyng there was "*le Garden* vocat le Impyton," containing 3 acres, and another "Garden vocat le Apleton juxta Ecclesiam" containing 2½ acres. At Newton and Melbourn there are *Molmanni*, apparently occupying a middle position between the tenants in villenage and the free tenants.

The services required by the tenants in villenage at Wrattyng are terrible in the exactions specified; while at Melbourn the only rent required appears to be "ad festum Pentecostes, i vomer decens ad voluntatem domini." An exact parallel to this was to be met with at Beeston in Norfolk, where the rent of a ploughshare was exacted from all the tenants of the manor on every new admission of a tenant to his lands of inheritance.

The Manor Court Rolls of the 23rd year of Edward III. contain many incidental allusions to the ravages of the Black Death as do the Rolls of the Obedientiaries of the Priory; in one of these it is explained that little or no rent had come from a street in Ely, by reason of the houses being tenantless *propter pestilentiam*. It was impossible, however, to give to the Court Rolls and Bailiffs' accounts more than a very superficial scrutiny. Nor is it probable that they deserve any special attention except in so far as this class of records must needs be of service to the local antiquary and the students of our early franchises and their customs.

III. The Rolls of the Priory, by which is usually meant the annual balance sheets drawn up by the several officials or *obedientiaries* of the Monastery, are less numerous than I was prepared to expect. There is no reason to believe that they are either fewer in number than they were when Bentham was writing his history of Ely about a century ago, or that since that time they have suffered any harm from neglect. On the contrary it looks as if Bentham had rescued them from destruction and perhaps dragged them out from some hiding place when they had lain rotting for centuries. Before Bentham's days they must have been lying not only in a damp place, but lying in water, which reduced hundreds of them to a pulpy mass, and eventually, when dried, they turned to powder. The whole number now remaining which are legible scarcely exceed 250, the earliest and in some respects the most valuable being a cellarer's roll of 8 Edward I., the latest a Treasurer's roll of 20 Henry VIII.

Compared with the magnificent series of Rolls belonging to the Priory of Norwich, which number little short of 1,500, for the most part in perfect condition, the Ely Rolls are insignificant; but the interest of many of them is the more remarkable because the number is comparatively so small. Mr. Stewart, in his valuable *Architectural History of Ely Cathedral*, has made great use of many of these rolls, but his quotations appear to be made exclusively from the Sacrists'

rolls, which served his purpose sufficiently, and it may be doubted whether he gave much or any attention to the rest. Of these Sacrists' rolls there are 45 which are fairly legible, and among them by great good fortune are the rolls which give minute particulars of the expense incurred in building the great lantern, the glory of the Cathedral, and other works which were carried on under the direction of Alan of Walsingham and were brought to their splendid completion under his eye. This series of Sacrists' rolls is jealously preserved in leather cases provided for them by Bishop Harvey Goodwin of Carlisle during the time when he was Dean of Ely. The cases are however somewhat too small, and it is not always easy to get the rolls out without injuring them.

The Precentor's rolls, though no more than 8 in number, are of great interest. One of them, of the 3d Edward III., gives us minute particulars of the cost of erecting a new organ in the Cathedral, the earliest record which exists of the setting up such an instrument in England. But as I have before remarked the Cellarer's roll of 8 Edward I. is perhaps the most curious and instructive roll in the Ely collection; it is more than ten feet long, and gives us with extraordinary minuteness the weekly bills for a whole year of all that was prepared in the kitchen or consumed in the refectory of the Monastery, with particulars of the cost of every article of food provided; the rise and fall in the price of butter, milk, and eggs at different seasons of the year; and the rigour with which the fast days, especially the season of Lent, were observed. The simplicity and frugality of the diet and the absence of all mention of wine, except during the Great Festival of the house, is in strange contradiction to the popular notion of the luxury and self indulgence which are assumed to have been characteristic of a mediæval monastery. Mr. Crosby has made a minute and careful transcript of this roll, and further, has tabulated the contents and drawn up an elaborate analysis of them.

It is observable that no rolls of the Infirmarius at Ely have been preserved. The absence of any such roll may perhaps be accounted for on the assumption that the duties of the Infirmarius were discharged by an official who delivered his accounts under another name. The Priory of Ely was never a rich house, the number of the monks seems never to have exceeded 50, and the expenses required to be kept down by strict economy. Every addition to the number of Obedientaries implied a certain appropriation of the common fund to be dealt with by the official distributing it, and if the same officer could discharge two duties a saving would be effected by which all, *pro tanto*, would be benefited.

There appears to have been no great garden at Ely nor any *gardinarius*. Among the rolls there is indeed a Gardener's roll of the 20 Edward IV., but it is a roll belonging to the *Priory at Norwich*. This, together with a roll of the Almoner of Norwich of 6 Henry IV., must have been brought to Ely by Bp. Tanner when he was Chancellor of Norwich and at the same time a Prebendary of Ely (1713-1723), and left behind him after he had completed one of his terms of annual residence. It is impossible to acquit Bp. Tanner of something more than carelessness in his dealings with such records as were under his custody, or to which his position gave him access, and among the rolls in the Tanner Collection now in the Bodleian there are more than on which the Bishop must have removed from the Archives of Ely.

IV. The MS. volumes in this Collection which fall under the head "Miscellaneous" are few, and with one or two exceptions, of no great interest or value. The ancient Registers of the Priory seem to have been

dispersed very soon after the suppression; they probably were kept in the library of the Monastery which Leland (Collect. iii., 163) tells us contained many valuable MSS., and they have found their way into various libraries, public and private, as may be seen in the list given in Tanner's *Notitia*. Tanner mentions only two registers as still remaining in the chapter archives in his days: his brief mention of them is provoking, "Registrum unum & alterum [imperf.]." By the first of these is probably meant no more than the Cartulary of the Eleemosinarius of the Convent, which still remains in the Cathedral Archives. It is a quarto of 135 leaves, somewhat damaged by damp at the beginning and end, in a hand of the 14th century, and bound in oak boards covered with vellum. It contains copies of between 400 and 500 charters, including deeds of gift and sale, &c. of property in the Isle of Ely and elsewhere, such property representing the estates appropriated to the almoner's office, and dispensed by him. It is instructive and suggestive to note that the earliest charters in this volume seem to show that the original intention of the first benefactors was gradually lost sight of by the Convent; and it would be an extremely interesting inquiry to keep in view by anyone who should carefully go through it—how far the *claims* of the poor upon the funds in the hands of the almoner were acknowledged as time went on, and how soon the assumption of ownership overpowered, until it ended by entirely extinguishing, all suspicion of trusteeship being the ground of title to the holding of this or that estate. The evidence of these charters point unmistakeably to the fact which meets us so frequently in similar cartularies elsewhere, that the growth of the possessions of a religious house was due, after the 12th century, much less frequently to benefactions than to direct purchases of land by the fraternity.

By far the most interesting MS. vol. at Ely, interesting from its having been in the possession of the Monastery and probably having been preserved in the library there from the time when it was first written, is the famous *Liber Eliensis*, which professes to give the history of the Monastery from its first foundation under St. Etheldreda down to the times of Nigel, 2nd bishop of the see. It is divided into three books, of which the first two have been printed more than once, the last edition having been issued by "the Anglia Christiana Society" in 1848. A brief summary of the contents of these books has been given us by Sir Thomas D. Hardy in his *Descriptive Catalogue* (vol. i., p. 278), but the third book has never yet been printed, which is the more to be wondered at, because it deals largely with events which must have happened during the lifetime of the writer, and of which he must have been personally cognizant.

The Ely MS. is a folio containing 189 leaves of vellum 10½ inches high by 7½ inches wide, written in double columns in a hand of the 13th century, or early in the 14th. It is in very good preservation and easily legible. On comparing my notes with another copy of the work in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, which is a far less handsome volume, I found the two copies agreeing closely, but the impression left upon me was that the Cambridge MS. was copied from the Ely volume. If this were so, the copy must have been made when the latter was in a more complete form than now appears, as it is defective in not containing the *Descriptio terrarum Ecclesiæ Scte. Ætheldrede*, or the Six lives of Saxon Saints which are to be found in the former MS. In the Ely Codex it is significant that in every place where the words *Papa* or *St. Thomas* (Becket) occur, they have been scrupulously erased, in obedience to the order of Bishop Goodrich

which was issued in 1535 at the bidding of Henry VIII. In the Cambridge MS. there are no such erasures.

The late Mr. Petrie considered the Ely copy of the *Liber Eliensis* a MS. of the highest authority. The compilation (for it is a compilation) was put together in the most curiously confused way; but in the third book the miraculous element is far less prominent than in the early portion. Of the 137 chapters which it contains, only 31 are concerned with the fables of St. Etheldreda's miracles; the remainder deals largely with the charters bestowed upon the Monastery and with the misconduct of Bp. Nigel in attempting to get more power and larger possessions into his own hands at the expense of the Convent. There are some passages which go to prove that the Pope was at least as much the active power in the deposition of the Bishop as King Stephen was. It seems that the deposition was the result of a serious dispute between the Bishop and the Priory, the Bishop being the aggressor and endeavouring to use the possessions of the Priory as if they were his own.

In the same chest in which the *Liber Eliensis* is deposited there is a thin paper book with a parchment cover in a hand of the 15th century, entitled "*Registrum Domini Edmundi Walsingham Prioris Eliensis.*" I strongly suspect that this fragment is the "alterum [imperf.]" mentioned by Tanner in the *Notitia*. This register (if it can be called one) may have been in the first instance drawn up by order of Prior Edmund, but it contains copies of letters written in some cases long before his time, and some few which were written after his death and during the time of his successor. It occupies a middle place between the Register so elaborately described in the Appendix to the 6th Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission (pp. 289-300), and which is now in the collection of Lord Leconfield at Petworth House, Sussex, and the later register now in the possession of Mr. Almack at Melford, of which a brief notice is given in the 1st Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission (App. p. 55).

The interval between these two registers, however, is by no means adequately filled up by the Ely fragment.

This latter contains 69 letters of very considerable interest. Among them the following are most deserving of notice:—(No. 4.) A letter of William, Abbot of St. Edmund's "*Provincialis Capituli Presidents*" (i.e., President of the Chapter of the Benedictine Order in England), referring to scholars who should be sent to Bp. Balsham's College at Cambridge.

(No. 8.) From the same, on the same subject. The Abbot reminds the Prior that by the constitutions of the Benedictines it was necessary that some one Abbot or Prior of the order should every year be appointed to nominate a suitable person to act as prior to the Benedictine monks who might be studying at Cambridge, and he calls upon the Prior of Ely to appoint such a person for the ensuing year. (Cf. Willis and Clark's *Hist. of Cambridge*, Introduction, p. xlv, *et seq.*)

(No. 15.) A letter from an Abbot of Malmesbury, containing matter of the highest interest: lately at the instance of Adam of Norwich, Priest Cardinal of St. Cecilia, Pope Urban VI. (A.D. 1378-1389) had put forth certain ordinances for the reformation of the Benedictine order, and had issued a Bull for carrying out the same. The Bull had been entrusted to a traveller homeward bound, who was robbed of it, together with a sum of money, at Middleburgh, by a stranger who was described as "*quidam vester canonicus.*" As Adam of Norwich was deposed by Urban VI. in 1385 from his rank as cardinal, though restored by

Boniface IX. in 1390 (Walsingham, ii., 197), this letter must have been written previous to 1385, and with it the design of reforming the Benedictine order in England, which actually took effect in 1421, must be antedated by at least 35 years.

(No. 23.) A letter of John (Fordham) Bp. of Ely, dated Downham, 8 Nov. 1422, ordering prayers to be offered up *pro rege mortuo* (Henry V. died 31 Aug. 1422).

(Nos. 24, 25, 28, 29, 30) refer to the chapter of the Benedictine order in 1423, and the resolutions agreed to.

(No. 44.) *Ordinatio concilii generalis Londoñ de promovendis graduatis in universitatibus.* The Convocation is said to have met on the 5 May 1421 at St. Paul's, at which it was resolved that all the vacant benefices within the Province of Canterbury should be conferred on a graduate of Oxford or Cambridge. (Compare Walsingham, ii., 338.)

(No. 31.) "*Litera Ducis Gloucestr^o missa Priori Eliense pro cc. li. sibi prestando.*"

A letter of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, when about to invade Hainault, which he claimed as the inheritance of his paramour Jacqueline, then wife of John of Brabant. The letter is as follows:

Right trusti and welbelovyd in God, we grete you well & for as muche as we had taken ful ppos for to passe ov^r y^e se wyth goddys myght in our owne pson for to receyve and take into our hands our lands and lordshippys y^e wyth due obeisance of our subjects we preye h^rtyly yt y^e will do so much for us at yys time as for to ese us with cc li upon sufficient seurtee consederyng yt ye weet of us & of yys our viage as likli to tourne to right grete ese & welfare of yys reme. And yt ye wyl certyfy us ayen of your entent & good wil in this behalfe by rekeing of thys & by your itres havyng you so towards us in thys matier that we may fele your good affection & have cause for to shewe you in tyme to come, continuance of our good lordshippe. Ryght trusty & belovyd in God our lord have you in hys keepyng. Given under our pvy signet at London y^e xxviiij day of junyn.

The Prior replies to this application somewhat curtly, alleging his inability to comply with the request.

(No. 67.)—A letter of Pope Martin V. (1417–1431) to the Prior and Convent. The Prior and his successors may use a mitre, ring, staff, amice, gremial gloves, and other pontifical insignia, not only in the Church of Ely but in whatever place they may give the solemn benediction after mass, except in the presence of the Legate of the Holy See. It appears that Pope John XXII. had previously conferred the same privileges upon William Powcher, the predecessor of Edmund Walsingham as Prior, but the deposition of that infamous pontiff in 1415 may have led to an application to his successor to give the weight of his mandate to the previous license. It is almost certain that Bentham can never have seen this letter, or indeed can have been acquainted with the Register which contains it, or he would not have failed to notice such an instrument when mentioning the license granted to Powcher. (Hist. and Antiq. of Ely, p. 223.)

V. I did not think it necessary to enter upon any examination of the Act Books of the Dean and Chapter. They are kept with the other records in the Muniment room, and I am informed that they contain an almost unbroken record and a very minute one of the proceedings of the chapter, the management of the estates, and the vicissitudes through

MSS. OF DEAN
AND CHAPTER
OF ELY.
—

which the Cathedral body has passed since the original foundation by Henry VIII. after the suppression of the monasteries, down to the present time.

I have to express my cordial acknowledgments of the great hospitality shown me by the Ven. Archdeacon Chapman during my stay at Ely. The Chapter of that Cathedral has much to thank that gentleman for, and the enthusiasm with which he has thrown himself into the study of the records, seconded as it is so ably and so energetically by the Rev. H. J. Crosby, the Librarian to the Chapter, bids fair to make the condition of the Ely Archives the envy of other Cathedral bodies, and it is to be hoped may lead some of those Cathedral bodies to emulate the example.

AUGUSTUS JESSOPP.

THE RECORDS OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF GLOUCESTER.

RECORDS OF
DEAN AND
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GLOUCESTER.

The Chapter records are preserved in the Cathedral Library, and consist of a number of early deeds relating to the property of the Abbey of S. Peter of Gloucester, registers of several of the Abbots of this great monastery, and of a few books on medieval science, etc. The registers have been already described by the late Mr. W. H. Hart in the introduction to the third volume of the *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, p. xiii. *sqq.* Of these "Register A." (Mr. Hart's No. 1) is a small folio volume entitled "Registrum donationum et confirmationum diversorum regum Angliae," and "Register B." (Hart's No. 2) is a small folio in the same handwriting. Mr. Hart has identified A. with the register drawn up by Abbot Walter Froucestre (1381-1412), the historian of the Abbey. That B. was also compiled by Froucestre in A.D. 1393 is evident from a statement at fo. 403, which Mr. Hart appears to have overlooked. "Register C." (Hart's No. 3) is a quarto in oak boards containing the registers of Abbots Braunche, A.D. 1500-1510, and Newton, A.D. 1510-1513. This register is of further interest, for in the binding of this volume were discovered the fragments of the Old English (Anglo-Saxon) lives of S. Swithun and S. Mary Aegyptiaca, which were edited by Prof. Earle in 1861. "Register D." (Hart's No. 4) is a quarto volume containing the register of Abbot William Malverne. "Register E." is the continuation of this Abbot's register extending to the date of the dissolution of the Abbey. This MS. was not described by Mr. Hart, as it was not then accessible. It was discovered by the Rev. W. Bazeley during his lengthened researches in the Cathedral Library.

The book described by Mr. Hart at p. xiv, which he was unable to find in the Library, is now in the same case as the above registers. It is a fine 15th century folio, containing a Register of Writs, and a collection of Statutes extending to the Statutes of the Leicester Parliament, 2 Hen. V. In addition, it contains the "Capitula Itineris quae tangunt Coronam," the "Officium Coronatoris," the "Summa, quae vocatur 'Cadit Assisa,'" the "Summa, quae dicitur 'Bastardia,'" "Officium Seneschalli," "De distinctione villanorum et de eorum sequela," "Liber-tates Angliae" (explanation of English law terms), etc. There are also rules for drawing up the yearly account of the Bailiff of a manor, giving particulars of entries, their due order, etc., and a specimen account, which are worthy of careful examination.

The Dean and Chapter purchased, in 1879, from a Berlin bookseller a small 8vo. volume, containing Froucestre's History of the monastery. It ends with the notice of Robert of Kynemeresbury's grant of Upton, page 121 of Mr. Hart's text, with which this MS. appears to agree. The book contains other matter in the same hand, which dates from the first half of the fifteenth century. The first is "Abecedarium diversarum herbarum secundum ordinem alphabeti." This is a glossary of plant-names, and begins: "*Alleluya*, panis cuculi: florem habet album, tria folia rotunda aliquantulum in parte superiori divisa. Haec herba mundificat vulnera, et tota cocta super carbones in foliis lappacii [=lapathi] acuti carnem mortuam corrodit: Anglice *Wodesoure*." This glossary covers fourteen folios, and finishes with "*Zipperis*, i[d est] galla." On the next folio we read "Cum ea, quae in curatione

sunt utilia inveniri non possunt, recipere duximus quid pro quo," following which are five folios beginning "Pro aristologia rotunda—Ruta domestica," and finishing "Pro zinzibero—Piretrum" [=Pyrethrum]. This is a list of drugs that might be substituted for others that were not obtainable. Such lists were largely founded upon the tract *Περὶ Ἀντεμβαλλομένων*, falsely ascribed to Galen. Next follows a portion of the poem of Macer Floridus *De Virtutibus Herbarum*, the title and first folio whereof are missing, the existing folios being numbered from 2 to 28. The English names of the plants are occasionally given in the margin. The volume finishes with 90 folios or medical recipes, beginning with "Aqua vitae contra palisim. *Aqua spinæ albae fit primo modo*. Aqua spinæ albae: Recipe florum et foliorum spinæ albae et foli[orum] salicis, et fiat aqua per alembicum; quod melius est. *Specialia hujus aquae sunt peruncturas, et arsuras oculorum removere et ruborem de callida ca[rne?] restringere.*" The *specialia* are written in red ink. The recipes are occasionally given entirely in English. Many of them are mere charms, such as "Ut pisces capias de nocte," "De perlis faciendis," with similar recipes for making other precious stones, for turning water into wine, "De vulnere sanando per carmen," "Ad capiendas aves manu," "Ut cantus avium intelligas," "Si vis aperire seram sine clave," "Si vis ut sedentes in mensa dormiant; scribe in mensa *Ka ko edera q b c*, et dormient omnes," "De furto. Si quis tibi furtum fecerit, scribe in cera virginea haec nomina et in sinistra manu sub capite teneas, et veniet tibi visio quaedam [illius] qui res tuas seduxit + agyos [ἄγιος] + crux + agyos + crux + agyos + crux + Domini," with many others of the like sort. At fo. 66d. *sqq.* are many interesting recipes in English for "pe makying of watres for steynours," and at fo. 70d. is a tractate "Incipit tractatus bonus de urinis cognoscendis, ut lucide valeat medicus intueri cui infirmitati unusquisque subjaceat, et sic morbo convenientem medicinam poterit tutius adhibere." The volume well deserves a more careful and thorough examination than the time at my disposal would allow me to make.

There are several other medical works which are worthy of notice. There is a fine copy in small folio, in a late 12th cent. or early 13th cent. hand, of the *Compendium Medicinæ* of Gilbert Anglicus. This must be an early copy of this celebrated work. Another MS. of about the same period contains a Latin version of Haly's translation and commentary upon Galen's *Ars Parva* (i.e., the *Τέχνη Ἰατρική*), and a translation of Galen's commentary *super librum pronosticorum* (i.e., the *Προγνωστικόν* of Hippokrates), and other translations by Constantine Africanus. There is also a MS. of the same period of Johannitius' *Liber Ysagogarum* [=εἰσαγωγή] to Galen's *Tegni* (i.e., *Τέχνη Ἰατρική*). There is another MS. of this entitled "Incipiunt Ysagoge Johanniici ad cegni [read tegni] Galieni," including a work on diet, and "De urina, poësis anonymi" (title added in a 16th cent. hand). To the same period belongs a small 8vo., written in a very minute hand, with a fifteenth century endorsement, "Liber Fratris Thomae Mor', monachi monasterii Wygorn." The contemporary endorsement, which is protected by a covering of horn, according to a not uncommon medieval custom, reads: "Contenta hujus libri sunt haec: In primis de speculo. Item de astrolabio et de utilitatibus; de [ejus] compositione, et horologii. Item aphorismis [amfforism' (?), MS.] Ursonis incompletae (sic). De philonomia. De spermate. Libellus Ursonis de effectibus qualitatum. Item naturales quorundam philosophorum. Item excerpta Galieni de modo curandi [i.e., his *Θεραπευτικὴ Μέθοδος*]. Item tractatus de crisi [Galen's *Περὶ Κρίσεων*]. Item de gestu med[ici] circa aegrotum. Item

tractatus Alcantari Caldaeorum philosophi." To the fifteenth century belong a paper MS. of Guy de Chauliac's *Inventarium seu Collectorium in parte Chirurgiali Medicinæ*, written in A.D. 1363, and an 8vo., beginning "Dilecto socio in Christo Waltero Turnour, de Ketene, Frater Henricus Daniele, Ordinis Prædicatorum, servus Jesu Christi, Virginis matris ejus, amantissime [et] socie. Pluries et instanter rogasti me, ut de indiciiis urinarum saltem manipulum unum florum tibi carpam, atque breviter tibi scribam ydionate in vulgari." There is only one page of this work, the rest of the volume being taken up with a 16th cent. copy of the Gospel of S. Matthew in English and a Life of Christ. But the remainder of Daniel's work occurs in another 8vo. vol. (No. 19), from which it is evident that the above page has been separated. A small 8vo. vol. of this century is entitled in a hand of *circa* 1600 "Of the theorickees of the plannetes and heauens, Roberti Anglici." There is also a collection of astrological tracts, at the end of which are astronomical notes from 1536 to 1557, and there is another similar work in 8vo.

Of religious works there are several. The most important appears to be a fine 12th cent. folio, containing a collection of saints' lives, beginning with S. Lambert, and including lives of SS. Wulfstan, Alban and Amphibalus, Aldhelm, Edmund, Kenelm, Edward, and Hugh of Cluni, etc. There is a 13th cent. copy of S. Augustine *De Civitate Dei*, with the inscription "Donum Guilielmi Hormani, quondam socii huius contubernii." Of the same century is a folio copy of S. Augustine *De vera Innocentia*, to which are added other theological works. There is a fine copy, of rather earlier date than the above, of S. Athanasius *De unitate Trinitatis*, and other theological tracts. A small 12mo. of the 15th cent. comprises fourteen sermons in Latin by Michael of Hungary. A quarto MS. of this century on paper contains a collection of Saints' lives in English, beginning "Seint Andrewe and other of þe dissipullis weren callid pre tymys of oure Lord." The work is incomplete, the last life being that of S. "Appoloneyre." This book belonged in 1626 to Henry Fowler, Rector of Minchinhampton, co. Glouc., who presented this and some of the other books above described to the Cathedral Library. Another English MS. is a thick 8vo. vol. on paper of homilies for various festivals, beginning "*Dominica prima Adventus Domini*. Worschypfull frendys, þys day bygynnyth þe aduent, and hyt ys callyd þe fyrste Sondag of Aduent, a gracyouse commyng owre souerayne Savyour Cryst. Experience shewyth þat yn þe absence of a kynge, or elles þat yf a kynge be not yn reputacion and in favour of þe pepull, as suche a souerayne owth to be," etc.

There is a late 15th cent. MS. of Lydgate's *Siege of Troy*, in folio. The other MSS. are : a MS. of Lane's Reports, Michaelmas, 3 Jac. I.; a small folio, entitled, "Cy ensoit certayne cases quex jeo transcrie hors del terme del tres reverend Judge Sir Richard Wutton, chivaleir, jades un des Justices del Common Banke; quel fuit eserie ove son proper mayne. Dat. 15 Jac."; a folio MS. of Owen's Reports, Easter Term, 26 Eliz.; a register of births, marriages, and deaths in the Parish of S. Mary de Lode, Gloucester, from 22 Sept., 1656 to 1661; and an account of the tithes and offerings in Trinity Church, Gloucester, from 1618 to 1645.

Before concluding my report, I wish to record my obligations to the Dean of Gloucester (the Very Rev. H. Donald M. Spence, D.D.) and to the Rev. W. Bazeley, M.A., for their kind assistance to me prior to, and during, my inspection of the Cathedral Library.

W. H. STEVENSON.

THE RECORDS OF THE CORPORATION OF GLOUCESTER.

RECORDS OF
THE CORPORATION
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The archives of the Gloucester Corporation are preserved in the strong room in the Town Clerk's Office at the Corn Exchange. They were found by me in a state of great disorder, but this has been remedied, the records having been calendared by me at the expense of the Corporation. They will be, no doubt, better cared for now that the Corporation is aware of the value of their collection. During my search a considerable number of papers has been discovered in unsuspected quarters, and it is satisfactory to know that amongst the papers so recovered are the original charters of Henry II., Richard I., and John to the burgesses of Gloucester. It is but justice to state that the Town Clerk (G. Sheffield Blakeway, Esq.) was the chief instrument in the recovery of these early and valuable documents, which had long been regarded as lost.

CHARTERS OF LIBERTIES.

I. Henry II. [*circa* 1160.]—"H., Rex Angliæ et Dux Normanniæ et Aquitaniæ et Comes Andegaviæ, omnibus archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, justitiariis, et vicecomitibus et omnibus fidelibus suis totius Angliæ, Francis et Anglis, salutem.

"Sciatis me concessisse burgensibus meis de Glocestr' easdem consuetudines et libertates per totam terram meam de teloneo et de omnibus aliis rebus, quas unquam meliores habuerunt cives Lond' et illi de Wint[on'] tempore Regis H. avi mei.

"Quare volo et firmiter præcipio, quod prædicti burgenses mei omnes illas libertates et liberas consuetudines et quietantias plenarie habeant, ne quis eis inde injuriam vel contumeliam vel dampnum aliquod faciat.

"Testibus: Reg[inaldo] Comite Corn', Man[assero] Biset, Dapifero, War[ino] filio Ger[aldi], Camerario, Hugone de Lungcampo. Apud Westmonasterium." 1a.

II. Richard I., May 6, 1194.—"Ricardus, Dei gratia, Rex Angliæ, Dux Normanniæ, Aquitaniæ, Comes Andegaviæ, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, justitiariis, vicecomitibus, et omnibus fidelibus suis totius Angliæ, Francis et Anglicis, salutem.

"Sciatis nos concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse burgensibus nostris Glocestr' totum burgum Gloec[estr'] cum pertinentiis: tenendum de nobis et de heredibus nostris in perpetuum ad firmam, reddendo per annum quinquaginta et quinque libras esterlingorum, sicut eas solebant reddere, et decem libras de incremento firmæ ad compotum ad Scaccarium nostrum in termino Paschæ et in termino Sancti Michaëlis. Concessimus etiam eis easdem consuetudines et libertates per totam terram nostram de theloneo et de omnibus aliis rebus, quas unquam habuerunt cives Lond' et illi de Winton' tempore Regis Henrici avi patris nostri.

"Quare volumus et firmiter præcipimus, quod prædicti burgenses nostri omnes illas libertates et liberas consuetudines et quietantias plenarie habeant sicut carta Domini Regis Henrici patris nostri testatur;

et prohibemus, ne quis injuriam inde vel dampnum vel molestiam eis faciat super forisfacturam nostram decem librarum.

"Testibus: Willelmo de Sanctae Mar[iae] Ecclesia, Gaufrido filio Petri, Roberto filio Rogeri, Roberto de Tresgoz. Data per manum Willelmi de Longo Campo, Elyensis Episcopi, Cancellarii nostri, sexto die Maii, apud Portesm[ues], regni nostri anno quinto." 1b, c, d, e.

There are four contemporary copies of this charter, three of which have considerable fragments of Richard's great seal still hanging to them. One copy gives the date as "quinto die Maii" instead of the "sexto" of the other, but, with this exception, the variant readings of the four copies are of slight importance.

III. Richard I., May 6, [1194.] — "Ricardus, Dei gratia, Rex Angliae, Dux Normanniae, Aquitaniae, Comes Andegaviae, vicecomitibus suis de Gloec[estre]syr' et de Salopesyr' et de Wirecestr', et omnibus ballivis eorum, salutem.

"Praecipimus, quod homines de Gloec. et omnes illi qui per flumen Savernae ire voluerint, habeant chimum et iter suum per Savernam cum lignis et carbonibus et marenio et omnibus mercaturis liberum et quietum; et prohibemus, ne quis eos super hoc vexet in aliquo vel disturbet, sicut continetur in carta patris nostri Regis Henrici, super forisfacturam nostram decem librarum.

"Testibus: Willelmo, Elyensi Episcopo, Cancellario nostro, Willelmo de Sanctae Mar[iae] Ecclesia. Sexto die Maii, apud Portesmues." 1f.

It appears from the *Inspeximus* charter of Edward III. that this is merely a copy of a lost charter of Henry II., witnessed by Geoffrey, Archdeacon of Canterbury, William of Lanvalei, and Ralph, son of Stephen, at Gloucester.

IV. King John, April 21, 1200.—This charter is printed in *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 56b. It is a copy of the charter of Richard I. to Winchester, with additions. 1g.

V. Henry III., April 6, 1227.—"Henricus, Dei gratia, Rex Angliae, Dominus Hyberniae, Dux Normanniae, Aquitaniae, et Comes Andegaviae, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, comitibus, baronibus, justitiariis, forestariis, vicecomitibus, praepositis, ministris, et omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis, salutem. Sciatis nos concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse burgensibus nostris Gloecestr' totum burgum Gloec' [etc., as in charter of John]. Concessimus etiam eisdem burgensibus Gloec., quod nullus vicecomitum nostrorum in aliquo se intromittat super eos de aliquo placito vel querela vel occasione vel aliqua re alia ad praedictum burgum pertinente, salvo nobis et heredibus nostris in perpetuum placitis Coronae nostrae, quae attachiari debent per eosdem burgenses nostros usque ad adventum Justitiariorum nostrorum, sicut praedictum est. Concessimus etiam eisdem, quod si aliquis natus alicujus in praedicto burgo manserit, et etiam in eo tenuerit, et fuerit in Gilda Mercatoria et hansa et *loth* et *scot* cum eisdem burgensibus nostris, per unum annum et unum diem sine calumpnia, deinceps non possit repeti a domino suo, set in eodem burgo liber permaneat. Hiis testibus: Dominis Waltero Archiepiscopo Eboracensi, Waltero Carleolensi Episcopo, Huberto de Burgo Comite Kantiae, Justitiario nostro, W. Comite Warren', Osberto Gyffard, Radulfo filio Nicholai, et Ricardo de Argentoem, Senescallis nostris, Henrico de Capella, Johanne de Bassingeburn', et aliis. Datum per manus venerabilis patris Radulfi Cicestrensis Episcopi, Cancellarii nostri, apud Westmonasterium, sexto die Aprilis, anno regni nostri undecimo." 2.

VI. Henry III., 1256, August 10. — “Henricus, Dei gratia, Rex Angliae, Dominus Hyberniae, Dux Normanniae, Aquitaniae, et Comes Andegaviae, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, comitibus, baronibus, justitiariis, vicecomitibus, praepositis, ministris, et omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis, salutem. Sciatis nos concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, burgensibus nostris Gloucestr’, quod ipsi et eorum heredes, burgenses ejusdem villae, in perpetuum habeant returnum omnium brevium nostrorum praedictam villam Glouc. et libertatem ejusdem villae tangentium; et quod Ballivi ejusdem villae respondere possint per manum suam propriam ad Scaccarium nostrum de omnibus debitis suis et summonitionibus ejusdem Scaccarii praedictam villam Gloucestr’ contingentibus, ita quod nullus vicecomes aut alius ballivus seu minister noster decetero ingrediatur praedictam villam Glouc. ad summonitiones seu districtiones vel aliqua alia facienda, nisi per defectum dictorum burgensium aut heredum suorum; et quod iidem burgenses non implacentur de aliqua re tangente libertatem communitatis suae praedictae villae Gloucestr’ nisi coram nobis vel justitiariis nostris; et quod nulla brevia nostra currant infra libertatem ejusdem villae Glouc. nisi ea quae ibidem currere debent et hactenus currere consueverunt. Et si contingat eosdem burgenses amerciari pro aliquo delicto coram nobis vel quibuscumque justitiariis seu ministris nostris, non amercientur nisi secundum formam magnae cartae nostrae de libertatibus regno nostro Angliae concessis; et quod iidem burgenses per totam terram et potestatem nostram habeant et teneant omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines suas approbatas et hucusque obtentas et usitatas, adeo quiete et integre sicut cives nostri London’ in potestate nostra libertates suas melius et liberius habent et tenent. Et si iidem burgenses aliquibus articulis in carta nostra eisdem de libertatibus prius concessa contentis minus plene usi fuerint, eisdem decetero, eo non obstante, libere et sine impedimento alicujus utantur, prout iidem articuli in eadem carta rationabiliter continentur. Quare volumus et firmiter praecipimus, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quod praedicti burgenses et eorum heredes burgenses Glouc. in perpetuum habeant omnes libertates praescriptas, et eis decetero libere et sine impedimento alicujus utantur in perpetuum, sicut praedictum est. Et prohibemus, super forisfacturam nostram decem librarum, ne quis eos contra has libertates et concessionem nostras molestare vel inquietare praesumat. Hiis testibus: Venerabili patre W[altero] Wygorniensi Episcopo, Johanne de Plesset’ Comite Warwik’, Magistro Symone de Wauton’, Roberto Walerand, Nicholao de Turri, Walkelino de Arderne, Radulfo de Bakepuz, Bartholomaeo le Bigot, Willelmo de Sancto Ermino, Willelmo Gernun, et aliis. Data per manum nostram, apud Feckenham, decimo die Augusti, anno regni nostri quadragesimo.” 3.

VII. Edward I., 1302, October 24.—Grant of a fair to last seven days in each year, to wit, on the eve and day of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist and five following days. 4.

VIII. Edward II., 1312, Sept. 6.—Granting that the burgesses shall not be convicted by any strangers, but only by their comburgesses in pleas of lands, tenements, and tenures within the liberty of the town and in complaints arising there, unless the community of the borough be guilty of any of the premises or unless the matter touches the community or the King, or his officers in any wise. [This charter is lost: this abstract is taken from the recital in the charter of Edward III.]

IX. Edward III., 1328, December 20.—Confirming previous charters, “ob honorem corporis praedicti patris nostri, quod apud Gloucestr’

requiescit humatum," and granting that the burgesses shall not forfeit any of the liberties in the said charters by non-user, and specially confirming the liberty that no burgess, the King's moneyers and officers excepted, shall plead outside the walls of the borough in any plea except pleas relating to outside tenures. He grants that the burgesses shall be quit of murage, quayage, pavage, passage, gildage, and Merchants' Gild, and of all other such customs throughout his whole kingdom. 5

X. Richard II., 1378, March 27.—Confirmation of previous charters, granted by the King and Council because the burgesses are charged with the citizens of Worcester with the making of a balinger. 6.

XI. Richard II., 1397-8, March 21.—Grant of chattels of outlaws, felons and fugitives, deodands, etc., and mainour; and that the burgesses may have cognizance of all pleas relating to lands and tenements in Gloucester, as well as of Assizes of Novel Disseisin, Mort d'Ancestor, debts, trespasses, etc., such cognizance to be holden before the Bailiffs in the Gildehalle; and to have the full powers of Justices of the Peace, of Labourers and Artificers within the said town, provided that the Bailiffs do not proceed to the determination of any felony without a special mandate from the King. The Bailiffs to have full power to receive recognizances by Statutes Merchant, and to do execution thereon, and also to attach men *minus sufficientes* by their bodies at the suit of any party, saving the liberties of the Abbot of Gloucester, and his servants and tenants. 7.

XII. Henry IV., 1399, December 4.—Confirmation of previous charters and grant of permission to use any privileges, etc., therein contained, although they may not have fully used them. 8.

Henry V., 1414-15, February 5.—Confirmatory charter with similar clause about non-user. 10.

Henry VI., 1423, October 26.—Confirmation of charters by advice of Parliament. 11.

Edward IV., 1462, May 5.—Confirmation of previous charters. 13.

Richard III., 1483, September 2.—Confirming previous charters and remitting 45*l.* of the 65*l.* paid for fee-ferm. The Burgesses may elect a Mayor from amongst themselves on Monday next after Michaelmas yearly, and they are incorporated in the name of "the Mayor and Burgesses of the town of Gloucester," with usual corporate powers. The Mayor to have a sword carried before him in the town and liberties, in the same manner as is used in other cities and boroughs. The burgesses may elect from themselves twelve aldermen, who shall execute the same offices within the town as the aldermen of London do in that city, and they are to take the same oath before the Mayor as the London Aldermen do. The town of Gloucester and all the villages and hamlets in the Hundred of Dudston and King's Barton, which are now in the County of Gloucester, to be wholly separated from the said County from the Monday after Michaelmas next to come, and to be incorporated and known as "the County of the town of Gloucester;" saving to the Justices of Assize, Justices of Gaol Delivery, and to Justices of the Peace of the County of Gloucester power to enter the said town to hold their sessions there, and saving to the Sheriff of Gloucestershire the like power to hold his County Courts therein, just as they have been wont to do, this permission being restricted to County business. The Bailiffs of the town shall be elected in the same manner and place and time as they

were in the time of King Edward IV., and if a Bailiff die during his year of office the burgesses may elect a successor without obtaining a licence from the Crown. The Bailiffs who shall be elected on Monday after Michaelmas next and their successors for ever shall be Sheriffs of the County of the town of Gloucester, and shall exercise the powers of Sheriffs and Bailiffs within the said County. The Sheriffs are to take their oath of office before the Mayor in the Guild Hall and before no one else. The Mayor to transmit their names into the Chancery under his seal of office. The Sheriffs to hold County Courts from month to month within the said County of the town of Gloucester, and are vested with the full powers of Sheriffs in the said County. All royal writs of any kind to be directed to the Sheriffs of the County of the town of Gloucester to be by them executed. After the said Monday after Michaelmas next no Sheriff, Bailiff, or other officer but the Sheriff of the County of the town of Gloucester shall enter the said County of the town of Gloucester to execute any writs, etc., or interfere in anywise within the said liberties. The Sheriffs of the County of the town to answer in the Exchequer for all issues, etc., relating to their office, for which purpose they may appoint attorneys in the Exchequer under their seal: which done, the Sheriffs shall not be compelled to come out of their liberties to answer for anything relating to their office. Mayor and Burgesses may elect a Coroner from amongst themselves, who shall execute the office of Coroner within the said County of the Town. After the burgesses have elected a Mayor on the Monday after Michaelmas next, a Mayor shall be yearly elected by the twelve Aldermen and twelve of the more lawful and discreet burgesses of the said town, and the Mayor so elected shall take oath of office before the Coroner and six of the Aldermen. There shall be two Sergeants-at-Mace to serve the Mayor, and two to serve the Sheriffs. The Mayor shall exercise within the said County of the town of Gloucester the office of Clerk of the Market of the Household; all fines and amercements arising from such office to be taken by the Mayor and Burgesses without rendering any account for them to the King. The Mayor shall also have the office and exercise the power of Steward and Marshall of the Household within the same liberties. The Mayor and Aldermen to have within the said limits the powers of Justices of the Peace, of Labourers and Artificers, and of Justices hitherto assigned in Gloucestershire to hear and determine felonies, trespasses, and misdeeds. The Mayor to be Escheator within the said limits, with power to render his account at the Exchequer by a sufficient attorney. The freedom of the Burgesses of Tewkesbury from paying toll and other dues is specially reserved. 15.

Henry VII., 1489, November 29. — Confirms the charter of Richard III., but omits the remission of 45*l.* of the fee-ferm. 16.

Henry VIII., 1510, March 26.—Confirming the preceding charter, omitting like it the remission of 45*l.* 17.

Henry VIII., 1541, September 3.—Foundation of the Bishopric of Gloucester, which creates Gloucester a city, alters the title of the County to that "of the County of the City of Gloucester," and confers upon the city all the liberties, privileges, etc., hitherto enjoyed by the town of Gloucester. 18.

Henry VIII., 1542, September 11.—Grant to the Mayor and Burgesses of the reversion of certain lands lately belonging to the Abbey of St. Peter of Gloucester forming the manor of Abbot's Barton and of

other lands in Hempsted, Upton St. Leonards, etc., and in Herefordshire. 19.

Edward VI., 1551, November 12.—Exemplification under the Exchequer Seal of letters patent of Edward III., enrolled in the *Originalia*, 45 Ed. III., ro. 5: “Rex omnibus ad quos, etc., salutem. Sciatis, quod de gratia nostra speciali dedimus et concessimus, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quantum in nobis est, dilectis nobis burgensibus villae Glouc. quandam placeam terrae cum pertinentiis in eadem villa vocatam ‘*Seynt Martyn Place*,’ continentem sexaginta et duodecim pedes in longitudine et viginti et quatuor pedes in latitudine: habendam et tenendam eisdem burgensibus et successoribus suis de nobis et heredibus nostris per servitia inde antiquitus debita et consueta ad quandam turrim in dicta placea faciendam pro quadam campana pro horis diei et noctis per ipsam perpetuo designandis, *clok* vulgariter nuncupata, in eadem turri ponenda et sustentanda.” 20.

Edward VI., 1552–3, March 1.—Inspeximus charter. 21.

Elizabeth, 1560–1, February 1.—A lengthy charter, embodying the privileges granted by the earlier charters, with some additions. 23.

James I., 1604–5, March 2.—A similar charter. 25.

Charles I., 1626–7, February 22.—A similar charter. 26.

Charles II., 1672, April 18.—A similar charter. This was the ruling charter of the city until the passing of the Municipal Corporations Reform Act. It was printed in full with an English translation by John Webb in 1834, in 4to. Translations of it are given in Atkyns’ *Gloucestershire*, p. 94, and in Rudder’s *Gloucestershire*, App., p. 4.

OTHER CHARTERS AND LETTERS PATENT.

Henry III., 1229, June 26.—Grant to the Hospital of St. Bartholomew, towards the sustentation of the poor thereof, of the church of St. Nicholas of Gloucester. 31.

Henry III., 1265, Sept. 12.—Grant to the same Hospital of a piece of land 16 yards by five yards for the widening of the chancel of their church of Gloucester. 31b.

Edward II., 1314, April 6.—Licence for the Prior of the said Hospital to receive land in King’s Berton and Elbrugge (Elmbridge), notwithstanding the Statute of Mortmain. 33.

Queen Margaret, 1314, September 16.—Recital and approval of the above licence of her son, King Edward II. 34.

Edward II., 1317–18, March 7.—Licence for the Prior and Brethren of St. Bartholomew’s Hospital to acquire lands and rents to the annual value of 100s. 34b.

Edward III., 1334–5, February 24.—Grant of certain dues for seven years in aid of the paving of the town. 35.

Edward III., 1337, September 1.—Pardon to the Bailiffs and Community of Gloucester for acquiring without royal licence 50s. of rent from certain purprestures there and 50s. of the fee-ferm of the town from the heirs of Elias of Roucestre, to whom these rents were granted by Henry III. 36.

Edward III., 1343, July 25.—Licence to William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, to assign the advowson of the church of Newenham to the Prior and Brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. This is noteworthy for being sealed with the Seal of Absence, although it is tested by the King himself at Clarendon. 38.

Edward III., 1345, October 1.—Grant for seven years of certain dues in aid of the walling of the town. 39.

Richard II., 1387, July 19.—Licence to William Heyberare and John Heed to assign a shop in Gloucester not held *in capite* to the Prior of St. Bartholomew's in exchange for land in Herdewyk. 41.

Henry IV., 1403, September 18.—Precept to Thomas Holgill, Clerk of the Market of the Household, to allow to the Burgesses of Gloucester the privileges contained in their charters. 42.

Henry IV., 1407, November 19.—Confirmation of the possessions of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew, because the charters relating thereto have been burnt, abstracted, and lost by the carelessness of the late Priors or Wardens, and grant of permission to the brethren or chaplains to elect their Prior or Warden, and acquittance of granting pensions or corrodies at the King's request. 9.

Henry VI., 1434, October 28.—Grant for five years of certain dues for paving the town. 45.

Henry VI., 1447, July 10.—On account of divers pestilences in Gloucester and the ruin of hospices and houses in the said town the fee-ferm is so wasted that barely 40*l.* of the fee-ferm of 60*l.* can be raised from the profits, issues, and revenues of the same; we grant that the Burgesses may construct two water-mills under one or two arches nearest the town of a stone bridge of four arches over the Severn on the western side of the town, and that they may have the said mills without impeachment and without rendering us anything therefor. 12.

Edward IV., 1473, April 6.—Exemplification of an Act of Parliament vesting certain powers in the Bailiffs and Stewards of Gloucester for the paving of the town and levying of cost of same. 14.

[Henry VII., 1487-8.]—Draft of petition of the Burgesses for a remission of part of the fee-ferm and of the King's suggested remission.

"In ther most humble wise sheuith to your Highnesse youre poure subiectis and treue liegemen the Maire and Burges of your town of Gloucestre howe that they hold the seid town of you by a grevis fee firme of lxx. *li.* by the yere, of which somme they yerely accompt to you in your Eschecour by the handis of ii. of them electe and made Baillies of the said towne for the tyme beyng, and paie it of ther owne propur goodis in effecte, to their importune charge and uttur undoyng, considering that they have no thing in certen wherof the said somme may be leveid, and also remembring the great ruyne and decay of the habitacions, mansions and tenementis of the said town, within fewe yeris decaied to the nombre of ccc. dwellyng place and more, with othir great costis and importune chargis that your said oratours daily and yerely have and susteine, that is to sey as well in reparacion, keping, and maynteignyng of the walles, yates, and towres of your said town, as in maynteignyng, kepyng, and repairing of the great burgge (*sic*) over your water of Seavern ther, by the which all your liege peple in that parties of this your roiallme have ther severall passage, cours, and recours into Walis and [the ma]rches of the same, which brugge, wallis,

yatis and towres be nowe very ruynouse, and have great nede of reparation, and like to fall in desolacion, of las (*sic*) your grace especiall be scheuyd to your said oratours in this behalf. And for their eyde and socour in the premisses your said suppliauntes be sore at your last beyng at your said town of Gloucestre made petition by semblable supplicacion to your noble grace; at which tyme it pleased your said grace to cummaund them eftesones to attend your Highnes here at London at your better leiser for their relief and comforte in the same. Pleas it [there]for your said noble grace the premisses tendurly to consider, and also howe your said town is the chief defence of great parte of that coste of this your said roialme ajoyning upon the said marche, in helping and relief of your said suppliauntez, to graunt to your said besechers your [High]nes letters patentez of relese and discharge of [blank] by yer parcell of the said fee firme of lxx. li. in a dew fourme to them to be made after the tenur hereafter ensuyng; and that this bill signed with your moost gracious hande may be sufficient warrant and discharge to your [Chanc]eller for making, seallyng and delyveryng of the same. And they shall continually pray to God for the preservation of your most noble and roiall estate." Here follows a draft remission in Latin from the King, which states that it has been shewn to him by the Mayor and Burgesses that their progenitors in times past flourished in manifold ways, and the town was so inhabited everywhere that an unoccupied house could hardly be found, so that the fee-ferm of 65*l.* could be paid out of the profits and revenues of the said town without raising it from their own goods; in recent times the said town has so fallen into ruin and desolation, and the inhabitants have fallen into such poverty that a great part of the town remains desolate and destroyed and destitute of persons able to fill the office of Bailiffs, in so much that the men and burgesses of the said town and especially the Bailiffs daily sustain such great and unbearable loss in paying the said fee-ferm of 65*l.* that the Bailiffs for the present year and those for several preceding years have been compelled to make up at least 30*l.* *per annum* of the said 65*l.* out of their own goods; by reason whereof very many of the burgesses who seemed able from their good manners and means to fill the office of Bailiff have left the town with their goods when they thought that the time was coming for them to be elected Bailiffs, and others intend following their example, so that in a short time there will be no men left in the said town with sufficient means to fill the said office, and it is very probable that the burgesses will not be able to answer to the King for any part of the fee-ferm unless he graciously assist them. 50.

Philip & Mary, 1555, June 27.—Exemplification of the *Quo Warranto* proceedings against the Mayor and Burgesses in Hilary Term, 1555, regarding the privileges enjoyed by them. 22.

Elizabeth, 1580, June 20.—Whereas our Commissioners, under the Act passed in the first year of our reign, have not assigned any wharf or quay for landing and shipping foreign goods either at Gloucester or above or below it on the coast or on the river Severn from Chepstowe to Welshrood, a distance of 120 miles, to the great damage of Gloucester; we have, in consideration of the great population of Gloucester at this time, and for the convenience of the said city and of Worcester, Shrewsbury, Bridgenorth, Bewdley, Tewkesbury, Barkeley, and other places, granted to the Mayor and Burgesses of Gloucester that all those creeks from the said place called "Welsherode" shall be henceforth one of our ports for loading and unloading ships, and that the creeks of Gatcombe, Newnham, Barkeley, Tewkesburye, and all others from

Welsherode shall be creeks appertaining to the said port, and that the common quay of Gloucester called "the Kynges Kaye" shall be a lawful and proper place for loading and discharging ships, lighters, or bottoms. 24.

James I., 1616-17, January 4.—As the revenues of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene of Gloucester have been much wasted for want of good governors, we ordain that the government of the said Hospital shall be in the Master and Governors of the same, and it shall be henceforth called "the Hospital of King James;" and shall be a body corporate with a common seal, and shall have and enjoy the possessions of the said Hospital for the benefit of the inmates, and shall have in addition a pension of 13*l.* from the King, to be known as "King James' pension," as was formerly paid by the Kings of England. 64.

Charles I., 1626, October 11.—Commission to William, Earl of Northampton, Lord President of the Council within the Marches of Wales, the Mayor of Gloucester, Sir John Bridgman, *knt.*, Justice of Chester, Sir Nicholas Overbury, *knt.*, another Justice of Chester and Recorder of Gloucester, Sir William Gwyne, *knt.*, John Powell, *esq.*, and the aldermen of Gloucester to receive loans for the carrying on of the war in Germany. 65.

Charles I., 1627-8, March 11.—Commission to Richard Beard, *esq.*, Mayor of Gloucester, John Johnes, *esq.*, John Browne, *esq.*, and William Hill, *esq.*, Aldermen and Justices of the Peace of the same city, empowering them to proceed according to the justice of martial laws against any of the soldiers and mariners returned from the Isle of Ree billeted in the City and County of Gloucester who shall commit any robbery, felony, mutiny, or other offence, or who shall desert, which offences by martial law are punishable with death, and authorising the said commissioners to proceed to the trial, condemnation, and execution of such offenders according to martial laws; for which purpose they are to cause to be erected such gallows or gibbets as they shall think fit, and to cause the offenders to be executed thereon in open view. 66.

Charles I., 1633, October 31.—Commission to the Mayor and Burgesses of Gloucester to collect subscriptions for the repairs of St. Paul's Cathedral, London. 67.

Charles I., 1641-2, January 27.—Commission to John Scriven, Mayor of Gloucester, and the Aldermen of the same to administer the oath of supremacy and the oath of allegiance to all suspected persons who shall come to and pass through the said city. 68.

Oliver Cromwell, 1657, August 4.—Exemplification of the Act of Parliament of 1656 granting the cathedral of Gloucester, the cloisters, library, and Free School house there, and the residences of the Schoolmaster and Usher to the Mayor and Burgesses of Gloucester for the public worship of God, the education of children in learning, and such other public and charitable uses as the Mayor and Burgesses may deem fit. 27.

There are in addition to the above several exemplifications of licences, proceedings in suits, writs, etc., which call for no special notice here.

DEEDS, ETC.

The most important portion of the records consists of a large collection of local deeds. Of these 571 are of the 13th century, about

250 being earlier than the year 1250. The various hands in use in the early part of this century are well represented in these deeds, most of which are in excellent preservation. Besides property in Gloucester, lands in Apperley, Badgeworth, Barnwood, Brimpsfield, Cleeve, Cowley, Elmbridge, Elmore, Hardwick, Hasfield, Hatherley, Hucclecote, Longford, Minsterworth, Newnham, Swindon, Uley, Witcombe, Woodmancote, Wootton, etc., are herein described. Appended to them are some fine impressions of the early seals of the Gloucestershire nobility and gentry. Amongst the Gloucester seals are several that are either the impressions of Roman intaglios or of seals bearing devices copied from Roman gems. Most of the charters relating to lands and tenements in Gloucester give the dimensions of the land conveyed by them. The following is an example of the manner in which the measurements are expressed :

"Praedicta vero terra mensurata est per visum legalium hominum, et continet in anteriori parte xii. ulnas virgar[ias] uno quarterio minus pollice interposito; in longitudine vero xxii. ulnas virgar[ias] dimidio quarterio minus, pollice interposito; in posteriori vero parte continet xi. ulnas virgar[ias] pollice interposito; in medietate vero continet xii. ulnas virgar[ias]." This is from a deed of *circa* 1200 (No. 102). Most of them speak of "virgas Domini Regis ulnar[ias] cum pollice interposito" or "cum pollicibus interpositis." This system of measuring continued in use until the end of the seventeenth century, as an English deed of 1690 speaks of "six yards with one inch betwene every yard" (no. 1279). Sometimes the English phrase is a mere translation of the Latin one: "yardes with inches betwene putt." Several of the thirteenth century deeds state that they were delivered by the donor to the grantee "before the whole Hundred of Gloucester." A noteworthy circumstance is that although the office of Mayor of Gloucester was not created until 1483, one Richard the Burgess is frequently described in the witness clauses as "tunc Majore de Glouc." The dates of these deeds range between *circa* 1220 and *circa* 1240. Sometimes this appears to be a title of the senior Bailiff, as Richard Burgess and Thomas Ouenat are described as Bailiffs in a deed of *circa* 1230 (no. 284), but in another deed of the same date (no. 285) Burgess is called "Major" and Ouenat "Bailiff." Similarly, Burgess and Thomas Oye are described as "Bailiffs" in five deeds of this period (nos. 243, 244, 260, 261, 266), whilst Burgess is "Maior" and Oye "Bailiff" in another deed of the same date (no. 186). In several cases, however, two Bailiffs are mentioned in addition to "Ricardus Burgensis, tunc Major," who is occasionally dignified with the title of "Dominus." The title of "Major" does not appear to have been applied to anyone else; and Richard Burgess seems to have held the title for a number of years. In a deed below, *circa* 1230, he is mentioned as a member of the Guild Merchant, but he is not described as "Major," so that the title does not, apparently, relate to the headship of the Guild Merchant. Valuable as are these early deeds for local history, they contain little that is of general interest. The following appears to be all contained in them that comes within the instructions issued by the Commission:—

Circa 1180.—"Sciant praesentes et futuri, quod ego Sigarus sacerdos et omnis parrochia Sancti Nicholai concessimus Rogero Telatori et heredibus suis medietatem terrae, quae fuit Alwardi Capie, illam medietatem, scilicet, terrae quam Alwardus emit de Baldwino filio sacerdotis: tenendam in feudo et hereditate; dando Sancto Nicholao singulis annis .viii.^{to} denarios duobus terminis, scilicet, .iiii.^{or} denarios ad festum

Sancti Michaëlis, et .iiii.^{or} denarios ad Annuntiationem Sanctae Mariae, et praeterea .iiii. denarios Domino Abbati, scilicet ad terminum de *le* [*lae*, MS.] *Hocgchedai*. Praedictus vero Rogerus dedit praedicto Sigario pro hac liberatione et concessione .vi. solidos de introitu pro parte illa, quae est juxta domum Godid, filiae Baldwini. Hujus pactionis testes sunt Jordanus ultra Pontem, Aernaldus filius Dunnig, Ernisius filius Thured, Alueredus ultra Pontem, Wlierdus ultra Pontem, Osmundus Fullo, Nicholaus filius Seuare, Tomas filius Ernisii, Eernaldus Aurifaber, W[i]llelmus Umbonarius, Mauricius, Augustinus Telator, Aluredus Telator.” 77.

Circa 1190.—A copy in a slightly later hand of a grant of land in Gloucester from Ralph Muchegros to Stephen son of Odo. At the end of the names of the witnesses it is said that “*isti etiam interfuerunt beverage*” in the donor’s house. 82.

Circa 1210.—Grant from John of Wrenifort to Geoffrey of Teffort of a messuage in Longedun and his (the said John’s) part of the land within the croft of the said messuage, and all his land in Estfeldeshale, and in Kinicrofte, and in Leie, and in Hallingecrofte, and his meadow in Pingewellemedue, and two crofts and messuages called “*Baldrichescrof*” and “*Gonderhelescrof*,” and all his meadow in Hurste; “*omnes quidem istas partes praedictas ei concessi in loco xi. acrarum.*” 91.

Circa 1210.—Grant from Margaret of Wrennefort, with the consent of her heir John, to Geoffrey of Steffort of the messuage and lands described in the preceding deed, with the exception of the two crofts and messuages known as “*Baldrichescrof*” and “*Gonderhelescrof*;” “*omnes quidem istas partes ei concessi pro octo acris tenendas.*” 92.

Circa 1220.—Grant from Geoffrey of Stefford to the Hospital of St. Bartholomew of Gloucester of the messuages, lands, etc., described above in John of Wrenifort’s grant; “*omnes quidem istas partes praedictas dedi et concessi Deo et Hospitali Sancti Bartholomaei Glouc., Priori et Fratribus, defendendas pro undecim acris.*” 136.

Circa 1230.—Demise from Richard the Red, Richard the Burgess, David Duning, John the Draper (*Draperius*), John of Gosedich, and all the other burgesses of Gloucester of the Guild Merchant to Master Hugh the Farrier (*Marescallus*) of a part of their land of the Guild Hall (*Gihalla*) lying between the land that belonged to Ralph of Tudeham and the door of the Bothall (*Bohalla*). 169.

Circa 1220.—Grant from Richard of Muchegros to the Hospital of St. Bartholomew of certain rents, out of which 4s. are to be assigned to the maintenance of a lamp in the said Hospital, 4s. 4d. to be spent in shoes for 13 poor people of the same, and the remaining 5d. to be kept as the beginning and in aid of five beds in the said Hospital. 201.

Circa 1230.—Grant from Thomas Toli, of Gloucester, son of Robert, to the Hospital House of St. Sepulchre of land in the castle street of Gloucester; to receive therefrom yearly 44d., half of which is to be assigned to the food of the infirm folk of the said house, and the other half to the light of the lamp to burn in the church of the said place. He also grants half a pound of cumin from land in the Smiths’ Street; to have and to hold, if he die in his pilgrimage towards Jerusalem, free and quit of all services and customs. The said infirm folk grant in return that a special daily prayer shall be said for him and his living friends and for the souls of his parents, etc., and for the common benefit

of their house, and that the priests of the said house shall say daily a special prayer in their mass for his living and dead friends. 243.

Circa 1240.—Indenture whereby the Prior and Keeper and the Brethren of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew, by the advice of Richard the Burgess, then Mayor of Gloucester, bind themselves and their house to maintain a chaplain in secular habit to say divine service daily for the dead in the church of St. Nicholas, and to pay 2s. every Saturday to a trustworthy man of Gloucester to be elected for this purpose, who shall, with the aid of the said chaplain and a brother of the said Hospital, expend the said 2s. in victuals for the poor and infirm of the said Hospital. For this grant William of Sanford gave to the said Hospital all his lands and rents in Gloucester. 308.

Circa 1240.—Grant from Walter Hoch to the Hospital of St. Bartholomew of land in Gloucester; in return for which the brethren have received his son William to nourish. They agree to find him sufficient food for the term of his life in the said Hospital, such as a brother thereof receives, and half a mark yearly to clothe himself. When he reaches manhood and wishes to receive the habit of a brother of the said Hospital, they are to find him the habit with all appurtenances at their own cost. If it happen that he be wanton and delays receiving the habit, they are to find him his food for so long as he wishes to stay with them and to allow him half a mark yearly for his clothing. If he go over sea or elsewhere for the purpose of learning or for any other reason, he may return to the said Hospital as often as he wishes and shall be then entitled to his food, etc., as above specified. The brethren are to celebrate the anniversary of the said Walter and of his wife, and to name their names daily before the poor people of the said Hospital when prayers are recited for all the benefactors of the same. 310.

Circa 1250.—Release from Hawysia, widow of William of Sanford, to the Hospital of St. Bartholomew of her right in land and a house in Gloucester that belonged to her husband, which she held after his death in freebench (*nomine liberi banki*) according to the custom of Gloucester. 431.

[1260-1.]—Grant from Matilda, daughter of Alexander Florie, to Robert, son of Milo of Sandhurst, burgess of Gloucester, of all her land in Gorlon' [=Gorelane], "*quam praedictus Alexander pater meus mihi dedit et in extremis laborans mihi legavit.*" 568.

Circa 1262.—Release from William of Froucestria, baker, of Gloucester, and Alice of Hardepirie, his wife, to the Prior and Brethren of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew of "*totum illud solium constructum desuper introitum domus nostrae*" in Ebrugestret for so long as they live, in exchange for another house in the Archdeacon's Lane. 581.

[*Circa 1270.*]—"Omnibus Sanctae Matris Ecclesiae filiis praesens scriptum visuris vel auditoris Agnes Coperich salutem in Auctore Salutis.

Noveritis, quod cum ego vendidissem Thomae de Norpfole redditum quatuor solidorum argenti, quem Ricardus Franceys, burgensis Glouc., quondam in sua ultima voluntate mihi legavit, videlicet de terra illa quae jacet inter terram quae fuit aliquando Radulphi de Tudeham et ostium Bohalle in magna platea occidentali Glouc., prout in carta quam feci dicto Thomae plenius continetur; ego vero ad majorem securitatem, et ne contra factum meum aliquando possem venire, vel dictum Thomam vel heredes suos, vel assignatos, per me vel per alium

inquietare, mera et spontanea voluntate, corporale praestiti sacramentum subiciens me jurisdictioni et cohortationi offic[ialis] Domini Wygorniensis [Episcopi] vel Domini Archidiaconi Glouc., quod uterque, vel eorum qui ad hoc fuerit interpellatus, possit me suspendere vel excommunicare, vel per medium fori Glouc. fustigari facere, vel aliam quameunque poenam mihi infligere placuerit (*sic*) sine strepitu iudicii infligat, et ego pat[i]enter sustinebo. Et ad maiorem rei evidentiam praesenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus: Alexandro de Bikenore, Roberto Haueel, tunc Ballivis Glouc., Willelmo de Chilteham, Philippo le Especer, Roberto le Wyse, Waltero de Sandon, Alexandro Achard, et aliis." 628.

1273, October 2.—"Inquisitio capta apud Glouc. coram Ballivis Glouc. die Lunae in festo Sancti Dyonisii, anno regni Regis Edwardi primo, per Henricum de Penedok, Willelmum de Asthale, Robertum de Robertum de Shortestoyl, Adam de Cumpton, Ricardum de Gardino, Johannem Sage, Willelmum de Reginaldum le Bestemon: qui dicunt, per sacramentum suum, quod Abbas Glouc. volvere fecit aquam de Weuere retro tenementum Roberti le Cornwaleys de cursu suo, in praejudicium Regis et Communitatis; et quod Johannes de la Pole fecit purpresturam juxta tenementum suum versus castrum levando murum et faciendo palic[ium] super regiam viam, in praejudicium Regis et Communitatis.

Item dicunt, quod Frater Rogerus de la Berton emit coreos bovinos, et eos tannat et vendidit diversis hominibus, et mercandisat in Berton, non solvendo teolonio nec aliqua consuetudine, in praejudicium Regis et Communitatis. Et cum summagia coreorum adducuntur versus Bohall' et mercatum, idem Rogerus eos emit veniendo versus mercatum et forstallat, etc.

Et quod omnes piscatores piscis frisci forstallant piscem extra villam et emunt, etc.

Et quod omnes regradatores ovorum, casei, bitur[i], volatilium, faeni, straminis, et volatilium sunt fo[rstallatores].

Et quod uxor Nicholai le Haftar scindit pannum contra assisam, et tabernat.

Et quod Adam de Petreschirche, Gilbertus et la Strode emunt pelles ovinas, et vendunt lanam, non solvendo teoloneum, et tam extra libertatem quam infra.

[Et quod] Henricus de Blakwelle sinit diversos homines intrare portam et exire pro mercede absque signo pacando tam de teoloneo quam de]

Et quod Emma de Sh . . . ton habet unam domum coopertam stipula, ad magnum periculum totius villae.

Et quod Ricardus le Mus . . . de, Alicia la Rede, Matilda de Leye sunt leprosi et manent infra villam, ad magnum damnum et praejudicium hominum dictam villam [inhabitantium].

Et quod Anna (?) la Goldsmith, Agnes Freit, et uxor Gilberti le Taillur sunt fo[rsta]llatores de pir[is] et pomis et aliis fructibus.

Et quod Henricus le Draper fieri fecit quamdam clausuram ante hostium suum super regiam viam cum bordis et forleria, per quod fit [grave?] dampnum et praejudicium Communitatis.

Et quod Henricus le Draper fecit purpresturam super Sabrinam juxta domum suam, ad magnum praejudicium Regis et Communitatis.

Et quod Margeria le Draper obturavit quamdam viam juxta tenementum dicti Henrici, ad nocumentum Communitatis.—*Vacat.*

Et quod Magister Johannes Somery et Alice la Bouliar obturant venellam juxta cimiterium Sanctae Mariae de Austro in parte boriali, in praejudicium Communitatis.

Et quod Johannes le Tannar, Vicarius Mercatorum, Nicholaus Best forstallant lanam emendo ante tempus ordinatum.

Item dicunt, quod Johannes Aceleuare fecit unum murum super viam regiam in Bouliareslone.

Et quod Henricus le Scinnar emit ante horam et forstallat maeremium, buse[um] et lathas.

Et quod Galfridus le Vsher de coquina Abbatiae tenet gernerium in domo sua, contra libertatem.

Item dicunt, quod Iohannes de Froucestre levavit domos super terram Domini Regis et super murum Communitatis, in praejudicium Regis et Communitatis, etc." 641.

1347, July 1.—Grant from Brother Nicholas, Prior of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew of Gloucester, and the brethren of the same to Brother John, Provincial of the Order of St. Mary of Mount Carmel, and the brethren of the same order of the house at Gloucester, of "unum aquae ductum per fistulam plumbeam currentem a fonte vocato 'Gosewhyte well' versus eorum clausum, jacentem et coopertam sub terra sua *en la Hyde*, quae se extendit in longitudine a vico regali vocato 'Kangestrete' ex parte orientali usque terram Abbatis et Conventus Monasterii Sancti Petri Glouc. ex parte occidentali, et in latitudine inter viam semitalem, quae ducit a cruce vocata 'Kangescroice' versus Brokestrete in parte australi, et terram arabilem suam (scilicet Priorum et Fratrum Hospitalis praedicti) in parte boriali: habendos et tenendos dictos aquae ductum et fistulam praefatis Priori Provinciali et fratribus suis domus Glouc., et eorum successoribus, integre et in pace, cum libera potestate, quotiens et quando necesse fuerit, dictos aquaeductum et fistulam per fossionem et terrae amotionem, seu per operationem quamcunque aliam pertinentem modo debito reparare, emendare, et congrue renovare," &c. 925.

1347, August 5.—Grant from Brother Nicholas, Prior of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew, Gloucester, and Rector of the Church of St. Nicholas there, with the consent of all the brothers of the same, to their parishioners of the said church of St. Nicholas of "liberam potestatem aedificandi illam placeam terrae quae jacet in latitudine inter latum ostium et murum ecclesiae nostrae Beati Nicholai praedictae ex parte boriali et viam regalem ex parte australi, et quae extendit in longitudine a muro lapideo posteriori capellae Beatae Mariae ecclesiae nostrae praedictae in parte orientali versus opus lapideum campanulis ejusdem ecclesiae in parte occidentali; et etiam eadem aedificia postquam fuerint aedificata, quotiens et quando necesse fuerit, reparandi et congrue sustentandi, sine calumpnia vel impedimento qualicunque per nos et successores nostros, ita quod nec nos seu successores nostri aut [*aud*, MS.] aliquis nomine nostro in dicto aedificio aliquem redditum seu aliud servitium ab eodem vel in eodem exigere vel vindicare poterimus in futurum, salvo nobis et successoribus nostris ac assignatis nostris libero ingressu et egressu ad nostram ecclesiam supradictam; ita tamen quod totus redditus et profectus de dicto aedificio provenientes in subsidium et emendationem operationis ecclesiae nostrae Beati Nicholai praedictae integre convertantur." 927.

1357, October 28.—Agreement between the Abbot and Convent of the Monastery of St. Peter of Gloucester, and the Warden and Convent of the Friars Minor of the same town for the settlement of disputes arising

from the said Friars claiming "jus obtinendi totam aquam pervenientem de fonte quodam originali situato apud Breresclyft, in campo de Mattesdone, in terra quae fuit olim Willelmi Geraud, ac etiam ducendi eandem aquam per fistulam subterraneam ad domum eorundem Gloucestr', Abbate et Conventu supradictis contrarium asserentibus. Cum ad sedandam discordiam hujusmodi nobilis Princeps Dominus Edwardus primogenitus Domini Edwardi, Dei gratia Regis Angliae et Franciae, Princeps Walliae illustris, ad villam Gloucestr' praedictam personaliter accessisset, partesque praedictas ac earum rationes, allegationes, cartas Fratrum et jura audire fecisset, ac pro ulteriori veritate inquirenda, hoc exigente materia, fecit locum dicti fontis et rivi ab eo defluentis plurimorum nobilium prudentium et sapientium ac ipsarum partium oculis subici et inspicui diligenter, visis igitur et examinatis per aliquos de concilio Domini Principis et utriusque partis, ut praedicatur, causis discordiae memoratae, quia veritatis certitudo eo tempore non dum plene innotuerat [*innotuescat*, MS.], pro finali determinatione vel definitione [*diff.*, MS.] facienda tunc dicto Domino Principi videbatur, quod, pro parcitate aquae quam dicti Fratres patiebantur, parte aquae praedicti fontis omnino indigerent, et placuit dicto Domino Principi in ea parte, caritatis intuitu, dictorum Fratrum indigentiam relevare, Abbas et Conventus supradicti ex consensu eorum unanimi et deliberato, quamquam vendicatio dictorum Fratrum in praedictis dictum conductum concernentibus eis foret desolatoria, ob reverentiam tamen precum et beneplacitum dicti Domini sui Principis et adventus ejusdem pro eadem causa, de licentia etiam speciali et voluntate dicti Domini memorati, dederunt et concesserunt dictis Fratribus et eorum successoribus et domui eorum praedictae imperpetuum jus aquaeductus per unam fistulam plumbeam in quodam stagno vel servatorio aquae decurrentis de dicto fonte noviter construendo juxta fistulam dictorum Abbatis et Conventus, [vel duas fistulas eorum aequales fistulae dictis Fratribus concessae,]* pro certiori divisione aquae in tres partes aequales, jacentem directe, linealiter et aequaliter basse cum fistula[, uel fistulabus,]* Monasterii praedicti, ad magnitudinem seu quantitatem tertiae partis fistulae eorum Abbatis et Conventus, [si una fuerit, vel ad quantitatem unius fistulae, si duae fuerint];* quodque liceat dictis Fratribus de cetero pacifice habere et tenere domos et aquaeductus suos antiquos in solo dicti Monasterii constructos, ac rationabiliter fodere, et fistulam hujusmodi novam in terra ponere, et eam ac antiquas corrigere, reficere, et reparare in solo Monasterii praedicti et tenentium ejusdem, cum minori incommodo quo poterunt eorundem, quotiens eis opus fuerit." The Friars renounce by this agreement whatever title they may have had to the said water or aqueduct, desiring to possess the said aqueduct and water from the new grant of the Abbot and Convent.

956.

1440-1, February 10.—"Thomas, permissione divina, Wygorniensis Episcopus, dilecto nobis in Christo Decano Decanatus Gloucestr' nostri Wygorniensis dioecesis, salutem in Auctere Salutis.

Cum nos in visitatione nostra ordinaria, anno Domini millesimo cccc^{mo} xli^{mo}, civitatem et dioecesim nostras Wygorniensis actualiter visitantes, inter alia comperta et detecta crimina et excessus in dicto Decanatu, comperimus Sabbatum sanctum Dei Sabaoht, diem videlicet dominicam, per plurimos villae Gloucestr' ac alios ejusdem Decanatus artifices *corvesers* vulgariter nuncupatos in venditione suorum venalium et aliis occupationibus tunc temporis illicitis ex consuetudine dampnosa

* The words in brackets have been subsequently interlined.

peccatum mortale graue in animarum suarum grande periculum enormiter violari; unde nos praeceptum dominicum taliter ut venenum mortale fore neglectum et contemptum non modicum detestantes, volentes, ut tenemur, ipsum mortale peccatum consuetudinarium correctione condigna penitus abolere et deviantes ab huiusmodi errore revocare, ex nostri consilii sanioris deliberatione, convocatis coram nobis omnibus et singulis artificibus huiusmodi dictae villae, ordinationi [*ordinatione*, MS.] et decreto nostro pro remedio in hac parte ordinando se ipsos penitus submittentibus, statuimus et ordinavimus ac decrevimus, quod quotienscumque et quandocumque aliquis artifex praedicti artificii, magister vel servus, ejusdem Decanatus in venditione venalium suorum aut occupatione ejusdem artificii die dominica (exceptis illis dominicis quae messium vel nundinarum temporibus acciderint, exceptis etiam urgentissimis necessitatibus extraneorum) post septimam pulsationem campanae in matutino fuerit exercitatus et de huiusmodi crimine coram Commissario Generali vel alio iudice per confessionem propriam aut alio modo fuerit convictus, totiens quotiens pro commissis in poenam sex solidorum et octo denariorum nomine poenitentiae salutaris elemosinae nostrae et successorum nostrorum ac capellae Sanctae Virginis Kyneburgae Glouc. aequaliter dividendum spiritualiter condemnamus.

Qua propter vobis Decano praedicto et successoribus vestris committimus et mandamus, quatinus praedictam ordinationem nostram et decretum in locis vestri Decanatus quibus videbitur oportum faciat debite publicari, et auctoritate praesentium poenam praedictam de omnibus et singulis confessatis et convictis levetis et colligatis, et quibus interest in hac parte sitis debite respondentes.

In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum praesentibus apposuimus. Data Wygorniae, decimo die Februarii, anno Domini supradicto et nostrae consecrationis anno ———. 1106b.

1454, Sept. 18.—Certified copy of the will of Richard Manchastre, burgess of Gloucester. “. . . . item lego Fratribus Minoribus Glouc. ad eorum communem usum i. librum quondam Johannis Trewepenny. Item Willelmo Ekynton i. librum qui incipit ‘*Haec Algarismus*.’ Item do et lego librum meum vocatum ‘*Medulla Grammaticae*’ ad remanendum in quadam cista infra dictam ecclesiam Beatae Mariae in Austro sub custodia Capellani et Procuratorum Cantariae Sanctae Mariae ibidem, et alium librum de miraculis Sancti Ieronimi cathenis ferreis ligatum stallo ubi solebam sedere in eadem ecclesia ad consimiliter remanendum ibidem sub custodia Procuratorum illius ecclesiae, ad virtutum incrementa libros illos perlegendibus et majus remedium animae meae imperpetuum. Item lego Ricardo Spillesbury, juniore, i. viride testorium, i. lecti coopertorium, i. *quylt*, ii. *blankettes*, iii. linthiamina, et duos de optimis libris meis quos prae [*per*, MS.] antea non legavi et sibi placuerit eligere prae omnibus aliis personis; et volo quod extunc executores mei elimosinarie disponant omnimodos alios libros meos residuos secundum eorum discretionem inter tales personas, quibus magis congrui et necessarii fuerint, pro salute animae meae. Volo insuper, quod expendantur in pane, cervisia, et aliis victualibus competentibus inter vicinos meos convocandos ad custus meos post inhumationem corporis mei, nomine interamenti, *xxs.* sterlingorum.” [Prob. 23 Oct., 1454.] 1127.

1483, June 20.—“This indenture made at Glouc., the *xxth* day of Juny, in the yere of the reigne of Kyng Edward the Fyfte after the Conquest the first, bitwen Richard Russell, John Hartland th’elder, William Cole, and Robert Coffe, Stiwardes of the towne of Gloucester,

of the one partie, and David Sammesbury, carpenter, of the othir partie, witnessith that bitwix the same parties it is covenanted in this wise: that is to wete, the seid Davy, bitwen the date of this present writyng and the fest of Seint Mighell th' Archangell then next ensuyng, shall worche and of the newe make an house by the Blacke Freris Yate in Glouc. aforeseid apon the grounde of the comon rente conteynnyng in lengthe xlvii. fete, in brede xv. fete, all the tymber sufficient and of oke, the sillez of a fote square, the postez in heighte of xviii. fete and every post a fote square, the walplates of thiknes ix. and x. unchis, bitwen every giste x. unche, with byndyng bemes and rafters sufficiently and able behovefull to the same worke, the pynnyons* next to the Freris and afore strete of standard werke; and also shall make in the same house ii. loftes sufficiently bordid, the gists of viii. unche in brede and x. in thiknes, and also all maner wyndowes, steiris, dores, bulkis, with stodes and pentise to the same werke, and all othyr thinges shall fynde that in any wise is bilongyng to carpenters' crafte nedefull to the seid werke, and to fynde alle stuffe and tymber of oke behovefull to the performyng of the seid werke; for all whiche to be don and performed in maner and forme afore rehersed, the seid Stiwardis shall paye or make to be paid xiii. *li.* of lafull money of Englund unto the seid Davy, his executours or assignez. In wittenesse wherof the seid parties to theise indenturis their seallez enterchaungeably have putt. Yeven the day and yere abovesaid." 1165.

1602, September 9.—Ordinances for the Company of Journeyman Weavers.

Thos. Machyn, Mayor of the City of Gloucester to all to whom, etc. Know ye that there came this day into the Court of the Aldermen there divers of the journeymen weavers of the said city in the name of their whole fellowship of journeymen, and signified by their petition that whereas before this time sundry good ordinances have been made and granted by, and agreed upon by and between the master weavers of the said city, known by the name of "the Warden and Stewards of the Fraternity of St. Anne of the Weavers in the town of Gloucester," and the said journeymen, for the good order and government of them and for their better relief; and some disuse of the same has been of late years through the negligence of some of the said journeymen, and upon this untrue intendment that some of the said ordinances were not warrantable by the laws of this realm, nor convenient for the public good of the said city: it has therefore seemed fit to us the Mayor and Aldermen not only thoroughly to consider the said articles, but also to consider such books of compositions as have been heretofore given to the said company or fraternity of weavers either by our predecessors or by the Justices of Assize of the county of the city; we have therefore called before us the Wardens and Stewards of the said fraternity or company to hear what they could or would say thereupon for our better information, requiring them further to shew us their books of compositions; who very willingly and orderly brought before us the several books hereafter mentioned: one book approved by the Justices of Assize dated Nov. 10, 24 Henry VII., another book granted by our predecessors, also allowed by the Justices of Assize, dated March 13, 4 Edw. VI. We, having fully considered the said books, are pleased, with the consent of the present Warden and Stewards of the said company of weavers and of others the masters of the said company

* Pynnyon = gable (French *pignon*).

occupying the trade of weaving within the said city, to allow that the journeymen of the said trade in the said city "may in quyet and orderly sort at any tyme hereafter congregate and meete together at any fytt place within the sayd cyty at such tyme of the daye, betweene the houres of seven of the clock in the forenoone and foure of the clock in the afternoone, as to them shalbe thought fytt and convenyent, ever geeving notyce to the Warden of the sayd Company of weavers or, in his absence, to one of the Stewardes of the sayd Fraternyty one daye before at the least of their meanyng and purpose to meete, to the intent that if the sayd Warden or any of the sayd Company of the master-weavers shall thinck or knowe anything meete to be considered of and reformed by a generall order or assent of the saide journeymen, or to be conferred of betweene them, that the same might be proposed and so concluded of as might stand with equity and good order, and to the end that a quyet and peaceable demeanour with orderly and cyvyll usage maye be by and among the said whole company of journeymen at all tymes hereafter observed, and that the one to the other of them maye geeve that brotherly ayde and christian relief as best may be for their helpes, some of them being yong men and bachellers havyng neyther houses of their owne or famyly, and some others of greate yeares burdened with the charge of wyfe and many children;" it is therefore thought good by us, with the assent of the said master-weavers, "that they the sayd journeymen shall and lawfully maye yeerely on the daye of Saynt Peeter th' Apostle meete together and choose twoe honest and discrete journeymen of the elder and discreetest sort of them to be their Stewards for the yeere ensuyng, whiche Stewardes shall have power and aucthority to assemble and call together all the journeymen of the said art or others whatsoever professing and using the trade of weaving in the said cyty or suburbes of the same not being masters and free of the sayd fraternyty and brotherhood of weavers, nor at that tyme in service as apprentyses with their masters, and they so being assembled to confer among themselves of all such good meanes and orders as best maye be for the good of their socyety and to the onely endes and purposes before mencioned;" which said journeymen being so chosen shall take upon them the said office of Stewardship and shall execute all and singular the following ordinances, either of them refusing the said office to forfeit 40s.; and the said Stewards shall be yearly presented on St. Ann's day by six of the elder and better sort of their Company of journeymen unto the Warden and Stewards of the said Company of Weavers at such time and place as shall be by them appointed, there to understand what to them doth pertain as servants of the said trade of weaving, or by virtue of their composition or grants made heretofore, or hereafter to be made, etc., all of which they shall faithfully promise by giving of their hands to perform and cause to be performed, on pain of 20s. They may at the said feast choose one young man of their company to be Beadle of the same fellowship, who shall faithfully execute the said office, on pain of 3s. 4d. It is ordained that no journeyman being a stranger shall be admitted to work within the city until he have produced a certificate that he has served his apprenticeship to the said trade and some testimony of his good behaviour; upon so doing he is to be admitted at the will and pleasure of any of the masters of the said Company of Weavers, paying for his income to the Stewards and Fellowship of journeymen 8d., to be paid at his admittance or before he shall weave the second cloth, and his master shall see it paid upon the weaving of the said second cloth. It is also ordained, that every journeyman of the said fellowship shall pay 1d. every quarter to the Stewards of the said company towards the relief of

the poorer sort of the said fellowship or to the use of the said company ; any one refusing to pay the said quarterage or being disobedient in not coming to their generall assemblies upon lawfull summons, or who shall use any contumelious or opprobrious words in their common hall, or otherwise misdemean himself there, shall forfeit for every such offence 12*d*. It is also ordained, that if any journeyman take or carry away or otherwise “ymbesyll” any of the clothier’s stuff or yarn delivered to him by his master, he shall be expelled and utterly put away from his master, and shall never afterwards be of the said company of journeymen, or otherwise to be punished by the Mayor and Aldermen as the statutes and the greatness of the offence require. It is also ordained, that if any journeyman be absent on the day of the election of the new Stewards and do not give his attendance for the said purpose, he shall forfeit 3*s*. 4*d*., unless he have leave from the Stewards, or other just excuse. No one of the said company of journeymen shall use in their common hall or assembly any uncivil or undecent words to any of the said company being required by the Stewards to keep silence, and if he will not obey that command, he shall forfeit 12*d*., and no master shall set to work any journeymen contemning or transgressing until such master undertake for the payment of his forfeiture by stopping so much of his wages. The said company of journeymen shall not hereafter do or cause to be done any act prejudicial or hurtful towards the Wardens and his Company or brethren of the said art and trade of weavers, either by raising, altering, or changing their wages or otherwise by colour of anything herein contained, but that presently, upon proof of any such practise or consultation, this book of orders and all its contents to be utterly void and of none effect. The Stewards shall have the keeping of this book and all sums of money and forfeitures payable to the company during their term of office, to be delivered up to the new Stewards at the expiration of their term, and they are to make a true account of the residue of the said money on pain of 40*s*.; the new Stewards are then to enter into a bond for the safe keeping of this book and of the monies entrusted to them. Every journeyman that has served his apprenticeship to the said trade in the said city shall pay for his income to the said company 4*d*. No journeyman shall procure any other journeyman’s place of service in the said art without just cause for his so doing, which cause shall be approved by the Warden and Stewards of the fraternity of weavers and by the Stewards of the company of journeymen, on pain of 2*s*. 6*d*. All the fines, incomes, &c., herein mentioned may be levied by detainer of the same by masters of the journeyman, by way of distress to be taken of his goods by the Stewards of the company in the presence of one of the constables of the city. The said fines are to be divided into four parts, whereof one shall go to the Sheriffs, for their aid in the execution of these orders, the second to the Master and Fellowship of the Weavers, and the two other parts to the Stewards and Company of journeymen. Provided always that if any clauses herein shall not be duly observed by the said company, or if they do anything contrary to the laws of the realm, the good quiet and reputation of the city, or to the impeachment of anything contained in the book of the Fraternity of Weavers, or to the unjust damage of any master of the said Company of Weavers, the surmise of the said transgression shall be first examined by the Warden and Stewards of the Company of Weavers, and they to take order by their discretion, if they can, or otherwise to be brought to the hearing of the Mayor and Court of Aldermen.

ROLLS.

RECORDS OF
THE CORPORATION OF
GLOUCESTER.

The rolls are not very numerous. The Court Rolls have completely disappeared, leaving no other record of their existence than the contemporary endorsements of enrolment on some of the fourteenth-century deeds. It is to be regretted that these valuable records have not been preserved.

BURGESS ROLLS.

1380-1.—“*Rotulus de finibus diversorum hominum pro diversis artificiiis utendis et aliis mercandis faciendis infra villam Glouc., a festo Sancti Michaëlis, anno regni Regis Ricardi Secundi post Conquaestum quarto, usque idem festum extunc proximo sequens, tempore Rogeri Resceyuour et Ricardi Asshewelle, tunc Ballivorum ibidem.*

Rogerus Bakere dat de fine hoc anno pro arte sua utenda usque festum Sancti Michaëlis, per plegium Nicholai Bridlep, viiid.

Willelmus Milleward, de Hokelcote, pro cervisia carienda extra villam usque dictum festum, xxd.

Johannes Bytheweye, Henricus Comburton dant de fine ad eundum circa villam cum ferro hoc anno, per plegium Willelmi Ballok, iis.

David Bole dat de fine pro melle cariendo per dictam villam usque dictum festum, per plegium Johannis Aumeneye, xiid.

Johannes Hathul dat de fine hoc anno pro servisia carienda cum ii. equis, per plegium Ricardi Cudde, iis. vid.

Johannes Sutton dat de fine hoc anno pro eodem cum uno equo, per plegium Johannis Messager, xviiid.

Henricus Mason, de Ros, *tannere*, dat de fine hoc anno usque dictum festum pro corio vendendo, per plegium Johannis Longeforde, xviiid.

Howel Honymongers pro melle cariendo per villam usque dictum festum, per plegium Stephani Sergeaunt, xxd.

Johannes Graunger dat de fine hoc anno pro piscis salsis vendendis usque dictum festum, per plegium Johannis Dauby, vs.

Walterus atte Poule, de Ros, dat de fine hoc anno pro diversis mercandis, per plegium Johannis Gosebrok, xiid.

Walterus Baysham, *baker*, dat de fine hoc anno pro arte sua utenda usque dictum festum, per plegium Willelmi Hattere, xld.

Henricus Hannes dat de fine hoc anno pro panno faciendo, per plegium Willelmi Felix, xiid.

Margeria Golde dat de fine hoc anno pro uno loco habendo juxta Crucem, per plegium Willelmi Mattusdon, iis.

Magister Johannes Cook dat de fine pro officio coci utendo usque dictum festum, per plegium Johannis Tregow, xld.

Walterus Hale, de Hynham, dat de fine hoc anno pro blado emendo et cariendo per unum equum, per plegium Walteri Seuarne, xvid.

Galfridus Styfleg, *wolmongere*, dat de fine hoc anno pro lana vendenda usque dictum festum, per plegium Johannis Etemay, iis. vid.”

There are in all 150 entries of this kind.

Dorse.

"Johannes Hayward, *skynnare*, intrat Portman', per plegium Johannis Jurdan and Willelmi Hattere, *vid.*"

There are 60 other entries to the like effect, the fine in each case being 6*d.* 1350.

1396-7.—A similar roll, in the time of Thomas Pope and Roger Balle, Bailiffs. In this roll 205 persons pay fines, and there is a list of 93 names headed "Portman'," each person paying 6*d.* 1351.

1398-9.—A similar roll, in the time of William Crook and Roger Balle, Bailiffs. Here 237 pay fines, and 44 "Port[men']" are registered. 1352.

1423-4.—A similar roll, in the time of John Bysley and Richard Dalby, Bailiffs. Fines 238, and 21 [Portmen]. 1353.

1480-1.—A similar roll, in the time of William Francombe and Henry Richards, Bailiffs. It is entitled: "Rotulus Finium diversarum personarum non Burgensium villae praedictae, tam de diversis residentibus infra dictam villam, quam aliis certis personis forinsecis in diversis partibus Angliae extraneis, non franchisesizatis, set infra dictam villam Gloucestr' de mero jure custumabilibus factarum, et certe ac specialiter punctuatarum, tempore Willelmi Francombe et Henrici Richardes, Ballivorum Domini Regis villae praedictae, anno regni Regis Edwardi Quarti post Conquaestum Angliae vicesimo primo incipiente." There are 108 names. No Portmen are entered in this roll. 1354.

1534-5 to 1563-4. Burgess roll and roll of Statutes Merchant enrolled. The first heading is: "Nomina intrantium in Gildam Mercatorum, tempore Johannis Fawconer, Majoris villae praedictae, Thomae Payne et Ricardi Edwardes, Ballivorum ac Vicecomitum ejusdem villae, anno regni Regis Henrici Octavi vicesimo sexto." This title is repeated, *mutatis mutandis*, throughout the roll, which is 77 feet long. The fines vary in amount, the *Burgenses nati* paying nothing. Occasionally deeds are enrolled. 1355.

BAILIFFS' ACCOUNTS.

Temp. Edw. I.—Imperfect, the title and date missing.

"De longa[bulo] . . . de redditibus ant[e B]ohall, xxiiis.; de tenentibus Archiepiscopi, dim. marcam; de textoribus ejusdem villae, xxs.; de exitu Bohall, ls.; de stallagis, iii. *li.* xis.; de portmanniis, xl. et vs.; de perquisitis villae, iii. *li.* et dimid.; de perquisitis extraneorum, xliis.; de teoloneo ejusdem villae, xlix. *li.* xviii. *vd.*

In diversis expensis tam per duos adventus Domini Regis quam in aliis exemmiis, triginta v. . . : unde tenetur Roberto Tabernario in quinquaginta sex solidis et septem denariis et Hugoni Tabernario iiiis. et iiiid. In stipendiis Ballivorum, iii. *li.*; in stipendiis clericorum, iii. *li.*; in stipendiis serviensium, viiis.; in stipendiis janitorum, xiiis.; in signis faciendis, iis.; in lampred[is] per breve Domini Regis, xvii. *li.* iiiis. *vd.*, unde tenetur in xxxis. iid. *ob.*; in denariis lib[eratis] uxori Gilberti de Ruwes, vii. *li.* viis., unde tenetur ei in xxvs.; in duobus dollis vini ad opus Domini Regis per breve, vi. *li.* vis.

Summa versus firmam: xxix. *li.* vis. iid. *ob.*

In denariis pacatis pro Domino Edwardo, viii. *li. viid. ob.*; in denariis pacatis Domino Humfrido de Bun, iii. *li.* Unde tenetur in quinque libris xvs. *id. ob.* Et in areragiis firmæ villæ xxxv. *li. xiiis. ix d. ob.*

Summa: lxxvi. *li. viis. id.*" 1356.

1393-4.—An imperfect account, John Bisley and Thomas Pope, Bailiffs. 1357.

Circa 1400.—An imperfect account. 1358.

1408-9.—Thomas Cumpton and Thos. Salusbury, Bailiffs. They claim allowance for: "Item soluti ministrallis Domini Regis hoc anno, xiii. . .; item in costagiis factis super ministrallis Domini Principis et donis ipsis, xxxix[s]. *viid.*; et in expensis factis et donis herbergerio Domini Principis, xis. *vid.*; item in expensis factis super Ducem de Eboraco bina vice, viis. *vid.*; item in expensis factis super fratrem suum vocatum 'Thurston,' iiis. *iiid.*; et in donis et expensis factis super ministrallis Domini de Codenore et Joh[annem] Greyndour, viis. *vd.* . . . item soluti iii. janitoribus villæ portantibus pecuniam quindecimæ apud Northlecche, iis. *vd.*; . . . item soluti in expensis factis super Justitiarios Domini Regis Assisarum, iis. *viid.*; item soluti ministrallis Dominae Comitissæ Stafford, . . .; item soluti pro vino misso Justitiariis prædictis in abbatia, iiii. . .; item soluta ministrallis Domini de Berkeley, dimidia marca; et in costagiis factis in removendo fimum in Graslane et alibi, xlviii. *v[d.]*" 1358b.

STEWARDS' ACCOUNTS.

1409-10.—"Compotus Johannis Streynisham, Willelmi Circetre, Sampsonis Hull, et Edmundi Steuenys, Senescallorum Glouc., a festo Sancti Michaëlis Archangeli, anno regni Regis Henrici Quarti post Conquaestum decimo usque ad idem festum proximo sequens per unum annum integrum.

In primis respondent de xii. *li. iis. iid.* receptis hoc anno de communi redditu; et de xv. burgensibus juratis hoc anno in Gildam Mercatorum. Item respondent de liis. *ix d.* receptis hoc anno de viridi cera. Item respondent de viii. *li. iis. viid.* hoc anno de muragio,

Summa totalis receptæ: xxxvii. *li. xixs. iiid.**

Inde solutæ in constructione novi aedificii apud Southyate, ix. *li.*; item in reparatione portæ orientalis et aedificii ibidem, xixs.; item solutæ Simoni Brocke pro compoto suo apud Scaccarium, iii. *li.*; item soluti in diversis expensis factis hoc anno circa pavagium, xvii. *li. xviiis. iid. ob.*; item soluti Roberto Whitynton de pluribus debitis, tunc Vicecomiti Glouc., xxxiis. *ix d.*; item soluti Johanni Derhurst pro annuali pensione sua, xxs.; item soluti pro roba sua hoc anno, xis.; item soluti pro annuali pensione Johannis Byseley hoc anno, xxs.; item soluti pro roba sua hoc anno, xis.; item soluti pro roba clientium hoc anno, xxvis.; item soluti Priori Lanthon' de redditu assisæ de Deyisplace, xxiid.; item soluti de langabulo pro Deyisplace et Bothall, vs. *ix d.*; item soluta colectoribus redditus communis pro colectione, dim. marc.; item soluti pro pulsatione communis campanæ, iis.

Summa omnium expensarum et liberatarum: xxxvii. *li. xiiis. iid. ob.*" 1359.

* The total should be 37*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.*, if each burgess paid 1*l.*

1493-4.—“Compotus Willelmi Smythe, Willelmi Hanshawe, David Vaughan, et Christofori Pyarde, Senescallorum villae Gloucestr[iae], a die Lunae proximo post festum Sancti Michaëlis Archangeli, anno regni Regis Henrici Septimi post Conquaestum nono, usque eundem diem Lunae proximo post dictum festum Sancti Michaëlis extunc proximo sequens, anno regni ejusdem Regis decimo, videlicet per unum annum integrum.

.
Fines novorum burgensium admissorum.

Et [respondent] de xii. libris receptis de xii. novis burgensibus [*novorum burgensium*, MS.] in Gildam Mercatorum ejusdam villae hoc anno admissis, videlicet scilicet cujuslibet eorum xxs., ut in registro burgensium inde edito et super compilationem hujus compoti ostenso, probato, et examinato, ultra quinque alios burgenses hoc anno in Gildam Mercatorum receptos, qui nichil dant de fine quia sunt filii burgensium nat[i], prout in dicto registro super hunc compotum exhibito satis et plenius constat.

.
Custus reparationum.

Et computant in diversis custibus, misis, et expensis factis et per dictos Senescallos impositis circa reparationes tenementi praedicti simul cum mercede diversorum operariorum et laboratorum, quam cum aliis stuffuris provisitis et habitis tempore compoti, prout patet inde particulariter per parcelas subsequentes: unde in primis soluti pro reparatione facta super tenementum apud *le Keye* juxta tenementum in quo Johannes Salter modo inhabitat, videlicet in stipendio Thomae Carpenter, carpentarii, ibidem laborantis ad exaltanda *le flores* et facienda fenestras et alia aedificia necessaria interius facta et per ipsum ad taskam capta, xxs.; et in stodis emptis et ibidem impositis, xd.; et computant solutis Johanni Salter et Willelmo Heyward pro cariagio luti ad faciendos muros et *losches* ibidem et in aliis locis necessariis expenditi, iis. iiiid.; et in una bigata zabuli ibidem occupata, iiiid.; et in faeno empto ad faciendum mort[arium] ibidem occupatum, et in tenemento vocato '*le Bothall*' etiam occupatum et expenditum, xxd.; et in ix. bussell[is] de *herelyme* et dim. circa muros dicti tenementi apud *le keye* occupatis et expenditis, xixd. et computant solutis pro cariagio terrae et *robell'* ad exaltandam terram dicti tenementi, iis.; et in xi. barellis de calce vivo empto de Johanne Williams et Waltero Davyce ad faciendos muros in praedicto tenemento et muros *le Bothall* ac *le pentice* apud Altam Crucem et aliis locis necessariis, vis. vd.; et in undecim *bundels* findol[orum] alio tempore emptis ibidem et in aliis locis occupatis, iis. vis.; et etiam solutis Johanni Eliottes et aliis pro asseribus et *blankes* ab ipsis emptis, videlicet pro cccc. dim. c. viii. pedibus et dimidio quarterio de *elmebourdes* in dicto tenemento occupatis et impositis et in aliis necessariis, ix. iiiid.; et in clavis vocatis '*bourdenayle*' emptis de Johanne Mille ibidem occupatis circa hostia et fenestras impositis, iis. id.; et in clavis vocatis '*hacchenayle*' emptis, viid.; et computant solutis Willelmo Cudde pro tegulatione ibidem et impositione de *wederbourdes* circa praedictum tenementum ibidem et per ipsum ad taskam capta, iiiid.; et etiam computant solutis Willelmo Vaughan, *ferroure*, pro *hokes*, *hynges*, *twistes*, et seris [*ceris*, MS.] cum clavi[bus] in praedicto tenemento occupatis, impositis, et expenditis, viis. ixid.; et ulterius computant

solutis Willelmo Cudde et servienti suo tegulantibus et operantibus in tenemento vocato *le Bothall* per iii. dies, iis. *vid.*; et in *tyle pyntes* emptis et ibidem occupatis, *iid.* . . . et in cariagio luti ad reparandos muros ibidem solutis Roberto Wodde, *iiid.*; et in stipendio unius dawbatoris ibidem laborantis in emendatione murorum ad taskam capta, *xvid.*; et computant solutis [*blank*] pro una batilda lapidum emptorum apud *le keye* ad paviandam magnam aulam *Bothall*, *iiis. viiid.* . . . et ulterius computant in reparatione facta in tenemento in quo Willelmus Rogers, *sadeler*, modo inhabitat, videlicet, in factura unius novi *lover* et superpositione ejusdem, *viid.* . . . et ulterius computant in reparatione facta circa quoddam *pentyce* ad Altam Crucem pertinens tenemento Thomae Grey, videlicet, . . . in solutione facta Johanni Salter pro *rafters* pro praedicto *pentyce* fiendis (*sic*), *viid.* . . . et in ferreis *crampettes* emptis ad fixendum praedictum *pentice*, *ixd.*; . . . et in longis *spykynges* ferreis emptis pro praedicto *pentyce*, *vd.* . . . et insuper computant solutis in reparatione facta circa aquaeductum, videlicet pro una pecia meremii empti de Priore Sancti Oswaldi ad portandam pipam plumbi usque fossatum de Gosediche, *iiis. viiid.*; . . . et pro trahatione dictae peciae ultra Gosediche, cum clavis emptis ad includendum plumbum ibidem, *iiid.*; et etiam solutis Willelmo Carpenter pro secatione et concavatione dictae peciae meremii ad imponendam pipam plumbi, *ixd.*; et in emendatione ripae terrae ad stabiliendam dictam peciam meremii, *id.*; et in sale empto ad sowderandam dictam pipam plumbi et alias pipas dictae aquaeductus, *id.* . . . et in mundatione aquaeductus ad Altam Crucem, *id.*; et in asseribus emptis ad faciendum hostium novum pro praedicto aquaeductu ad Altam Crucem, *ixd.* . . . et ulterius computant solutis in reparatione facta circa diversa tenementa juxta ecclesiam Beatae Mariae in Austro, videlicet, in tegulatione dictae tenementi et in emendatione unius terree (*sic*) camini et diuersorum *lovers* ibidem de novo factorum, *iiis. vd.*, per Willelmum Cudde sic ad taskam captorum; . . . et in emendatione unius foraminis in tenemento janitoris portae australis super domum ibidem pro tegulis [*tegar*], MS.] et pro uno *lover* ibidem de nouo facto, *viid.*; et in asseribus emptis de Willelmo Goldesmyth pro dicto *lover* ibidem fiendo (*sic*), *viid.* . . .

Custus et expensae circa diversa placita.

. . . et in uno jantaculo vocato '*a brekefast*' dato Willelmo Grevell, Waltero Rowdun, et aliis apud Westmonasterium, *xiid.*

Custus necessarii.

. . . et in emendatione unius *shepette* ad portanda pondera pro ponderatione panni, *id. ob.*; et in solutione nuntio Domini Regis pro portatione litterae Domini Regis Majori ad faciendum *wacche* pro vacabundis, per consimile mandatum, *iis. iiiid.*; et in solutione facta Willelmo Goldesmyth ad equitandum Constabulario Forestae de Dene pro latronibus, quos Ricardus ap Thomas destinavit Majori et Burgensibus, *xiid.* . . .

Expensae vinorum et victualium, ac regarda.

Et etiam computant solutis in sex caponibus emptis et datis Domino Duci Bedfordiae venienti ad villam, per mandatum Majoris et totius Communis Consilii, *vis. vd.*; et in xii. parvis gallinis emptis et datis in consimili dicto Duci, *xiiid.*; et in iii^{or} galonibus vini datis dicto

Duci ex consimili mandato, unde iii. galones fuerunt *Gasken Wyne* et altera *Malmessen*, iis. iiid.; . . . et in solutione facta pro victualibus emptis pro Majore, Aldermannis, et burgensibus tempore quo Dux Beddeford' dedit fermam eis, et pro vino potato, vs. id.

Persolutiones forinsecæ.

. . . Et in solutione facta Willelmo Goldesmyth pro emendatione unius clavae pro Serviente ad Clavam, videlicet, pro clava Johannis Pyerson, ex mandato Majoris et totius Communis Consilii, vis. viiid.; et in uno *chape* empto de dicto Willelmo pro gladio Majoris, xxd.

Feoda, vadia, ac regarda.

Et computant in allocatione habenda et facta praedictis iiiior Senescallis nunc computantibus ad iiiior robas unius sectae faciendas ratione dicti officii per annum, ut in compotis praecedentibus, videlicet, cujuslibet eorum xs. hoc anno, ut prius, xls.; . . . et in solutione facta Johanni Caple, Majori [*Majoris*, MS.] villae praedictae, ad exhibitionem hospitii sui, juxta ordinationem et constitutionem totius Communis Consilii et omnium burgensium dictae villae, ut nuper prius usitatum [est], hoc anno xiiis. iiid.; . . . et etiam, computant solutis Waltero Plummer, communi [*communis*, MS.] plumberio, in custodiend[o] aquaeduct[u] pro vadiis suis hujus anni, ut prius in compotis praecedentibus, xiiis. iiid." 1360.

MURAGE ACCOUNTS.

A.D. 1298.—"Recepta denariorum de murag[i]o villae Glouc. per manus Roberti de Honsum et Johannis de la Hay, videlicet, a die Lunae proxima post festum Sancti Barnabae Apostoli usque ad festum Omnium Sanctorum, anno regni Regis Edwardi xxvj^{to}: xiii. li. vis. ob.

Expensa pecuniae praedictae per manus dictorum Roberti et Johannis, anno supra-dicto.

In primis dicti Robertus et Johannes solverunt Ballivis Glouc. pro perquisit[u] mur[agii] apud Eboracum, xxxs.; item in expensis dicti mur[agii] apud Theukesbur', xv. xid.; item in lapidibus fodientibus et in vi. batellatis lapidum et in cariagio ad Sabrinam, xxxvis.; item in cariagio dictae petrae de Elmor' apud Glouc., xxiiis.; item in portagio dictae petrae de batellis ad terram, iis. vid.; item in una batellata petrae empti de Comite Glouc. et pro cariagio, xs. vd.; item in uno ligno empto ad portam borialem, iis. iid.; item in petra empti ad murum juxta ecclesiam Sancti Johannis Baptistae et in cariagio ad murum juxta ecclesiam Sanctae Kyneburgae, iis. iiid.; item in calce empti, xviiis.; item in uno pondere plumbi empti, xxxvis.; item in i. fossor[i]o quod vocatur '*mattok*,' xiid.; item in *polles* et *hurdles* emptis, iis. viid.; item in mercede hominum componentium dictam petram per unam ebdomadem, xxs. iid. . . . item in mercede Adae de Nova Terra pro sua biga, iis.; . . . item in ferr[is] emptis pro diversis negotiis ad portam borialem de Thoma de la Strode, xis. iid.; item in meremio et plumbo et bord[is] emptis pro hostiis ad dictam portam, xviiis. vd. ob.

Summa: xv. li. xiiis. viiid.

A.D. 1302.—Recepta denariorum de murag[i]o villae Glouc. per manus Roberti de Honsum et Johannis de la Hay, videlicet, a festo Sancti

Augustini Anglorum Apostoli usque ad festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistae, anno regni Regis Edwardi xxx^{mo}: xxix. *li. xviii. iiiid.*

Expensa pecuniae praedictae per manus dictorum Roberti et Johannis, anno supra-dicto.

In primis dicti Robertus et Johannes solverunt pro diversis negotiis in adventu Domini Regis anno supra-dicto, vi. *li. xviii.*; . . . item in expensis burgensium Glouc. versus Eboracum pro negotiis villae praedictae, *liiii. li.*; item in expensis hominum versus Scotiam, *xls.*; item soluti Alexandro de Bykenouere et Thomae de Piwelesdon pro fossa juxta Porthomme, *lxs.*; . . . item in expensis collistrigii, *xxxviii. iiiid.*; item in expensis pontis Glouc. extra portam occidentalem, *xxs.*

Summa : *lvi. li. iiiis. xd.* 1361.

A.D. 1340.—Murage and pavage. 1362.

A.D. 1393–4.—Muragers' account. 1363.

A.D. 1409–10.—Muragers' account. 1364.

Rent Rolls.

1455.—A roll 33 feet in length giving the particulars in Latin of the rent of every house and piece of land in the town of Gloucester and of the amount paid for landgavel by certain tenements. This roll is written in two columns with a space between representing the street, the houses on each side of the street being described in their proper order, commencing at the Cross and proceeding to the end of each of the four main streets. The side-streets and lanes are described at the end of the main streets from which they branch off. Drawings are given of the various churches, chapels, crosses, wells, etc., in the space representing the street. On the back is an elaborate pedigree of the Kings of England and their descendants from William the Conqueror to Henry VI. This is written in English, and shows the succession of the Kings by means of a heavy green line, their relationship being given by thin red lines connecting the circles that contain the particulars of the persons figuring in the pedigree. The last entry is as follows: "Harry the VI. of that name was crowned aftur his fadur ad (*sic*) Westmester in his age of [*blank*] 3ere, in the yere of oure Lord m^ccccc xx [*blank*]; and in the secunde yere suyng was crowned Kyng of Fraunce in Our Lady cherche of Parys. This Kyng tooke to his wyfe Margarete the Kyngus dou3tur of Cicile, whit whom he had his son Edward, Pryns of Wal[es]." To this is added in the same hand but in different coloured ink: "pat aftur pat he come from Fraunce with his modur with a great ost was sley at pe batel by syde Tewkesbur' pe yere of oure Lord m^ccccc lxxii. (*sic*)." This roll was drawn up by Brother Robert Cole, a Canon of Llanthony near Gloucester.* 1365.

Temp. Ed. IV.—Landgavel Roll. . . . 1366.

1509.—Rental of town property. 1367.

1535.—Rental of the town compiled by David Mathew, a Canon of Llanthony near Gloucester. 1368.

1544.—Rental of city lands. 1369.

* This roll has been published by the Corporation since this report was drawn up.

Acquittances of the Pipe.

- 1606-7.—Richard Smythe and Geoffrey Beale, Sheriffs. 1370.
1705-6.—Gabriel Harris and John White, Sheriffs. 1371.

Rolls relating to St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

1535.—Rental, 1372. Another rental of the time of Queen Elizabeth, 1373. 1589, Rental of Hospitals of St. Bartholomew and of St. Margaret, 1374. Copy of the Commissioner's survey of the possessions of St. Bartholomew's as filed in the Court of First Fruits, A.D. 1548-9, 1375. Copy of agreement, dated July 17, 1564, between Queen Elizabeth and the Mayor and Burgesses, whereby the latter release an annual pension of 9*l.* 2*s.* due from the Crown, and enter into several covenants for the disposal of the funds of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, 1376. Notes of evidences relating to the Hospital, 1641, 1377. Petition of the poor of the said Hospital, *temp.* Eliz., regarding the condition of the Hospital, etc., 1378. Accounts of the Almsmen, Governors, and Treasurers of the said Hospital for 1558-9, 1560-1, 1563-4, 1564-5, 1566-7, 1568-9, 1569-70, 1570-1, 1573-4, 1574-5, 1575-6, 1579-80, 1620-1.

Accounts of St. Margaret's Hospital.

Master's accounts for 1555-6, 1560-1, 1561-2.

Accounts of the Collectors for the Poor.

For various parishes within the city, 1572-3, 1575-6, 1576-7, 1577-8, 1578-9, 1579-80.

Circa 1200.—Rules, etc., in Anglo-French for the brethren and sisters of the Hospital of St. Margaret. This roll is illegible in parts, but the remaining portions are written in a fine bold hand. The meaning is in several places far from clear, and the rules are thrown together without any order, which, coupled with the very concise form of these rules, renders difficult any restoration of the missing words.

“Ces sunt les choses ke partenunt a la^[e] glise d^[e] la Margarete de hors Glouc., ke furunt estables par le Ab^[be] de Glo^[u]c., ke est patron de laglise, e le Covent de memes le l^[ieu], par le bone I pur pr^[ier] p^[ur] les vifs e pur les mors e furunt escomegez† del Abbe e de le Covent ke donke furunt en le Abbey avant nome e de ur, ceste a saver :

Premier e de Vekers e de Prestes kanke la chose, amenusunt*, ceo est a saver, ke la person de la glise de la Marg^[arete] deit resceivere, en dreit de le du pai^[n] livers ches^[cun] jo^[ur], cum les freris e cum les soures mangent lens. Kant il fournunt lur pain demeine, e cel pain deit estre f l ; e chescun jour [kant la custome] est de manger char, un mes pris de un maille, quant il ont larder de lur demeine ; quant eus ne ount pas larder, il deit le mes dener ches^[un] jour une galune de cerweise de tel cum il ount en la vile par chance. E par quant jours kant len mangeue pessun, ceo est a saver Meker^[di], V^[endre]di et Samadi un denier ; e farine de aveine un bussel par an tut plein tant cum len put mettre en le bussel ; e de buche, quant eus v^[ount] a^[pres] buche [ove c]harette, dunck avera la person la tresime soume de buche ; e quant eus vount apres mor bois, la person avera la tresime soume. E

* The MS. appears to be corrupt here.

le [jour de] [me]s pris de un denier, e le jur de Seint Estevene autre taunt, e le jour de Pasche a tant, e le jour de Pentecouste a tant.

Ces sunt les j[ours] k[i] l[es] f[er]res [e] les seures doivent offrir chescun une maille, seunt eus a lostel ho dehors; cest a saver, le jour de Noel, le jour de Tiffa[ni]e, le jour de le Vendredi, e le jour de Pasche, le jour del Invencion de la croic, le jour de la Sumpeion Notre Dame, le jour de T iceyns; e a cont[ribuer] [Q]uant un frere ou une seure est mort, le meilur drap ke il unt avera la persone en dreit de heriete; e duncke deit chescun frere [e c]h[e]s[c]un s[eu]r [o]ffrir une maille, seunt il a lostel ho hors, pur la alme, e trover pur le murt un liver de cier e sis sauters a dire pur le alme. E de le herb[age de] le cime[te]re e tuz les arbris ki cressunt en tour les fosses [d]e le cimiterie e ki cressunt en le cimetere, e quatre seilons de terre, e un e d[u]ze deners de rente de le tenement ke fut jadis a Alisandre Inguf, e duze deners de rente de la t[enem]ent ke fut j[adis] W[i]llam le Chesemonger.

Ces sunt les priers ki les freres e les seures doivent dire pur lur matins e pur lur heures: pur lur matins pater nostris, e tant de *Aves*; pur Prime vinte cinck' pater nostris e tant *Aves*; pur terce vinte pater nostris e tant de *Aves*; pur m duze pater nostris e tant de *Aves*; pur noune duze pater nostris e tant de *Aves*; pur Vespris dis pater nostris e tant de *Aves*; pur complie [s]e[t] pater nostris e tant des *Aves*. Chescun frere e chescun seure dirrunt devant manger cent pater nostris e tant des *Aves*; e tant apres manger Vespr[is] pur t[uz] lur benfesurs vifs e mors. E ceus ki sunt clers eiderunt a la servise de leglise e dirrunt les set psalmes e ie psalmes ou le letanie. E ces ke encontre ceo sunt es[com]egez del Abbe del Gloucestre e del Covent." 1420.

1607, May 29.—Ordinances for the government of the Company of Metalworkers of Gloucester newly incorporated by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Council.

Lawrence Wilsher, Mayor of Gloucester, and the Aldermen and Common Council of the same, to all to whom, etc. Whereas amongst the privileges granted to the said city the burgesses are empowered to constitute fraternities and guilds and to make laws for the government of the same, and there has been time out of mind divers fraternities in Gloucester, which have been subject to regulations made, confirmed, or allowed by the chief magistrates and Common Council of the said city; and whereas it has been always found necessary and expedient for the common commodity and for good order to be observed in the said city that all occupations and mysteries which before have not been under any uniform order or government should be reduced into some company, and that the persons exercising the trades, arts, or mysteries of goldsmiths, pewterers, brasiers, coppersmiths, wire-drawers, cardmakers, pinmakers, and plumbers have much "chevissances" and mutual dealing among themselves, and for want of composition between the persons exercising the said trades, the said trades are much decayed; and they therefore desire to be incorporated and made one company to be known as the "Company and Fraternity of the Mystery or occupation of metal-men of the City of Gloucester:" at a Council held on May 29, 1607, the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Council have granted that the 21 persons herein named and such others as shall have served seven years as apprentices with any one of the said 21 persons, shall be taken and reputed as the only company of

metal-men in the said city; and that they may elect on the Monday se'night next after Epiphany yearly a Master of the said company and two Wardens of the same, to hold office for one year; which Master and Wardens shall have power to enquire into all defaults, deceits, and trespasses made by the members of the said company, and to correct and punish the same. The said Master and Wardens are invested with full powers for the government of the said company, and the said company may assemble themselves as often as necessary in some fit place in the city to be called the Guild Hall of the Fraternity of the Metal-men of the City of Gloucester; and the said company shall be a body corporate, and be called and known by the name of "The Company and Fraternity of the Mystery and Occupation of Metal-men of the City of Gloucester."

The said Master, Wardens, and the greater part of the said company shall have power to make constitutions, laws, and ordinances for the better government of the said company. The Mayor, Aldermen, and Council appoint a Master and Warden to act from the date of the presents until Monday se'night after Epiphany next ensuing. Then follow the ordinances:—

I. Relates to the election of the Master and Wardens yearly, one Warden being chosen by the Master, and the other by the company. The Master to take oath to observe the laws, etc., of the said company, and to pay half of the fines that shall come to him to the Sheriffs, the other half to be retained for the use of the said company. The Wardens to swear to be obedient to the Master and to be aiding and assisting to him in the execution of his office.

II. The Master, Wardens, and Fraternity shall yearly on their day of election choose a beadle, who shall take oath to be obedient to the said Master, and who shall summon the members of the said company to come to the said Master and Wardens, and shall gather all fines, etc.

III. Every person admitted to the said company shall pay 13s. 4d. towards the maintenance of the company.

IV. The Master shall have full power to survey and examine, with the aid of the Wardens, all persons using the said trades within the city of Gloucester, and to correct and punish all deceits, defaults, etc., and to punish the party offending by order taken in their guildhall. It shall be lawful for the Master, Wardens, and greater part of the said company to make ordinances for the regulation of the said trades, provided that the ordinances so made be for the good and common utility of the said city as well as for the private commodity and behoof of the said company; and they shall have power to enlarge, alter, or annul any laws contained in the presents or hereafter to be made.

V. Any person of the said company refusing to fill the office of Master to forfeit 40s., and in default of payment thereof shall be disabled from using any of the aforesaid trades within the city. Any person refusing to act as Warden to forfeit 20s., and to be similarly disabled in default of payment. Any person not having been Master of the said company who shall refuse to act as beadle to forfeit 10s., to be levied upon his goods and chattels.

VI. No member of the said company shall instruct, or willingly suffer to be instructed, his son or servant in any point or cunning belonging to any of the said trades for above the space of six months, unless he present such son or servant at or before the end of the six months to the Master and Wardens of the said company and cause him to be bound apprentice for seven years at least, upon pain of forfeiture of 40s. to the said company.

VII. No member of the said company shall entice, procure, or accept any apprentice or covenant servant or journey man or other servant in the service of any other member of the said company, without the consent of the master of the said apprentice or servant or without the consent of the Master and Wardens, unless the said servant or journeyman have given to his master at least a quarter's warning, on pain of forfeiture of 40s. No servant, apprentice, or journey man shall leave the service of his master without his master's licence before the end of the term for which he is engaged, on pain of forfeiture of 10s. The said servant shall be delivered back by the Master and Wardens to the service of his master. If the Master and Wardens will not take action upon a complaint to the above effect within twenty days, then the Mayor Recorder, or Aldermen to take order for the reformation thereof.

VIII. In case any strife shall arise between members of the said company for any matter concerning the aforesaid trades, the aggrieved party shall make relation thereof to the Master and Fraternity, whereupon the Master, with the advice of three honest, substantial, and credible persons of the company, shall within three days examine the said cause and end and determine the dispute, if possible. If they are unable to end the said controversy within five days, then the aggrieved party may make his complaint to the Mayor, Recorder, or Aldermen, and if they are unable to settle the dispute, then he may take his remedy at law. Any member contravening this order to forfeit 20s.

IX. If any journeyman or covenant-servant in the service of any of the said company do suddenly depart from service without his master's licence or before the end of a quarter's warning, and shall leave the city and return to it or remain there and seek for employment by some other member of the company, it shall not be lawful to any member to engage the said servant or journeyman until the said servant or journeyman have procured the consent of his first master or of the Master and Wardens and have made a reasonable fine with the Master of the company for his so departing. Any member engaging such servant or journeyman contrary to this order shall forfeit such fine as the Master, Wardens, and majority of the company shall deem fit.

X. The Master and Wardens shall cause the beadle to summon once a quarter, or oftener if need be, all the members of the fraternity to assemble in their Guild or Common Hall, then and there to consider all matters concerning the commonwealth and profit of the said company and all defaults against the said company; and if any offence be found among any of the said company, they may reform the same. The Wardens shall levy 4*d.* quarterly upon each member in the name of "quarteredge," to be employed for the use of the said company. Every member disobeying the summons as above shall forfeit 12*d.*

XI. No foreigner nor any other person, other than such as are burgesses of the city and free of the said company, shall utter, buy, or sell by wholesale or retail in the city or suburbs any wares pertaining to the said trades, except it be to one of the said fraternity or to a burgess who shall buy it for his own use and not for sale, on pain of forfeiting 40s.

XII. None of the said company shall presume to speak to the Master or Wardens any malicious or unseemly words, the fine for any such offence to be assessed at the meeting of the company in their Guild Hall.

XIII. None of the said company being duly summoned, shall willingly absent himself from the assembly of the said company, without good reason, on pain of forfeiture of 12*d.*

XIV. All forfeitures shall be levied of the goods and chattels of the persons offending. Upon non-payment it shall be lawful for the Master and Wardens, having a constable of the city with them, to enter the house of the person offending and distrain for the said forfeitures. It shall be lawful for the Master and Wardens to sue for such forfeitures.

XV. After the election of Master and Wardens yearly, the previous officers shall deliver to the new Master and Wardens and the company an account of moneys received; and arrears shall be paid within ten days, on pain of forfeiture of 10*l*. The old Master shall then deliver to the new Master these ordinances and all other books and writings of the said company, on pain of forfeiture of 40*l*. The new Master is to put in sureties for the repayment at the end of his year of office of money received by him. One half of the fines received to be paid within one month to the Sheriffs of the city, the other half to be disposed of by the company as they shall think fitting.

XVI. Proviso that any doubts, ambiguities, or unjust ordinances herein contained shall be removed or redressed by the Mayor, Recorder, and Court of Aldermen, or, in their default, by the Justices of Assize for the city.

XVII. A further proviso that it shall be lawful for the company of Mercers to buy and sell pins as they have hitherto done, and for any burgess to employ any plumber, notwithstanding these ordinances.

Approved by the Justices of Assize, March 4, 1612-13. 1427.

BOOKS.

COUNCIL BOOKS.

No. 1450.—A small folio book of paper in original oak boards, which are much worm-eaten. I have classed this as a Council Book, for it was evidently commenced as one. But in later times it came to be used as a sort of common-place book. The following extracts will give some idea of the diverse nature of its contents. In addition to the extracts here given this book contains a valuable record of the resignations, deprivations, and deaths of the Aldermen of the city from 1503 to 1647 (fol. 26d. to 63d.), surveys of city property, rental of the “langable rent” of the city, notes of the evidence of Bristol and Gloucester upon the petition of the latter to be restored to the dignity of a port, *circa* 1580, assessments for wages of the Burgesses of Parliament, 27 Hen. VIII., 34 Hen. VIII., 1 Edw. VI., 4 & 5 Phil. and Mary, 1, 5, 14, and 23 Eliz. There are also some orders and regulations of the Common Council of purely local interest.

1486, Oct. 2.—“Memorandum, that the ij^{de} day of Octobre, in the second yere of the reigne of Kyng Harry the vijth, it is enacted, ordeyned, and establisshid by the assent and consent of all the Comon Councell’ of the town of Gloucestre, that is to wete, by William F[rancombe,] Maire, Robert Rawlyns, and Phelip Predich, Shirifes and Bailiffes of the same town, John Caple, John Hilley, John Poole, Richard Russell, Androwe Bye, Thomas Long, Thomas Bowre, William Cole, Thomas Faireford, Robert Cooff, and Thomas Herte, Aldermen, Thomas Colyns, Heughe ap Thomas, Rafe Grafton, John Cheltenham, Chamberleyns of the seid town, John Hertland, William Ryder, James Ivy, William Makerell, John Elyottes, Thomas Asplyn, Phelip Laurence, Thomas Grey, Phelip Mathewe, John Gloucetter, John Peyntour, John

Clerke, John Herte, Robert Beyneham, John Atton, William Botell, Laurence Smert, David Godriche, William Coke, John Cole, John Barnard, Walter Swayne.

"That the Shirifes and Bailiffes for the tyme beyng shall yerely ever hereafter paie, and do to be payd, unto the Maire for the tyme beyng, toward his office of the Mayrealte, vj. *li.* of lafull money of Englund, that is to wete, in the fest of Cristmas xxxs., in the fest of Ester xxxs., in the fest of Seint John Baptist xxxs., and in the fest of Seint Mighell' th' Archangell xxxs. For the whiche payment so made, it is ordeyned, that the said Baylifes and Shirifes shalbe ever hereafter quyte and discharged of iiij. generall dynners, that is the day of the eleccion of the Maire and Shiriffes, of oone of ij. dynners for the ij. lawe dayes, and of the Kesiardes Dynner at Mydsomer, and for the drynkyng on Midsomer Eve.

"Also it is ordeyned, that the seid Shirifes shall kepe the drynking on Seynt Petyr's Eve.

"Also it is ordeyned, by assent of the seid Councell, that the Chamberleyns of the seid town for the tyme beyng shall yerely pay, and do to be paid, unto the seyd Maire for the tyme beyng, toward his office of the Mairalte, in the fest of Cristmasse xiiis. *iiii*d.

"Also it is ordeyned that the same Chamberleyns shall yerely paie to the Swerde Berer xxs., to be paid quarterly, and for his gowne in the fest of Cristmasse xs.

"Also it is ordeyned, that the seid Shirifes shall yerely hereafter be discharged of the fyndyng of ii. sergauntes and the Swerde Berer, which shalbe foun[d] at the Maires charge.

"Also it is ordeyned that the seid Shirifes shall bere and yerely supporte alle and almaner charges, costez, payementes, and giftes, as Bailifes haue usid to doo and paye herebefore, and of alle thinges and charges derely acquyte the Maires office therof," fo. 1.

1491-2.—"Nomina omnium illarum villarum, quae assignatae sunt ad inveniendos homines ad guerram Domini Regis et pro parochiis villae Glouc., in vii. Henrici Septimi.

"In primis, pro villa Glouc. : de parochia Sancti Michaëlis Archangeli, ii. homines; de parochia Sancti Johannis Baptistae, ii. homines; de parochia Sancti Nicholai, ii. homines; de parochia Beatae Mariae in Austro, i. hominem et dimidium; de parochia Sancti Audoëni dimidium hominem; de parochia Sanctae Trinitatis, i. hominem et dimidium; de parochia Beatae Mariae ante Portam Abbathiae, dimidium hominem; de parochia de Grasselane, i. hominem; de parochia Omnium Sanctorum, i. hominem; de parochia Sanctae Katerinae et Sancti Aldati, i. hominem." [Then follow the assessments for the villages in the county of the city], fo. 231d.

1493, Oct. 12.—"Memorandum, that att the Comen Councell of the Aldermen holden att Gloucetur, the xiith daye of Octobre, the ixth yere of the reigne of Kyng Harry the viith, hitt was enacted and ordeigned by the Meyre, Sheriffes, and all the seide Councell, that there schuld be an able man electe and chosen to bere the swerde byfore the Meyre within the seide towne of Glouc., whiche schalbe yerely attendynge uppon the Meyre of the seide towne for the tyme beyng; and that the seide Meyre schall fynde hym mete and drynke conveniently; and the Stewardes of the seide towne for the tyme beyng shulde yerely paye to hym xxvis. *viii*d. for his fee or wages, and a gowne of the suete of the Serjauntes of the seide towne for the tyme beyng, or els xs. in money for his seide gowne, att the eleccion of pe seide

Stewardes; and thatt þe seide Swerdeberer so electe and chosen schall have and occupy the seide office of berynge the Meyres swerde byfore the Meyre of the seide towne for the tyme beyng within the seide towne as longe as he were able þereto and of goode demenure to the seid Meyre for the [tyme] beyng; and nott to be putt out or discharged of his seide office by env oon synguler person of the seide towne without the assent, and aggrement of the foreseide Councell of the seid towne for the tyme beyng, or of the more parte of the same Councell. Accordyng to whiche acte Thomas Krykketot, gent., was electe Swerdeberer and admitted into the office aforesaide," fo. 2.

[N.Y.] Oct. 17.—"Att the Comyn Councell there holden for the towne of Glouc. aforesaid, the xviith day of Octobre, the *yere of the reigne of Kyng Henry the viith, for the reformation of thiez articlez ensuyng.

"In primis it is agreed by the Comyn Councell, that the pl[aintiff] in the Courte of Pypoudre, after issue joynste, shall shew his *venire fac.* within the moneth, or elles *non pros.* to be entred ayenst the pl[aintiff]; and in the Hundred Courte within viij. wekes.

"Item for the refourmyng of perjury in equestes there by twene partie and party, &c.

"Item the great charge of the towne *capias* to be mynysched in all maner of offices, and to be at the somme of xiiid. : that is to say, to the Shyryffes *vid.*, the Towne Clerk *iid.*, the Seriaunt *iiiiid.* for th'arrest, yf the dett or damage be within xls.; provyded yf the dett or damage be above xls., then the *capias* may hold the old fee, viz., xxd.

"Item the Towne Clerk may have for recumpence for his borde yerely xiiis. *iiiiid.*

"Item that the Seriaunte shall tak for the servyng of the *venire fac.* dett or damage *unde* xls. *viiiid.*, and above xls. *xiiid.*, and mak [mark ?] hit in a [blank]. And [yf] the playntyff wole not sew, then lett the defendaunte sew, and he shall have accordyng to the forme abovesaid," fo. 3.

1499, Dec. 6.—"At the Comon Counsaill holden the vi. day of Decembre, the xv. yere of the regn of Kyng Henry the viith, it is ordeyned and inacted, that from hensforth no burges nor inhabitant withyn the town of Gloucestre by no maner of clothe, wollyn nor lynnyn, of any chapman or merchaunt foren withyn the said town that is brougnt to the towne to be sold but oonly withyn the Bothall of the said towne; and he that dothe the contrary to this acte, shall forfeit for every pece of clothe, wollyn, lynnyn, or fryce, so by theym bought, *vid.*, *iiiiid.* therof to be leveyed by distresse of the goodes and cattalles of the said byers, to the use of the Shrifves of the said town for the tyme beyng, and the *iid.* residewe in like wise to be leveyed to the use of the occupyar of the Bothall of the said towne for the tyme beyng, toward the payment of the ferme of the said Bothall," fo. 13.

1500, Dec. 9.—"At the Comon Counsaill holden there the 9th day of Decembre, *anno H. vij. 16^{mo}*, it is ordeyned and enacted, that alle thise actes folowyngly shall from hen[s]forth to contynue and stand in effecte, and which said actes weere before this tyme affirmed by the Jury sworn for the Kyng concernyng the articules of the Kynges Lauday for the Borough of Gloucestre there holden the 13 day of Octobre, *anno H. vij. 16^{mo}*.

* The number of the regnal year is omitted in MS.

"First, that all maner of bakers that bakith bredde to be solde that it be good bredde and holsom and of lafull bolter, and that they kepe th' assise and sel iiij. lovys of the best for a peny and ii. for a peny and oon for a peny, and of the second paste bulted ii. for a peny and oon for a peny; and that they make horsebredde good and sufficient, and kepe th' assise and sel iii. horselovys for a peny, apon payne of imprisonment and to make fyne with the Kyng and to pay for every faute iiij. iiij*d*.

"Item that alle maner of brewers that breuyth ale to sale that they brew good ale and holsom for mannys body not rede nor ropyng, and that they sel under the heresyff a galon of the best ale for a peny, xiii. for xii., and of the second ale iii. galons for a peny well sodde and skommed. And as for their graynes, that they sell iii. busselles of the best farte, and iiij. of the next, for a peny. And he that doth the contrary to forfet to the Kyng iiij. iiij*d*. for every defeaute. And that they selle xiii. galons for xii. of goode mesure, under the payne of forfeture of the seide ale and vis. viij*d*.

"Item that alle maner of traunters and tapsters sel of the best ale a galon for a *id. qd.*, good and stale, and that they selle by galon, potell, quart, pynte, and mesures ensealid, apon payne of forfeture. And none of the Kyng's liege people be warned whiles it endeurith, under the payne before rehersed.

"Item that alle maner of bochers that they kyll and sell good vytail and holsom for mannys body, and that they kyll and sell no rotyne shepe nor mesell swyne, apon payne of forfeture of the same and to lose at every defeaute xi*d*., nor honge ne ley noon oxe heedes apon their stalles ne inwardes of bestes, apon payne of forfeture of the said heedes and inwardes and to pay xi*d*.

"Item that noo bocher nor othir persone skalde no swyne in opyn stretes withyn the borough forsaid but in such places as it is ordeyned therefore, apon payne of forfeture of the said swyne.

"Item that alle salte fysshers that they sel good fysshe and holsom for man's body and well watered and seasoned for man's mete, apon payne that will falle of it.

"Item that alle maner of colyars that bryngeth cooles to towne to sale that they sel a bussell of the best charke colys for a peny up hepyd, and ii. busselles of menged coles for a peny, and so to delyver by mesure if they be requyred, apon payne of forfeture of the said colys and ther sakkes to be brennyd; and ther sakkes to be made thereafter uppon lyke payne.

"Item that alle maner waxe chaundelars and talowe chaundelars that they make good lyght and sufficient well brennyng, not disseyvng the Kynges liege people; and that they sel a pound of talowe candylles for a peny without disceite, apon payne of forfeture and to make fyne with the Kyng; and that they kepe their weight apon payne of forfeture, &c. And xiii. *li*. for xii.

"Item that alle maner of hostelars that kepes comon otries that they sell ther heyre acording to the Statute, and sell no letter, nother bake noo horsebredde withyn theym, nor herberough noo persone ne persones over iii. dayes and iii. nyghtes without perfit knowlegge what they be and wither they will, nother kepe no comon quenes ne strompettes, apon payne of imprisonment and to make fyne with the Kyng at xx*d*. as ofte and as many tymes as they be takyn with the defeaute.

"Item that noo baker byee wheete or meeles in market before the owre of xi. of the klokke before noone, and that they by noo busselles ne half busselles nothir of whete nor of mele, apon payne of

forfeiture of the same and to make fyne with the Kyng, as of[t]e tymes as they be found with the faute, *iiis. iiid.*

"Item that every bocher after that they have spoyled or brake the oxe hedes or shyppes heedes, convey a wey the great bones and the scullys of the said heedes, so that the said bones and sculles be not caste into the strete, apon payne of forfeit for every suche heed or scull fond in the strete *iiid.* And that they cast nor suffer non bludde nor lyvers in the strete in payne of *xld.* as often, &c.

"Item that no maner of persone ne persones what degre so ever they be of, set noo fysshbordes nor sell noo fysshe nor heryng at the High Crosse, apon payne of forfeiture of the said bordes and fysshe and to pay to the Kyng *3s. 4d.* as often tymes as they be taken with the defeaute.

"Item that no maner of persone, what so ever he be, weere no long wepon, swerd, ne long knyff nor other wepon withyn the liberte and fraunches of this town, except he be an officer, apon payne of forfeiture of the said wepon, the oon halfe to the Kyng and the othir halfe to hym that presentith it.

"Item that no maner of man withyn the liberty and fraunches of this town kepe any man is covenant servaunt or his prentise by nyght or by day pleyng at the dyse or cardes for money, nayles, poyntes, or any othir thyng, apon payne of imprisonment and to forfeit to the Kyng *vis. viiid.* as mony tymes as they be takyn with the defeaute.

"Item that non person or persons wasshe non podynge, guttes, nor inwardes of bestes att the wesshyng place without the inner norgate, nor cast non felth nor make non goutes* into the seide wesshyng place, in payne of forfeitour of *xld.* as ofte as they be faulty.

"And that non bocher barell nor sille non talowe out of this towne to any straunger by water nor by lande, but that the seide talowe be made in candell to serve the inhabitautes of this towne, in payne of forfeiture of *xld.* and also the seide talowe.

"Item that alle horses and mares which byn browt to the towne with any maner of chafer that they bryng theym to innes or othir places owt of the market, apon payne of *iid.*, the oon halfe to the Kyng and the othir half to hym that present[et]h it.

"Item that no swyne nor dukkes goo in the oon stretes apon payne of forfeiture without fyne or redemption of the same. And that the Sheriffes for the tyme beyng execute this acte upon payne to forfeit for every defeaute to the Chambre of the town *xiid.*

"Item that non comon bruear shall teppe non ale within ther owne howses, apon payne of forfeiture of *xls.* as often tymes as they maye be taken with the defeaute, that on half to the Sheriffes of the towne of Gloucestre for the tyme beyng and that other half to the Chamburleyns of this towne to the behoffe of the seid towne.

"Item that non person nor persons wesshe non tubbes nother barels for ale nother non other fylthy vessels att the Hight Crosse of Gloucestre upon payne of forfeiture of *xiid.* as often as they be founde with the defeaute, or if any person or persons wesshe any inwardes of bestes or bochers bolles, upon [payne] of forfeiture of *xiid.* as often as the [be] founde faulty.

"Also that non comen carriour that carieth with any cart or wayne with ire bonde wheles that from hensforth he carie nott with non irebounde wayne nor cart within this towne in the payne of forfeitunge *xxs.* as often as he is taken in defeaute, the oon half to the Sheriffes and that other half to the *iiii.* Stewardes.

* Goutes = channels, drains.

"And that alle persons that comyth to the towne to the feyre att Middel[u]mer with any maner catell to sale that they kepe the merket from hensforth in the Bare Land, every man in the peyne of forfeiture of iiii*s*. iiiid.

"And that non forener bye non otenmele with[in] the towne of Gloucestre, in the peyne of forfeiture of the seide meele, except it be a peeke for his howsehold.

"And that every breuar make ther cowlys as they carieth ther ale into ther custumers maye conteyne xiii. galons of clere ale, and att the overmost parte of the xiii. galons to have on hoole with a pynne so that clene maye renne out att the seide hole, in peyne of forfeiture of xld. and of the seide ale as often as they be founde fawty.

"Item that alle inhabitantes within this towne make clene byfore ther soyles the strete and so dayly to dayly to (*sic*) kepe it clene and cause it to be caried away, and nott to stryke it doune by the chanell uppon forfeiture of xx*d*. as often as they ben founde fawty," fo. 16-18.

[1500-1504.]*—"It is ordeyned by the Law Day for the contynuaunce of the good rule and for the commyn welth of this towne of Gloucestre, the which is to abomynable spokyn of in alle England and Walys of the vicious lyvynge of dyvers personez, as well of sprytuell as temperall, with to excidyng nowmbre of commyn strompettes and bawdes dwellyng in ever[y] Ward of the said towne, which, yf hit be not shortly remedyed and punysshed, hit is to be feryd leste Alle Myghty God wole caste his greate vengeance uppon the said towne in shorte tyme: for refourmaunce of the same and of dyvers other enormytiez usyd within the said towne of Gloucestre, to th' encreasyng of vertue and the commyn welth of the same, have ordeynyd thiez ordynauncez hereafter folowyng.

"For Comyn Qwenys.

"In primis that ther may be acconvenyent which† made in the commyn markett place before the fest of Lammis next comyng for the punyssh them' (*sic*) as well of wedded men as of prestes and other commyn qwenys, whether she be mannys wyf or single woman, as hit is usid in the worshipfull citie of London and in the towne of Bristow; and that this which to be made by the Stueardes that now beene with a particion for men and women uppon payne of *cs.* to be charged uppon ther accompte as a somme forfeyte to the Chambre of the towne for theyre contempt for non doynge of the same. And that the same Stewardes to be allowed for theyr makyng of the same uppon theyr accompte.

"Item it is agreed and ordeyned, that for alle abomynable qwenys lyvy[n]g viciously to the opyn fame and knowleg of the comynalte, that then alle suche qwenys immediately, uppon that knowleg had and relacion therof made to the Shiriffes, to be takyn and putt in oone of the commyn halyers cartes within the saide towne, so that they may be conveyed frome ward to ward rounde aboute the same towne with suche solempnyties that belongyth for theym to have, and they to be disgysed with frontelettes of papyr and ray hodes; and the halyer shall have for his cartt for every suche viage made iiiid., to be payed by the Shiryffes of the said towne, and that he shall leve his other besynes, yf he be therto requyred, uppon the payne of xld. to the Shiriffes of the towne. And that the Shiryffes of the same towne may be at the

* The date of these orders is probably shortly before September 20, 1504. See the order of that date, below.

† Hutch (Old Engl. *hwicce*).

execucion of the same with theyr officers uppon payne of xls., to be levyed by the Stewardes of the said towne of theyr langabull rent for the yere beyng to the reparacion of the towne walles.

“ For Reteyners of Burgessys or any enhabitant within the towne.

“ Also it is ordeyned, that for dyvers myscheffes and greate enormy-tyes that in this towne before this tyme hath bene usyd by ret[e]yneres, that no burges nor enhabitant be not of opyn ret[e]ynyng, lyverey, or other wis by othes and promys to any gentilman dwellyng withoute the said towne, uppon payne to be discommynd and put oute of the said towne, and that he nether by nor sell within the said towne tell he have refused his seid reteynyng and made fyn with the Shyryffes, uppon payne of vis. vii^{id}. to be levyed by the Shyryffes for the tym beyng to theyr use and behoff.

“ For Vytylars.

“ Also it is ordeynyd, that the Mayrez Clerk of the Merkett for the tyme beyng he to do his officiz as to hym belongyth, and that withoute favour or effeccion to the partie offendyng, and to execute hit to the uttermost uppon alle maner of vitylars after the complaynte to hym ther made by any persone grevyd or by the Shyryffes, uppon payne to forefayte to the same Shyreffes of the saide towne that now ben and hereafter shall be alle suche annuitie that he shall have or reseve of theym for his oone doying. And yf the sayd Mayre doo execute his office for his yere beyng, he to have his annuitye hym self.

“ For rebuking of any of the Commyn Councell and of any persone that is sworne in equestes.

“ Also hit is ordeyned, that none that is enhabitantes within the same towne do gyve wordes of occacion or on fittyng langage or of any other unlawfull demeanyng to any of the Councell of the said towne, or to any juris sworn in equestes, uppon the payne of xi^{id}., to be levyed of his goodes and cataylles so offendyng by the Stewardes of the said towne to the reparacion of the towne walles. And yf the same Stewardes of the sayd towne be negligent and wole not doo execucion, that the partye grevyd to make his complaynte therof uppon theyre accompte for theyre negligence, they to be charged with the same xi^{id}. to the use abovesaide, &c.

“ For Baudys and Lokastars of mennez servauntes.

“ Also hit is ordeyned, that yf any persone frome hensforth kepe any baudry within his house or loke any mannez servaunte or his wyff and his goodes, the partye grevyd in this behalf to make relacion to the Justes of the Peace of the said Ward, and ther to take the examynacion therof; and, yf hit appiere the complaynte be of trouth, that then the saide bawdes and lokestars to have a day of the saide Justice to depart oute of the towne; and, yf they byd wythin the townne and departe not after the proclamacion made of theyr departyng, that no burges within the seid towne or enhabitant assist hym or maynetayne hym within the townne, nor lett theym have no levyng by theym, uppon payne of every that medelys with theym xi^{id}. toward the reparacion of the walles of the towne, to be levyed by the Stewardes as abovesaide.

“ For Beggers.

“ Also it is ordeynyd, that alle beggers shall avoyde this towne before the fest of Lammas next commyng, except such as hath ben alle dayez

dwellyng within the same townne that be not myghty in body, and that all suche beggers admitted for the townne and there fynyng and and at a nombre admytted and namez to be registred in the Yeld Hall by the Towne Clark, and oon dye a nother to be admitted in his place and kepe the nombre.

“For the abomynable levying of prestez and other relygiours within the same townne.

“Allso it is ordeynyd, that yf any suche prestes or religious dayly haunte qwenys within any Ward of the townne, or walk by nyght suspiciously, or take with onlawefull demeanyng with horrez, strompettes, or with mennez wyffes, that then they to be brought to the which for theym appoynted, ther to remayne by the discrecion of the Justices of the Pease of that Ward that ther as they were takyn in; and yf they be suche abomynable personez that they wole not for that punysshment to amend, that then the Justices of the Pease in suche Ward as they be conversaunte and resortices to putt theym under suerte of theyr good aberyng accordyngly. And also for alle prestes beyng in servicez within the townne of Gloucestre aforesaid under the burgesis or enhabitanthes wages, yf any suche preste be evyll dysposed and compleynt be made of hym therof, and also if ther be a common fame and name of the same, that then the same burges, warden, or his master shall discharge hym, uppon payn to make fyn iiis. iiiid. yf he be an enhabitaunte butt he in lyk wyse dyscharge hym, and this to be levied by the Stewardes to the reparacion of the townne walles, for theyr negligencis to be chargeable of the payment of the same uppon theyr accompt as aforesaid.

“Also hit is ordeynyd by the Law Day, for dyvers consideracions, that no maner of men do tay ther horse nor marres in the strete, butt bryng theym to an inne that they do not anoy the Kynkes people, uppon the payne of iid., that to be levied unto the Shiryffes of the same townne,” fo. 19, 20.

[1500–1504].—“Trusti and welbelouyed the Mayre, Aldermannez, and Shiriffys of oure townne of Gloucestre.

“By the Kyng.

“Trusty and welbelovyd, we grete you well and be enformed the [read that] ye of your circumspect myndes have accordyng to our lawez made certayne good ordynaunces and lawedabyll constitucions to be observed and kept amonges you for the publike and commen weale of our townne ther, as well for settingg appart of lyveres, reteundres, nyght walkyng, and other enormytez, and for the condyng punicion of the trespassours in thiez behalf; with the which your politique demeanyng we be right wele content and pleasid: and therefore strately charge you to putt the said liefull ordynaunces in plenary execucion withoute undue favour or parcialite, accordyng to our said lawys. And yf any indysposed personez, of what so ever degre or condicion thay be, presume or take uppon theym to resiste you therin, than we wole you certyfy us of their namez with the specialitie and manier of theyr demaynyng, and we shall theruppon so provyd for their further punicion as shalbe to the ferefull example of other lyk mysdoers hereafter.

“Fayle ye not truely to execute the premisses as ye tender our pleasure and will aunswere therefore unto us at your perilles.

“Yovyn under our signet, of [read at] Richmounte, the xvth day of July,” fo. 21.

1504, Sept. 20.—“Here aftur folowith the names of the poore people that ben assigned to leve of almes within the towne of Glowcettur that hath resceved the bage and the lyvere of the forseide towne, and all other pore people to avoyde the towne, accordyng to an acte made by Maister William Hanshawe, Meyer of the towne of Glouc., and all his bretherne in the Comen Councell Howse, the xx. daye of Septembre, the xx. yere of the raigne of Kyng Harry the viith.” [The names of 36 men and women are given.] Fo. 133 d.

1512–13, February.—“The names of them pat went to pe sey by pe Kynges commaundement in pe moneth of February, in pe iiith yere of Kyng Henry the viiith for the towne of Glouc. [Here follow the names of eight bowmen and five billmen from the City, and of seven billmen and four bowmen from the County of the City.]

“And over this, the towne fyndith an opere man to make uppe xxv. men accordyng to the Kynges commaundement, wiche was Thomas Hathemer. And pe Meyre and his brethern ordeigne hym capteyn of pe forseide xxiiith,” fo. 232.

[1513,] Aug. 4.—“By the Quene.

“Trusty and welbeloved, we grete you well. And forasmuche as we by our former lettres lately commaunded you, amonges other thynges comprised in pe same, to make perfitt serche howe many able men for pe warre and howe moche harneys may be hadde within pat my Lordes towne of Glouc., and t’ascertaine us or oure Councell of the same with all diligence, as in pe seide lettres it is expressed at large; wiche certificate as yet ye have nott made, to our no litle mervaile: we therfore woll and straitely commaunde you, inasmuche as it apperith by suche wrytynges and newes as we dayly have from th’Englisshe borders against Scotland pat pe Kyng of Scottes is meynded rather to warre than other wise, pat ye do make pe seide certificate unto our seide Councell within xv. dayes next aftur pe sight hereof att the ferthest, without any lenger delaye, as ye entende to do unto my Lorde and us trusty service and woll answeere perefors unto us att your perilles.

“Yevyn under oure signet, att my Lordes maner of Richemount, the iiith daye of August.

“To pe Meyre and Sheriffes of my Lordes towne of Glouc.,” fo. 225 d.

The date of this letter is not preserved, but there is the following note in an Elizabethan hand: “*Circa* 5 H. 8 when the Kyng was at Turwin and Turney.” The list of persons providing men and arms thus raised for the expedition that ended with Flodden Field is given. The list, which fills 7½ pages, includes those raised in the County of the City as well as in the City.

1514, Oct. 9.—“Memorandum, that att the Comen Councell of the towne of Glouc. holden the ix. daye of Octobre, in pe vith yere of the raigne of Kyng Henry pe viiith bfore Richard Rowdun, Meyre of pe forseide towne, with alle his bretherne Aldermen pere, William Jourden and Jhon’ Rawlyns, Shrevys of the same towne with all opere of pe Comen Councell, to all and singuler burgeses with opere inhabitauntz of pe same, portmen, sergeantes, porters, and to alle opere ministers of pe same towne sende greatyng in oure Lorde Godde everlastyng. As where Kyng Henry pe Secunde, late Kyng of Engeland, progenitour to oure Sovereigne Lorde pe Kyng pat now is, by his cartour graunted to pe Bayliffes and Burgeses of pe towne of Glouc., and to pere successours pe libertees and customs by all his lande of tolle and alle opere thynges wiche ever best hadde his citezyns of London and they of Wynchestour: by reason of wiche generall wourdes pe seide burgeses

and pere antecessours, from þe tyme of the makynge and grauntynge of the forseide chartour all wayes sens, have used to makes statutes, ordinaunces, and constitucions within þem self within þe forseide towne and libertees of þe same as þe citezens of London have used and enioyed in þe Cite of London: wiche forseide chartour with many and diverse opere chartours oure seide Soveraigne Lorde þe Kynge þat nowe is have (*sic*) conferred.

“Knowe ye us þe forseide Meyre and Aldermen with alle opere above-reherced, by þe assent and advisement of þe combur[ge]ses and cominalte of þe same, the daye and yere above seide, to þe amendement, relevement, and encresynge, and for þe goode rule of þe forseide towne to be contynued and mayntened, to have made, ordeigned, and stabilised thes ordynaunces and rules subscribed, to be observed and kept as a statute in þe seide towne for evermore :

“First, it is agreed, ordeigned, and stabilised by þe forseide Councell and burgeses, that alle persons or person þat commyth to þe merkett with whete or any opere greyne to sale þe Wennesdayes and Saturdays þat they all pycche all pere bagges in þe comen marktett, and þat non burgeses nor non opere inhabitauntz of þe towne of Glouc., nor non estraunger or forener, by non corne uppon þe horses backes or horse backe till þe bagges be picched in þe comen marktett, in peyne of forfeiture of the corne so by þe byear bought.

“And also it is enacted, ordeigned, and stabilised, þat non straunger or forener by non corne in þe seide market but if it be for þe sustentacion of his howsehold, and þe straunger or forener to be examyned uppon by þe Meyre or Shreves of þe seide towne whether þat corne or greyne so bought be for his howsehold or nott; and if it be proved by examynacion or opere wise it is nott for his howsehold, þen þe straunger or forener to forfeit or corne or greynes so by hym bought; and if þe straunger or forener depose or prove it is for his howsehold, þen the straunger or forener to have the corne or greynes so by hym bought without any further contradixcion.

“Furthermore, it is enacted, ordeigned, and stabilised, þat if pere be any person þat fyndith any person or persons þat offendith or doth contrary to any of thes actes or ordynaunces, and present it to Mr. Meyre, or to þe Shreves for þe tyme beyng, to have of þe Shreves for his labour *iiii*d., and the Sheriffes to paye *pis* *iiii*d. incontinent; and if þe Sheriffes do nott paye þe *iiii*d., þen the Sheriffes to pay to þe use of þe burgeses of *pis* towne *iiis*. *iiii*d., as ofte as þey doth the contrary.

“Also it is enacted, ordeigned, and stabilised þat alle straungers or foreners bryngynge any whete or opere greyne throught the towne of Glouc. to þe keye of the same town or elsewhere with carte, wayne, or oon (*sic*) horses backes or oon horse backe, þat þe cart or wayne so laded paye for whelage to þe Sheriffes of *pis* towne for þe tyme beyng *iiii*d., and for every horse so laded *id.*, and every wey[ne] so laded att þe key of þe byear *iiii*d., for þe Kynges custom, if þe byear be nott a freman.

“Furthermore, it is enacted, ordeigned, and stabilised by þe forseide Councell, þat non burgeses nor non opere inhabitauntz of the towne of Glouc. suffer any straunger or forener to open pere packes to sale in pere howse or howses, but only in þe Bothehall, in peyne of forfetyng to þe Sheriffes for þe tyme beyng *vis*. *iiii*d. as ofte as þe burges or inhabitaunt may be takyn in defaute. And þat non straunger or forener by non wolles, wollencloth, nor linnen cloth nor non oper marchaundice of non straunger in þe Bothe Hall nor in non opere place within þe forseide towne, except it be of a burges of þe seide towne, in peyne of

forfetyng of pat marchandice so by hym bought, pe feyre of pe towne att pe fest of Seint Jhon' Baptist and Seint Petour always except.

"And also it is ordeigned, ordeigned, and stabilised, pat non straunger of (*sic*) forener pat bryngith any marchandise or vitell as tymbre, lathes, and alle opere thynges to pe keye of Glouc. to sale pat they sillith to non straunger nor forener butt to pe burgeses of pe towne of Glouc., nor pe forseide straungers of (*sic*) foreners to retayll pere forseide marchandice, in peyne of forfetyng of pe seide marchandice so sold or retayled, to be forfeited to pe Sheriffes for pe tyme beyng.

"Forthermore, it is ordeigned, stabilised, and agreed, pat pe Meyre is swerdeberer for pe tyme beyng have pe forfetyng of alle wepyns seised and taken by pe Sheriff or Sheriffes, or by any opere officer, when any bloddeshedde is made within pis towne, to pe amendement of his wages. And this acte to endure for evermore.

"Item it is ordeigned, s[t]abilised, and enacted, for inordinate savour and stynche, pat pe comen gorreour makith by daye when he carieth away innwardes of bestes, filthi vessels, and other filthy thynges out of pe Bocher Rewe, that from hensforth he cary non by daye butt by nyght after pe oure of vi. of pe beil, or verry yerly in pe mornynge byfore pe oure of vi. of pe belle, in pe peyne of forfetyng to pe Sheriffes for the tyme beyng xiid. as ofte as he maye be founde with the defaute.

"Also it is ordeigned and enacted, that all persons or person pat bryngith wodde to pe keye to sale, pat the pile and sett uppe ther wodde or pey putt it to sale uppon accordyng as it have be used in tyme past, in peyne of forfetyng to pe Sheriff for pe tyme beyng iiis. iiid. Also that non burges nor non opere inhabitaunt within pis towne of Glouc. presume to entre into any mannys vessell laded with wodde at pe forseide key to take uppe any wodde afore it be sett or piled uppon pe key, as afore is reherced, accordyng to pe olde lawdable custom, to forfeit to pe Sheriffes for pe tyme beyng xiid. as ofte as he be founde fawty. And in all pes actes and ordynaunces, if pere be any man pat fyndith any defaute contrary to any of pe forseide ordynaunces, and present it to pe Sheriffes, and justife and prove pe same, the Sheriffes for pe tyme beyng to pay to hym pat present any suche defaute iiid., as afore is seide; and pe Sheriffes for defaute of non payement of pe seide iiid. to forfeit iiis. iiid., as above is specified.

"Forthermore, it is ordeigned and agreed, that alle burgeses and all opere inhabitautes, dwellers, and howseholders within this seide towne ii. tymes in pe yere to appere att the Lawdayes, in peyne of forfetyng of every person so makyns (*sic*) defaute iiid., except he have a lycence of pe Meyre for the tyme beyng," fo. 21 d, 22.

1516-17, Jan. 26.—"Memorandum, that pe xxvi. daye of January, in pe viiith yere of pe raigne of Kynge Henry the viiith, that Philippe Barker and Jhon' Hawkys, Wardens of pe Bochers' Crafte, with all pe hole felosshippe of pe bochers' crafte, ben agreed and appoynted with Henry Frensh, byfore Mr. Raff Sanky, Meyre of pe towne of Glouc., William Hanshawe, Thomas Teylowe, Thomas Porter, Richard Rowdun, Aldermen of the towne of Glouc., William Mermyon and William Mathewe, Sheriffes of the seide towne, pat pe seide Wardens and pere felosshippe from hensforth shall nott kepe non swyne in none of pe styres where pere skaldyng howse is now, wich is within pe howse of Elizabeht Eywodde, wiche she dwelith in, and within pe parisshe of Grasse Lane. And in pis so doyng the seide Henry Frenshe promysith and covenauenth, byfore Mr. Meyre and his bretherne byfore named, never to trowbull nor vexen non of pe forseide bochers for kyllynge of

bestes, skaldynge of swyne, and for anythyng to þe seide occupacion belongynge i n peyne of xx.li., and þe seide bochers under þe peyne aforseide: and wiche of þe partees doeth þe contrary, to take þe auntage ayenst þat opere," fo. 3 d.

1517, May 9.—"Forthermore, it is ordeigned, that all persons that commyth to þe key with þere vessels, þat þey sett þere lastage uppon þe key to þe use of the towne; and þat non person take away þe seide lastage, in peyne of forfeiture of vis. viii*d.* And þat non person nor non burgeses sett or leye þere lastage in non opere place þan is afore reherced, nor sille non lastage to non maner of person, in peyne of forfeiture of þe forseide summe," fo. 22 d.

[*Circa 1520.*].—"Furthermore, it is aggreed by the Comyn Counsell, that noe maner of person weche any clothes or cappys, or any other thyng, bytwixt Pittes Heyend and the hedd of the key att the place where the bruars fett there water in Severne from hensforth butt at the slippes ordered therfore, in payne of forfeiture of iii*d.*, as often as any person may be takyn with the defaute, and the forfeiture half to the towne and halff to the Shreffes, etc. And that noe tanner nor glover lay any hides or shippe skynnes, nor bochers to wesshe there podynges att noe slyppe of the key, nor att noe place above rehersed, in peyne of forfeiture of there skynnes there so found, as often as it may be found, and the bochers to forfeitt iii*d.*, as often, etc.," fo. 22 d.

1522, April 25.—"Memorandum, that at the Comyn Councell holden att Glouceter, the xxvth day of Aprile, yn the xiiiijth yere of the reigne of Kyng Henry the viijth, it is enacted and aggreed, by th'assent of the hole Councell there, that whosoever of them woll speke and shew his opynyon and reason there byfore the Meire and his brederne yn any matter ther beyng in comunicacion for the comyn welthe, and beyng an Aldermon doying his duty, as it besemyth, and so then begyn to declare and speke his best reason, mynd, and intent without any interrupcion, and all other present kepe sylence the meane tyme. And if any other mon of the seid Councell be disposed to show his mynd and reason, to stond up doying his duty to declare and speke his best reason, mynd, and intent without eny interrupcion, and all other lyke wyse to kepe sylence, as is aforeseid. And if any mon do contrary, then the Meire for the tyme beyng to stryкке uppon the borde, after which every mon to kepe sylence and peace att alle tymes, uppon peyn of iii*d.* to be paid at every tyme by hym that doth contrary; and then the Meire forwith shal commaund hym or they that so offendith and kepith nott sylence, yn maner and forme as is aforeseid, to pay unto the Stywardes there for tyme beyng immediatly iii*d.* without eny delay. And if eny mon of the seid Councell this refuse to do, and woll make any besynes theratt, then the Meire shall commaund him or them to pay and ley downe the dobull therof; and if he or they so that refuse, then the Meire for the tyme beyng to commaund eny suche offender to kepe the Councelhouse untill suche tyme that he or they have paid unto the Stywardes forseid, to th' use of the seid towne, fowre tymes the first penaltie, and uppon peyn of his burges othe. And if the Meire for the tyme beyng at eny tyme do nott execute indifferently theryn to every mon, then shall the same Meire forfeitt and pay to th' use of the seid towne for every suche defawlte iiii*s.* iii*d.*

"And also it is enacted ferther, that no men of them depart owte of the Councelhouse byfore the rysyng and departyng of the Meire,

without licence of the seid Meire for the tyme beyng, uppon lyke peyne byfore reherced," fo. 14 d.

1522, April 25.—"It is also enacted and aggreed by the seid Councell, that no maner of person dwellyng yn the seid towne of Glouceter and liberties of the same shall brue eny ale or bere to sell unto any of the Kynges subgettes but after the rate and price as the comyn bruers of the seid towne do, uppon peyn of every defaulte of the offender therof vis. viiid., to be leveyed and paid after the effecte of an acte made therof for bruers by th'assent of the hole Councell in the xiith yere of the reigne of our seid soveraigne Lord Kyng Henry the viiith and byfore wretyn yn the xiiith folyum of a new redde boke,* which acte yet enduryth and stondith yn effecte.

"And also, that the seid bruers now from the xth day of May next comynng shall not excede the price of id. a galon of ale or bere, uppon lyke peyn of vis. viiid.

"And also it is ordeyned and enacted by the seid Councell, that no typler shall alter ner change eny ale whiche he or they shall receyve and bye of eny bruer with barme, worte, ner other wyse, but suche as they shall have of a comyn bruer of the seid towne, uppon peyn of iiii. iiiid. att every defawlte therof so offendyng," fo. 15.

1525, Sept. 12.—"How the Princes of Englonde was receyved by the Meire and Burgessez of the towne of Glouceter, the xiith day of Septembre, yn the xviith yere of the reigne of our Sovraigne Lord Kyng Henry the viiith, yn the tyme of John Rawlens, Meyre of the same towne, William Mathew, and Henry Frensche, Shreffes there.

"First, the Meire, Aldermen, and Shreffes yn scarlett and c. burgesses rode to Quoddisley's† Grene withyn the libertye of the seid towne, there keypyng array tyll the seid Princes came, and then [made] ther obeysaunce on horsebak, showyng oon of the mases of the towne.

"Then, by th'advyse of ther Counsell, Mr. Meire and all his brederne yn scarlett setting forward on horsebak ii. and ii., the Serjauntes ledyng the wey formust, and knyghtes, squyars, and gentylylmen (*sic*) yn the myddes, and the Meire next byfore Her Grace rydyng with the Serjaunt at Armys barehede and oon of the Sergeauntes mases yn his hand.

"Then all the ladyes and gentilwomen folowyng Her Grace on horsebak.

"After them all her servauntes yn a lyverey, and her officers.

"And after them other of the Stywardes and burgesses of the town ii. and ii., so rydyng to the towne ende, where all the clerge were yn copys, crosses, carpettes, and cussghyns. And Her Grace lovyngly there kyssyng the Crosse on horsebak.

"And then rode forthe every man after the said maner throwze the towne bryngyng Her Grace into the Abbey throwze Seynt Edwardes Lane [*Grace*, MS.], the Abbott and his brederne then beyng yn the Abbey porche with copys, crosse, carpettes, and cussghyns receyvyng Her Grace, and so she dyd alyght of horse, and kyssed the crosse; and then went up to the high awter, Mr. Meyre and all his brederne yn skarlett goyng byfore Her Grace. And there she offered a pece of gold, and then proceded to her loggyng, Mr. Meyre and his seid brederne byfore her.

* This is evidently the book below described as the first of the Lease Books.

† Quedgeley.

"The gyfte and present gevyn by the Meire and his brepern to pe Princes.

"First, ii. fatte oxen of the best that myght be gotton.

"Item x. fatte wethurs of the best pat myght be gotton," fo. 119.

1528, May 8.—"The names of them pat went toward Guynes by the Kynges commaundement, pe viiith day of May, in the xxth yere of pe reign of Kyng Henri the viiith for the towne of Gloucetur." There were five bowmen and six billmen, and the parishes of Holy Trinity and "Seynt Mary of Brodeyate," which were assessed at two men between them, found "redy money to pay prest," fo. 235 d.

1535, July 31.—"Howe owre most dreade Sovereign Lorde Kyng Henry the viiith, by the grace of God, of England and of Fraunce Kyng, Defender of the Faith, Lorde of Ireland, and in erthe Supreme Hedde of the Churche of England, and his most dere and entierly beloved lawfull wiff Quene Anne, at ther first commyng to Glouceter, after his Graces Coronacion, was resceyved by the Maire, Aldermen, Shrifves, and Burgessez of the seid towne of Glouceter, commyng from Tewkysbury toward Glouceter, the Saturday the last day of July, in the xxviith yere of his most riall reign, in the tyme of John Fawconer, then beyng Maire of the towne of Glouceter, Thomas Payne and Richard Edwardes, Shrifves there, as hereafter ensuyth.

First, the Maire, Aldermen, Shrifves, and Shrifves peres in ther skarlett gownes and velfett typpettes, with an c. of other burgessez, or ther abowtes, in cootes of mustervillers alle [assembled], and rode fourth of the towne toward Tewkysbury till they camme to the grene at the hether ende of the lane athisside Brickehampton's brigge within the libertie of the seid towne, then and ther metyng the Kynges Grace and the Quene, and did ther obeysaunce alle on horsebacke, gevyng His Grace the right hande. And then the Maire rode unto His Grace, seyng these wordes: 'Thankes be to God of your Graces helth and good prosperite, whiche God long contynue!' And therewith the Maire, beyng still on horsebacke, with oon of the towne masez in his hand, kissed the same mase, and did his obeysaunce, and delyvered it up unto His Grace, seyng these wordes: 'That alle suche liberties, prevelages, customes, and grauntes as your Grace and other your noble progenytours heretofore have gevyn unto the Maire and Burgessez of this your towne of Glouceter, we delyvere up unto your Grace, trustyng that your Grace wilbe as good and graciouse Lord unto us now as ye have byn heretofore. And ferthermore, I here presente my selff unto your Grace as Maire of your seid towne of Glouceter, certyfying you that alle your burgessez there be in aredynes and obedyent at your Graces commaundement, and hartely thanks your Grace for such liberties, preveleges, and grauntes that your Grace hathe gevyn unto us, besechyng you of your graciouse aide and assistaunce hereafter in the execucion therof in doying justice.' And so the Kynges Grace resceyved the same mase: whereuppon His Grace immediatly delyvered it ayen unto the Maire with alle suche liberties, preveleges, customes, and grauntes as were byfore tyme graunted; and then rode foreward in maner and forme folowyng; that is to wit:

"First and foremost rode alle the burgesses in aray ii. and ii.; next them the skarlett gownes; then alle gentilmen, esquyers, knyghtes, lordes, and other greate men; and then the Maire opyn hedde, with the mase still in his hand, and the Kyng of Arrodes with hym; then rode next the Kyng he that bare the swirde, and on every side of hym a sergeaunt at armys with ther masys. And then folowid the Kynges

grace and the Quene, with all the lades and gentilwomen folowyng them. And after them the garde and other sondry persons folowyng the Courte, till they came byfore the White Frires without the utter northe yate, wher alle the clergie were in coopys, and the Lord Suffryngam* (*sic*) mytourde, with crosse, carpettes, and cushhynges. And His Grace and the Quene bothe beyng on horsebacke lovyngly there kissed the crosse, and then rode forthe, every man after the seid maner throwght the towne bryngyng His Grace into the Abbey throwght Seynt Edwardes Lane, the Abbot and his bretherne, then beyng in the Abbey Church porch with coopys, crosse, carpettes, and cushhynges, receyvyng His Grace. And so lighted of his horsebacke, and the Quene also, and kneled downe bothe, and kissed the crosse with greate reveraunce, and then went up to the highe alter, and so from thens to there lodgynges. And the Maire alwey byfore His Grace with the mase in his hande till he camme to his lodgyng, etc.

"Item, the Monday the second day after His Graces commyng to Gloucester, abowte x. of the clocke, His Grace and the Quene both beyng rydyng toward Paynswicke to hunting, the Maire with certen of his bretherne mett His Grace in the Abbey Church yarde, and presented hym there with tenne fatte oxen, price xx. *li.*, for the whiche His Grace gave unto them lovyng thankes. And the same day in the darke evenyng they came from Paynswicke, and at Aillesgate† mett them certen persons to the noubre of xv. with torches light, and browght there Graces into the Abbey, for the whiche they gave hartie thankes, and the Quenes grace gave them in reward iiiii. angelleth nobles at that tyme.

"Item, the Tewesday the thirde day of His Graces commyng, he and the Quenes Grace also beyng rydyng toward Coberley, the seid Maire and his bretherne mett the Quene in the Abbey Church yarde, and ther presented hir with a purse of gold, price xiiis., and xx^{ti} rialles in golde theryn, whiche amounted to xi. *li.* vs. : for the whiche Hir Grace gave like lovyng thankes as the Kyng hadd don tofore. And the same day the Kyng hunted at Myserden, insomuche it was nyght er His Grace came to Aillisyate ; where mett hym xl. burgessez in there best apparell with torches light, as they did byfore, and browght His Grace into the Abbey : for the whiche he gave hartie thankes and fyve markes in gold for there reward in soe doying, &c.

"Howe our seid Sovereign Lorde the Kyng and the Quene also departed from Gloucester, the viith day of August then next folowyng at after none, and that nyght laye at Leonard Stanley, and on the morowe from thens toward Barkeley ; and the maner and forme howe is Grace rode forth till he camme to Quoddesley's grene.

"First the Maire and his brethern, with suche burgessez as were byfore appoynted, prepared them selffes in like apparell as they were yn at His Grace's resecyvyng, on horsebacke at the Abbey Church dore, and there gave attendaunce till His Grace came fourthe and was on horsebacke ; and then rode forthe every man in there degree, after the maner and forme as they did at His Grace's resecyvyng into the towne, throwght the towne forthe at the sowthe yate, and so rode accordyngly till they camme into Quoddesley grene, where alle the townes men sate on horsebacke in a range gevyng His Grace the right hande. And there did the Kyng take the Maire by the hande, and so departed. And soe both the Kynges Grace and the Quene passid by the seid

* Andrew Whitmay, Bishop of Chrysopolis, Suffragan of Worcester. He was Prior of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew at Gloucester.

† The name of the east gate of Gloucester.

townes men and gave them alle thanks. That done, the Maire with the Aldermen, Shrifles, and alle other burgessez returned alle to gethers homeward, and rode with the Maire to his dore ij. and ij. to gethers in a ray, in like maner and forme as they rode forthe. And then, at the Maires dore, every man departed and went home, &c.

"The giftes gevyn by the Maire and Burgessez of the towne of Glouceter unto the Kynges Grace, the Quene, with there officers and servauntes, at there first beyng at Glouceter after the coronacion, as before is mencioned, as hereafter ensuyth.

"In primis to the Kynges Grace tenne fatte oxen, price xx. *li*.

"Item to the Quenes Grace a purce of golde, price xiiis., with xx. rialles of gold theryn conteynynge xi. *li*. vs. : summa xi. *li*. vs.

"Item for gese, capons, and chekyn gevyn to Maister Secutorye, xis. *vd*.

"Item in reward gevyn to oon of the Kynges Seruantes whiche made proclamacion ayenst His Grace's first commyng, xiiis. *iiid*.

"Item to the Kynges foteman at his Graces departure, xis. *vid*.

"Item to [the] Quenes fotemen, vs.

"Item to the Kynges trompettours, xis. *vid*.

"Item to the servauntes of the Kynges boterye, iis. *ixd*.

"Item to the servauntes of the Kynges pantrye, iis. *ixd*.

"Item in reward gevyn to the blacke garde, viiis.

"Item gevyn to the Kynges Aum[n]our's servant, xiid.

"Item to the arrode of arremes, xxviis. *vid*.

Summa totalis : xxxiii. *li*. ix. *id*., fo. 120 d. *sqq*.

1536-7.—"The namys of the sowdiers that went to Auntehill by the Kynges commaundement when the insurreccion was in the north countrey." There are 24 names. At the top is written, in a slightly later hand, "28 H. 8," fo. 136.

1548, Dec. 17.—"Where as heretofore dyverce good actes and lawes have ben made as well by the Comon Counsell of this cite as by the Kynges Lawday men sworn yerely from tyme to tyme of, for, and conseryng crocke bruers, trauntours, and tippelers of ale and beere; amonges the wiche actes oon is, that noe person within this cite bruyng ale or beere, shall retaile, sell, and utter the same by the potte within there howses nor without, but that every suche bruer shalle sell there seid ale or beere in grosse by dosens and galons as well to ale wiffes, tipplers, and other retailers, as to all other inhabitauntes of the seid cite, in consideracion that if every person bruyng ale and beere shuld and myght retaile, tiple, and sell the same in there howses at there pleasures, than shuld all the comynaltie of the seid cite be therby compellid either to bye and fetche ale and beere by the potte owt of dores, or els brue in there owne howses, to the greате losse and unquyetnes of all the commons of this cite riche and pore; and where as the common bruers nowe makith provision and are appoynted to serve the commons of the seid cite of ale and beere at reasonable prises taxed and sett by the Maire, as Clerke of the Markett, and the Common Council of this cite, than must they be compelled, for lacke of uttraunce of there ale and beere, to geve over bruyng, and soe shuld the commons be unserved and unprovdyed for and the people browght in use of bibbyng and bollyng of bigge crocke ale, and the cite therby browght to decay and ruyn, as other townes hath byn by like disordre, contrary to the good order and rule of all other cities and good townes within thys realme: yet nevertheles the foresaid good actes and ordynaunces have nott be putt always in due execucion, as partelye by fynes paid to the Shrifles, and partelye by vayne pitei and negligens of the officers,

to the greate hynderaunce, disorder, and confucion of the common welthe, as well for that manye pore craftes men and jorneymen resortyng and sitting all day at this crocke ale, not regarding there pore wiff and childern at home, butt often tymes beyng drunke, do fighte and braule, and take occasion therby to playe at dice, cardes, and other unlauffull games, consumyng there tyme in vayne, contrary to Goddes pleasure, the Kynges lawes and peace, and common welth of the seid citie.

“For a better reformation wherof, be it enacted and established by the hole consent of the Comon Councell of the seid citie there holden the 17th day of Decembre, in the second yere of the reign of our Sovereign Lord Kynge Edward the Sixte, that all persons sellyng ale or beere by the pottle within there howses or without within this citie doe sell of there beste ale or beere owt of dores, at all tymes, to all maner persons requyryng the same, by pynte, quarte, pottell, and galon, after suche rate and price of the galon as from tyme to tyme shalbe appoynted by the Maire and Common Councell of the seid citie, and to denye no inhabitaunte of this citie any ale or beere soe longe as there is or shalbe fowre galons in the howse.

“And ferther, be it enacted, that noe person sellyng ale or beere by retaille or by the pottle within the howse or without doe hereafter brue any ale or beere in there howses, or in any place elles, or doe brue any malte, lesse or more, leste under the colour and pretens of mendyng there ale or beere they will brue, as they have done.

“And for the better execucion of this acte, it shalbe lauffull for every Maire of this citie to appoynte in every Warde two or thre honest men that shall have auctoritie, beyng requyred by any person in that Warde that is denyed ale or bere contrary to this acte, to goe to the howse of the partie soe denyng the seid ale or beere, and there make diligent vewe and serche of the ale or beere soe denyed, and soe the partie servyd, and yet nevertheles make relacion therof to the Maire. And if any man soe appoynted for the execucion herof, havyng noe reasonable cause or excuse to denye the seid office, do refuse to execute the same accordyngly, [he] shall forfeit vis. vii*id.*, to be paid forthwith to the use of the Chamber of the seid citie; and for every tyme that any suche officer shalbe founde fawtie in executyng his seid office iiii*s.* iii*id.*, to the use abovenamed. And it shalbe lauffull to the Maire for the tyme beyng to comyttt every person refusyng to sell ale or beere, or bruyng ale or beere, or disobeyng this order, contrary to the forme of this acte, to warde, there to remayne till the partie for every tyme soe offendyng doe paye to the Stewardes of the seid citie tenne shillynges, to the use of the Chambre of the seid citie. And if any person soe offendyng, beyng lauffully provid, doe resiste or disobeye the Mairez commaundement in this behalff, he the seid person soe disobeyng shalbe discommyned. And if the Maire for the tyme beyng, uppon knowledge gebyn to hym, doe nott putt this acte in due execucion accordyngly, that than the seid Maire shall forfeit and pay xls., to the use of the Chambre of the seid citie, and the seid xls. to be deductid owt of his fee or feez due unto hym by reason of his office, or els to be distrayned by his goodes and catelles by the Stewardes of the seid citie, whoe shalbe charged with the seid forfeittour uppon there accompte, and nott to be other wise alowid but to pay the seid forfeittour.” fo. 43.

This was re-enacted on April 23, 1552, the clauses appointing searchers being omitted, fo. 53.

1548, Dec. 17.—“Where as dyverse good orders, statutes, and ordynaunces have ben always heretofore made from tyme to tyme within

this cite for the publyque weale and decent order of the same, and the forfeitures, penalties, and punysshementes conteyned and specified in the seid good actes and statutes were nott alweys putt in due execucion, by reason that there was noe order, meane, or wey certainly knownen or agreed uppon for the receyvyng, lea[v]eyng, and gatheryng of the seid forfeitures and penalties and due execucion of the seid punysshementes: for the advoydyng and eschewyng of all ambyguytes, dowtes, and questions that may hereafter aryse and growe for and uppon the same, be it nowe enacted, ordeyned, and establisshed by the hole consent of the Common Councell of this cite there holden the xvii^h day of Decembre, in the second yere of the reign of our Sovereign Lord Kyng Edward the Sixte, that from hensfourth if any inhabitaunte of this cite shall willyngly or obstynatiely offende and transgresse any acte, ordynaunce, statute, or lawe made, or hereafter to be made, by the consent of the Common Councell of this cite to and for the common welth of the same or for any other decent order to be kepthe and observed in this cite, that than it shalbe lafull to the Maire for the yere beyng, uppon due proffe hadd of the offenses, trespas, or disobediens, to commaunde every suche offendour and obstynat person, beyng a burgesse, forthe with to the Common Hall of this cite callid 'the Bothe Hall,' and beyng noe burgesse to the Gate, there to remayne and nott to departe from thens untill every suche offendour hath paid the penaltie and forfeittour conteyned and expressid in any suche acte or statute wheryn any suche person is or shalbe provid an offender or trespassour. And if it happyn any suche offendour, beyng a burgesse, to resiste, contemne, or disobey the seid Maire in nott goyng to the seid Hall or nott remaynyng there, as is before rehersed, that than every suche person soe offendyng or disobeyng, the Maire shal fourthwith discomyn hym of his fredom, libertie, and burgesship; provyded that if it happyn any Maire to commaunde any suche person to the seid Hall for malice or corrupcion, that than, uppon request made by two of the Aldermen or fowre of the Common Counsell, the Maire shall opynly before these men examyne the partie soe offendyng, and if it can then be proved and may appere that he hath nott offended, the Maire shal fourthwith dismyse and sett at libertie the partie soe purged of his offenses. And every Maire, for refusyng to examyn and dismyse the partie, as is beforeseid, shall forfeitt to the use of the Chamber of this cite xls., to be leveyed by the Stewardes of the cite by distrez of the goodes and catelles of the seid Maire; and the seid Stewardes shall stande charged with th'aforseid forfeitures in there accompte," fo. 45.

1548-9.—"Where byfore this tyme it was ordeyned and enacted, that noe burgesse of the cite or towne of Glouceter shuld sue any other burgesse of the same for any accion what soever it were beyng under the valewe of xls., butt the same alweys to be sued and tried before the Maire and Shrifves of the same cite for the tyme beyng in there Countes holden within the cite foreseid of old tyme accustomed, uppon payne of certen forfeiturez and fynes in the same acte mencioned and declared; sens whiche tyme sundry burgessez of the seid cite hath vexid and trowbeled other comburgessez there in dyverce and sondry of the Kynges courtes owt of the seid cite of Gloucester for matters of smalle valewe, surmysyng the same to be above the somme of xls. as before is declared, and, uppon th'examinacion of the trowgbt theryn, knownen nott worth xld.; by meanys wherof not only malice and evelwill have chaunsed to have byn betwene the seid parties, butt also they have wilfully and neclygently expende there money and goodes where it myght have byn better occupied and imployde to the comfort and relieff

of the seid burgessez, there wiffes, childern, and famylie. And for reformation in the premyssez to be hadd, it is ordeyned and enacted, by th'assent and consent of the whole Counsell aboverehered, that noe burgesse of the seid citie of Glouceter doe from hensfourth sue or procure any accion of dett, trespas, detynue, covenaut, or other accion what soever it be, ayenst any other burgesse in any of the Kynges Courtes other than in suche Courtes as byn and hath byn used and be accustomly holden within the seid citie of Glouceter, untill suche tyme that the same burgesse or burgessez soe beyng playntiff or playntiffes doe first open and make relacion unto the Maire and iii. of his brethern at the least, beyng to gethers for the tyme beyng, of his complaynt and greiff theryn, in payne of every burgesse doying contrary to this present acte to lose and forfeit to the use of the Chambre for every tyme xls. And ferther, be it enected (*sic*), that if the Maire and his seid brethern cannott then reasonably agree, the seid parties by them selfes nor by mediacion of the fryndes of the boothe parties indifferently elect and chosyn, that than every suche playntif or playntiffes to take there most advantage ayenst the defendauntes in any of the Kynges Courtes where so ever they will, any thyng heretofore to the contrary nott withstanding, &c.," fo. 42.

1549, Sept. 16.—“Certen actes and ordynaunces exhibited to John' Rastell, Maire of the citie of Glouceter, Aldermen and Comyn Counsell of the same, by the hole company and felowship of the bochers within the same citie or towne, that is to witt John' Hawkes [*and 17 others*], att the Comyn Counsell of the foreseid citie there holden the xvith day of Septembre, in the thirde yere of the reign of our Sovereign Lord Edward the Sixte, by the grace of God, of England [*etc.*] The whiche actes and ordynaunces, beyng diligently examyned, are supposed to be for honest ordre and good rule to be hadd in the forseid crafte: the seid Maire, Aldermen, and Comyn Counsell, at the requeste and with the full consent and agreeament of every person of the seid crafte abovenamed, hath ratified and approved the seid ordynaunces as hereafter ensuyth, etc.

“First, from hensfourth every yere, within viiith dayes next after the feast of Seynt Mighell th'Archangell, the Wardens and the Company of the seid crafte by the most of voice shall chose of them selff two newe Wardens, and the olde Wardens within sixe dayes after there eleccion shall brynge and present the seid newe Wardens to the Maire for the tyme beyng, and there to take there charge for the oversight of the seid occupation or craft for there yere. And oon of the seid Wardens beyng called by the Maire shall wayte on hym merket dayes to see the vitail to be lafull. And if any brother of the seid company doe refuse the seid office beyng chosyn, or other wise breake this ordynaunce, he shall forfeit for every tyme vis. viii^d., the oon halff to the Shrifves, the other to the company aforesaid, etc.

“Item the seid Wardens and Company shall and may appoynt the waredressers yerely, and noe moe to be the comyn servauntes of the seid craft. And if any maister of the seid crafte doe resceyve or sett any other ware dresser to dresse his wares, onles he be his howsewold servaunt, or have nott lycense of the seid Wardens and Company soe to doe, that then every person for every tyme soe offending shall forfeit and paye iis., th'one halff to the Shrifves and th'other to the occupation, etc.

“Item that noe boucher beyng a foryner shall sell any fleisshe in Glouceter on any other dayes than on Wennysdays and Saturdays. And ferther, that noe suche foryner boucher shall sell any fleisshe at

all within the seid citie or towne onlesse he shall brynge both his hides and talowe to this citie and there sell the same, and the talowe to be sold to a chaundeler of the same citie att a price appoynted by the Maire for the tyme beyng, in payne of forfeiture for every tyme takyn in suche default and evidently proved vis. viii*d.*, to be dyvided, etc.

“Item that noe boucher doe cary and ridde his gorbage and cowlys att noe other places within this citie and subbarbes of the same than att the comyn place appoynted att the key, in peyne of forfeiture iiis. iii*d.* for every tyme that he is proved to doe the contrary, to be equally divided as is aboverehered, etc.

“Item that if any boucher within this citie shalbe warned by the seid Wardens, or other officer by them appoynted, to comme to there comyn howse or place at an howre by them appoynted, and soe therof make default, shall forfeit to the use of the seid occupacion for every suche default xi*d.*, provided that if any suche shall have any reasonable busynes necessary that he cannott be there, and doe aske lycence of the seid Wardens, that then he shall have leve, etc.

“Item if the moste parte of there Company doe make ordynaunces and agree on any good, honest, and semely order to be kepte and observed by the seid felowship, that then whosoever of the seid Company do obstynately or willyngly breake the seid good ordre shall forfeit for every tyme iiis. iii*d.*, to the use of the seid Company; provided that all suche ordynaunces and statutes be first exhibited and shewid to the Comyn Counsell of the said citie and by them approved, etc.

“Item that every boucher doe paye the goore man for his labour and wages after suche rate and order as shalbe agreed on by the Company; and that noe boucher make any cariage other than the seid gorreman, etc.

“Item that noe boucher kill or dresse any ware in there shoppys or in the streate Sondays or any other highe festes, nor opyn there wyndowes, in payne to forfeit for every default iiis. iii*d.* And that noe boucher kill any ware on any other day in the weeke (highe feastes and other days for necessary or by some urgent occasion excepted) than on Mondays, Wennysdays, and Frydays, in peyne to forfeit for every default iiis. iii*d.*, to be equally divided, as is above rehersed.

“Item ferthermore, that the seid Wardens and there successours from tyme to tyme, as nede requerith, shall make due serche of all kynde of vitaill killed by the seid Company to be sold; and if any unlauffull vitaill and not holsum for manys body shall happyn by them to be founde, theruppon the seid Wardens immediately without delay to make relacion therof unto the Maire for the tyme beyng, in payne of forfeiture for every default founde doying the contrary iiis. iii*d.* to the use of the Shrifles for the tyme beyng.

“Item that for the better observacion and execucion of these actes and ordynaunces, it shalbe lauffull to the Maire of the seid citie for the tyme beyng to commaunde any person of the seid crafte offending contrary to the forme and effecte of these ordynaunces to the Bothall, there to remayne till he or they have paid ther forfeiture, etc.

“And forasmoche as the seid occupacion have used alweys to paye to the Shrifles of the seid citie every yere xxs., as well in consideracion of there ease and discharge to appere in juries and inquestes betwene partie and partie, as also for dyverse other penalties and offences by them don and like dayly to be don, it is ordeyned and agreed, that the seid occupacion shall paye the seid somme of xxs. yereley at the feast of Seynt Mighell th’Archangell by thandes of the seid Wardens to the Shrifles of the seid citie; and for lacke of payment therof, the seid Wardens shalbe commaunded to the Bothall by the seid Shrifles, and

there to remayne untill they have paid the seid somme of xxs. And moreover, if any man be offred wronge by the seid Wardens or there successours Wardens under the pretence of these actes, that than every suche wronge shalbe reformed by the Maire for the tyme beyng within the forseid citie, etc.," fo. 48.

1550, Nov. 20.—"Certen actes and ordinaunces exhibited to Thomas Pury, Maire of the Citie of Glouc., Aldermen, and Commen Counsell of the same by the whole company and feloshipe of the bakers within the same citie or towne, that is to witte [*here follow 18 names*], at the Commen Counsell of the foreseid citie there holden, the xxth day of November, in the fourthe yere of the raigne of our Soveraigne Lorde Edwarde the Sixte, by the grace of God, [etc.] The which actes and ordinaunces, beinge diligently examyned, are supposed to be for honest order and good rule to be hadde in the seid crafte: the seid Maier, Aldermen, and Commen Counsell, at the requeste and with full consent and agrement of every person of the seid craft above named, hathe ratified and approved the said ordinaunces as hereafter ensuythe, etc.

"Friste, from henceforthe every yere the Sondaye after the election of the Maier and newe officers of the seid citie or towne, the Wardens and the Company of the crafte of bakers shall gather them selves together in a place convenyent, and by the moste of voice shall chouse of them selves ii. newe Wardens; and the olde Wardens within eighte daies after their election shall bringe and present the seid newe Wardens to the Major of the seid citie for the tyme beinge in the Yelde Hale of the seid citie, and there to take their othe for the oversythe of the seid crafte or occupation for the yere accordingly, in payne of forfeiture for every default vis. viiij*d.*, the on' half to the Shiriiffes of the seid citie, the other to the company aforesaid. And also that on' of the seid Wardens for the tyme beinge at the lest, beinge caulled by the Maier, shall wayte on hym market daies or any other tyme when he shalbe thereunto lafully requyred to doe his or their duties accordingly, in payne of forfeiture for every suche default xiij*d.* to be divided as is aforesaid. And if anye brother of the seid company doe reffuse the seid office of the Wardenshipe, beinge thereunto elected and chosen, to forfeit every tyme doinge the contrary vis. viiij*d.*, to be divided as is aforesaid.

"Item that every brother or sister of the seid crafte shall geve to their Wardens for their paynes takynge in their office every quarter of the yere on peny of good and lawfull money of Inglande.

"Item that the seid Wardens shall every wicke ons resorte to Mr. Maier for the tyme beinge, if nede requyrithe, to feche a newe assise accordinge to the prices in the market, in payne of forfeiture every tyme doinge the contrary xiij*d.*, to be divided as is aforesaid.

"Item that if any of the seid occupation be accused of any default by hym made, he that make suche default shall not mysuse hymself rigurusly agaynste the seid Wardens or Company, in payne of the firste default iij*d.*, the seconde default viiij*d.*, and the thirde default xiij*d.*, and not any of the seid company so offendinge to bake from thenceforthe untill suche mercementes be fully contented and payed, in payne of forfeiture for every on' doinge the contrary vis. viiij*d.* to be divided as is aforesaid.

"Item that non of the seid companye, uppon talke hadde amongst them self in their comen haule concernynge their seid occupation, shall disclose their communicacion there hadde from henceforthe to any person or persons, in payne of forfeiture for every suche default iij*s.* iij*d.*, to be divided as is aforesaid.

"Item that non of the seid occupacion from henceforthe doe enveagle or tice any person or persons of the seid occupacion beinge covenante servaunte by the wicke or by yere untill he hathe perfitt knowlege from his master with whom suche servaunte dothe dwell, in payne of forfeiture for every tyme doinge the contrary *xxs.*, to be devided as is aforesaid.

"Item that noe baker of the seid citie or towne from henceforthe doe take no apprentyce or covenante servaunte under the terme of seven yeres, unlesse he take the seid apprentice to trye hym in the seid occupacion by the space of on' quarter of a yere, in payne of forfeiture *xxs.*, to be devided as is aforesaid.

"Item that non of the seid occupacion from henceforthe shall geve above the rate of *xiii^{ten}* pence to the dosen, in payne of forfeiture beinge founde doinge the contrary *vis. viiij^{d.}*, to be devided as is aforesaid.

"Item that non of the seid company from henceforthe doe sell above *iii.* horse loves for a penye, accordinge to the Statute in that case provided, in payne of forfeiture for every suche defalte beinge founde to the contrary *vis. viiij^{d.}*, to be devided as is aforesaid.

"Item that it shall not be lafull from henceforthe to any person or persons, beinge non of the seid companye or occupacion, to bringe into the seid Citie of Glouceter any cakes or other spice bredde there to be solde, in payne of forfeiture beinge with every suche defalt founde *iiis. iiij^{d.}*, to be devided as is abovesaid. And that noe vintener, ale seller, inhorder, or any other viteler, within the seid citie from henceforthe within theire houses doe make, or cause to be made, any cakes or spice bredde as is aforesaid, or doe bye, receave, or take in of any straunger any of the seid kyndes of bredde to the intent to retayle the same agayne, in payne of forfeiture for every tyme doinge the contrary *iiis. iiij^{d.}*, to be devided as is aforesaid.

"Item that noe person or persons within the seid citie, other than suche that be of the seid companye, doe from henceforthe bake any kynde of bredd to be solde within the seid citie agayne at retayle, in payne of forfeiture for every suche defalt *xxs.*, to be devyded as is aforesaid.

"Item that it shalbe (*sic*) not be lawfull to any person or persons beinge straunger to sett upp the seid occupacion of bakynge within the seid citie untill he be firste appoynted by the seid occupacion, and to pay suche fyne and duties as hath byn accostomed, in payne of forfeiture for every monythe doinge the contrary *xxs.*, to be devided as is aforesaid.

"Item it shalbe lafull for every man maryinge a baker's wiffe, though he be not of the same occupacion, to exercise and use the seid crafte as on' of the seid company, payinge therefore at his or there comynge a dyner to the seid occupacion, as hathe byn accostomed, and *vis. viiij^{d.}* in the name of his fyne, to be devided as is aforesaid.

"Item it shalbe lafull for all apprentices of the seid occupacion servinge for the terme of seven yeres to sett upp the seid occupacion or crafte, accordinge to the Statute in that case provided, without any deniall of the seid Wardens or company.

"Item that non of the seid company from henceforthe doe bake any cakes to be solden within the seid citie but onlye at foure principall feastes in the yere, that is to saye, at the Ester wicke, the Witson wicke, and at the feaste of Sayncte John the Baptiste until Sayncte Petur's day, and from Christmas Daye untill the Ephiphany of our Lord God, in payne of forfeiture for every tyme doinge the contrary *vis. viiij^{d.}*, to be devyded as is aforesaid.

"Item if the moste parte of the seid company doe make any good ordinaunces, and doe agre uppon the same to be kepte and observed by the seid company, that then whosoever of the seid company doe obstinately or willyngly breake the seid good order, shall forfeit for every tyme so doinge iiii. iiiid., to be devided as is aforesaid; provided that all suche ordinaunces be firste exhibited and shewed to the Common Councell of the seid citie, and by them approved.

"Item that if any of the seid company shalbe warned by the seid Wardens or other officer by them appoynted to come to their common house or place at an houre by them appoynted, and so therof make default withoute cause reasonable, shall forfeit for every suche default iiiid., to be devided as is aforesaid.

"Item that the olde Wardens of the seid company, within on monythe after the election of the newe Wardens, shall make a juste and true accompte of their seid office before the new Wardens and company, and arrerages therof founde truly to content and pay to the seid newe Wardens, in payne of forfeiture xls., to be devided as is aforesaid, besides the hole residue of their accompte.

"Item if any person or persons from henceforthe be offered any wronge by the seid Wardens, or their successors Wardens, under the pretence of any of these actes above wrytten, that then every suche wronge shalbe reformed by the Maier of the seid Citie of Glouc. for the tyme beinge," fo. 50 *sqq.*

1551-2, March 18.—"Where as heretofore the bochiers of this citie have comonly used to make sale, bargeyn, and price of there talowe yerely att Lent for the whole [yere] to comme, and have nott only sold somme tymes there seid talowe to showmakers and other persons owt of the citie, butt also have sold the same at excessive prices, so that the commons and pore people of this citie have byn therby compellid to paye unreasonable for candelles, yea, and many tymes can gett noon for money, to the greate hynderaunce and lossez of the seid commons and pore people [*pleople*, MS.]: for reformation therof, it is enacted and establisshid att a Common Counsell there holden, the xviiith day of Marche, in the sixte yere of the reign of our Sovereign Lord Kyng Edward the Sixte, that noe bouchier within this citie shall from hensforth sell, make bargeyn or price of his talowe, or any parte therof, to any manner of person or persons without speciall knowlege therof first to be geveyn to the Maire of this citie for the tyme beyng, who with iii. other Aldermen may take order aswell concernyng the byer as the price, to th'entent the citie be nott unproveide, and that the price may be made accordyng to reason and justice. And if any bouchier within this citie or liberties of the same shall hereafter sell or make bargayne of any there talowe, or els will refuse to stand to fulfill and obey the direccion and order to be takyn by the seid Major and iii. Aldermen, contrary to the forme and true meanyng of this acte, that than every bouchier soe offendyng shalbe discomynyd of his fredom and burgesship, and every bargeyn nowe made, or from hensforth to be made, contrary to the forme of this acte, shalbe utterly voide and of noon effecte," fo. 47 d.

1553.—"The names of the sowdiers that went to assiste Quene Maries Grace ayenst the Duke of Northumberland and his complices." Here follow 24 names; fo. 134.

1555, October 1, 16.—"Where att the Countie Day holden at the Citie of Glouceter, the first day of Octobre, in the seconde and thirde yerez of the reign of Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, Kyng and Quene of England, Fraunce, Naples, etc., greate busynes was there hadd amonges

the burgessez concernyng the eleccion of Burgessez of the Parliament for the seid Citie of Glouc.; and uppon longe debatyng of the matter the Maire for the tyme beyng commaunded certen of the burgessez to remove ther places to th'entent to trie the polles for the same eleccion, accordyng to the due ordre of lawe; whiche commaundement dyuerse of the seid burgessez, and specially suche of them whose names byn hereafter subscribed, disobeyd the seid Maires commaundement and wold nott remove from there seid places nottwithstandyng the seid commaundement. Whereuppon, at the Commyn Counsell of the seid citie, holdyn the xvith day of Octobre the yerez above written, it is ordeyned, condiscenlid, and agreed by the more and worthier parte of the same Counsell, that the same parties and every of them shuld content and paye in the name of a fyne for there disobedience of the seid Maires commaundement all suche sommes of money as hereafter uppon them apperith [*here follow 16 names, one being fined 3s. 4d., three 2s., and the others 1s. each*]. All whiche sommes of money it was then and there concluded by the seid Counsell that it shuld be distributed to the pore havyng nede therof, by the discrecion of the Maire for that tyme beyng, etc.," fo. 56 d.

[1555, Oct. 1.]—"Where before this tyme discorde, contencion, and striff hath byn hadd, moved, and sterid amonges the burgessez of the foreseid citie of Glouceter for and concernyng the eleccion of the Burgessez of the Parliament within the seid citie, as before apperith: for a fynall conclusion nowe theryn from hensfourth to be hadd, it is therefore ordeyned and enacted by the whole Comyn Counsell of the seid citie gatherid to gethers, the day and yerez beforewritten, that noe burgesse ne burgessez of the seid citie at any tyme hereafter whan any suche eleccion shall happyn to be shall in any wyse geve there voises or nomination to any person or persons to be burgesse or burgessez of the Parliament for the seid citie other than suche as byn or hereafter shalbe burgessez and fremen of the same citie, or else to the Recorder of the seid citie for the tyme beyng, ne yet shall make any sute or labour to any person or persons for there voises in any poynt contrary to this present acte and ordynance, in payne of every person or persons beyng burgesse or burgessez gevyng there voises or nomination or makynge sute or labour, as is abovesaid, uppon due proffe therof made, to be immediately discomyned of his or there burgeschip and fredome of the seid citie without any delay, etc.," fo. 57.

1557, Aug. 18.—"Mary the Quene. By the Quene.

"Trusty and welbeloved we grete you well, and let you witte that the warres being open betwixt us and Fraunce we have geven ordre as mete is to have a convenient force put in aredynes to attend uppon our person in all eventes whan so ever any nede shuld requyre; and therefore amonges others we will and commaunde you that of the hole manred of that our citie of Glouceter and the Countie of the same citie you do appoynt forth the nombre of. forty able souldiers well armed, wherof one fourth parte to be hacquebutters or archers, one other fourthe parte pykes, and the reste billes, all well harnessed and weaponed, havyng and kepyng the seid souldiers in suche order as under the leadyng of somme mete capitayne by you to be named thei may be redy to attend uppon us or else where by our appoyntment, uppon oon dayes warnyng, at any tyme after the xxvth of August next comyng, takyng alsoe suche ordre as the seid capitaynes to be by you namyd may in the meane tyme knowe and be acquaynted with the soldiers, and the soldiers likewise with the capitayne. And of your doynge herin

our pleasure is you shall advertise us by your lettres with as moche spede as you possible may. And these our lettres shalbe your sufficient warraunte and discharge in this behalf. Yevyn under our signet at our manour of Richmond, the xviiith of August, the fourth and fiveth yeres of our raynes.

"To our trusty and welbeloved the Maior and his Bretherne the Aldermen of oure citie of Gloucestre.

"Herafter followethe the namys with there sommes of money upon them taxed, as well of the Comen Councell as the burg[e]ssez and other inhabitauntes within the citie of Glouceter, for the furnytur and making in a redynes forty able sowldyers accordyng to the Quenes Majesties lettres above mencioned, as also the deduccions of every of the seid sommes after the charges of the furnytur of the seid sowldiers accomplished and don, as severally and particularly hereafter byn mencioned and declared, in the tyme of William Bond, Major of the Citie of Glouceter aforseid, beyng the fourth and fivethe yeres of the raignes of our Soveraignes Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, Kyng and Quene of England, Spayne, Fraunce, bothe Sicilles, Jerusalem, and Ireland, Defendours of the Feith, etc.," fo. 64.

[On fo. 64 d *sqg.* are given the "taxacion of the Common Cownesell," with "deductions," "the Taxacion of the Comyn Burgessez," and of the tenants of the city dwelling in the county. The total is 144*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.*, deductions 66*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*, leaving a balance of 78*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*]

"Oute of whiche somme of lxxviii. *li.* vs. viii*d.* is payde and delyvered to Thomas Semys, receivour of the whole summe above written, by the commaundement of Mr. Meyre and his brethern, toward the furnytur of the foerseid fortye sowldiers as particularly hereafter ensuythe.

"Firste, delyvered to William Hassard rydyng to London to Mr. Secretary Borne with a lettre from Mr. Major and his brethern - - - - - iiiii. *li.*

"Item payd for a sadell, bridell, sturrops, gurthez, and sursengle - - - - - xiiis. *vid.*

"Item payde to Robert Reade for xi. gerdelles for the sowldiers - - - - - xx*d.*

"Item for lether to mende the harnesse - - - - - viii*d.*

"Item to the cutteler for buckellyng and scoweryng of thre tene payre of body harnes, xxi. payre splyntes, xxx^{ti} gorgettes, iiiii. new scarbardes for swerdes, ii. chapis, ii. shethys for daggers and scoweryng of ii. stavys - - - - - xs.

"Item paid for an ell and dim. of canvas to lyne the gorgettes withall - - - - - ix*d.*

"Item payd for tooe showis for the doctour's horse - - - - - vid.

"Item payed for haye and liter for the same horse by the space of iiiii. days and iiiii. nyghtes - - - - - xvii*d.*

"Item paid for a peire of stirrops lethers to Maister Hassard - - - - -

"Item to John Smythe rydyng to London - - - - - xx*s.*

"Item to a glover for stryngyng and mendyng of xiii. cases for arrowes - - - - - iis. ii*d.*

"Item paid for a butte of secke gevyn unto Mr. Secretary Borne - - - - - vii. *li.* xiiis. iiiii*d.*

"Item for cariage of the same to Worceter - - - - - vs.

"Item to Mr. Etkyns for his charges to Worceter and cariage of the same wyne from Worceter to Mr. Secretore's howse - - - - - - vis. viii*d.*

" Item paid to xxxviii ⁱ sowldiers at the mouster by Mr. Mayor's commaundemente - - -		xviii. vid.
" Item to William Cowper for the rownyng and sheryng of foure dosen of kerseis - - -		iii. iiid.
" Item payd for bowstrynges at the mowster - - -		iiid.
" Item to Walter Ewe for mendyng of five bowes - - -		xiiid.
" Item for buckulls, lether and nailes for the harnes - - -		xis. viiid.
" Item to the cuttlere for his owne worke, his mannes and his boye - - -		xls.
" Item to the cutteler for iii. newe cotes - - -		xviii.
" Item for ii. whole white clothes - - -		x. li. xiiis. iiid.
" Item for dressyng of the same clothes - - -		xxis.
" Item payde to John Smythe for makyng of viii. moris pikes heades - - -		vis. viiid.
" Item for canvas to repare eight iackes - - -		vid.
" Item to Walter Harrison for the mendyng of the same iackes - - -		viii.
" Item to John Taylour appoynted cap[i]ten for his paynes by Mr. Meires comaundement and his brethern - - -		xxs.
" Item payd for a newe iacke - - -		vis.
" Item paid for mendyng of twoe bowes - - -		vid.
" Item for mendyng of a bridell - - -		iiid.
" Item paid to Thomas More for redde and grene kersey lynyng and makyng of on' peire of hoses at the comaunde- ment of Mr. Major - - -		iiis.
" Item paid for a yard, quarter, and dim, quarter of white kersey to make the seid hose with all - - -		iiis. vid.
" Item payd to Luke Garnanse, John Holman, John Hitchyns, and Anne Hassard for takyng of there kerseys by ye comaundement of Maister Meire and his bretherne		vis. viid. ob.

" Summa of the whole charges and expences : xxxii. li. xs. iid.
ob.," fo. 69-71.

1557-8, January 7.—Copy of letter from Queen Mary to the Lord Berkeley and the Lord Chandos.

Whereas we have knowledge that the French have arrived at Calais and are besieging the same ; although we have sent such relief as we hope will suffice, yet for the more surety and the better to provide for all events, we have appointed to levy a convenient army out of hand : we have appointed you to levy in the County of Gloucester 1500 good, able soldiers, and of them to be so many good and able horsemen as ye may, and the more horsemen the more thankful shall be your service. You are to appoint some sufficient captains "suche as be experte gentilmen and inheritours, if the same may be gotten," and to give them orders to be ready to set forth at an hour's warning to such place as shall be appointed. We require you so to bestow your travail that the said numbers be in readiness with all celerity, because it is very like that the imminent danger will enforce us to call for your service very shortly. "Our further pleasure is also that you shall cause the said nombres of men to be furnysshed with the towneshippes out of whiche thei shalbe leveyd of white cotes and red crosse, after the owld accustomed maner of this our realme." Dated at Greenwich, February 7, 4 & 5 annis. Fo. 72.

"By vertue of this commyscion there were sent forthe toward the Ile of Wight, the eight day of February, anno 1557, and delyvered at Cicestre to Awncell Gies, there Capitayne assigned, twenty men for the

citie, wherof were archers ten and the other pikemen, and more twenti and five men furnysshed by the towneshippes within the county of the seid citie of Glouceter whose namys byn herafter mencioned." Here follow the names of the 45 men, and the costs of furnishing them with arms, etc., and despatching them to the Isle of Wight. Among the charges is one "for xx^{ti} redde Scotishe cappis, xxs.," fo. 73.

1558, May 14.—Copy of letter from the Marquis of Winchester, Lord Treasurer, to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs regarding musters in the county of the city.

"The instruccions sett furth by the Marques of Wynchester, Lorde Treasurer of England, for making of the Kyng and Quenes Majesties Armye out of the Counties, Cities, and Townes to hym appoynted as Lieutenaunte of the same by there Graces comyssion under there greate seall of England, dated at Grenwiche, the xiith daye of Aprill, the fourth and fiveth yeres of there Graces raignes.

"First that the Major of the Citie of Glouceter and his bretherne, the Aldermen of the same, assemble them selves together upon a daye and place certeyne to take order amonges them selves, after there accostomed maner, to take musters of all th'able men within every parisshe aswell within liberties as without, and to marke what nombre thei fynd of able men within every parisshe, so as the nombre of every parisshe may be engrosed into oon entier somma at th'end of every parisshe, and soe the grosse at th'end of the citie declaryng th'archers, the harkbusiers, the pikes, and the billes, every nature by there selves, making a fourth parte of either of the seid nombres as nere as you may.

"Then to see what armour is for every man in every place, and what weapons, swerdes, daggers, pikes, harkbushers, bowes, billes, sufficyent and hable for the servyce; and where want is the same may be prepared by the parisshe, or by th'able men, to whome yt must be restored agayne when the service shalbe doon.

"And albeit I seeke knowledge of all the nombre of able men from you, yet I mynde not to have from you, when the service shall be requyred, above the nombre of ccc. men armed sufficiantlie sorted with weapons, as is before written, wherof xx^{ti} demi launces and xx^{ti} horsemen.

"And ferthermore, my desires to you is that there may be noe money taken of any man to be spared from this the Kynges and Quenes Majesties service, nor to be bordoned with preparacion more then ye shall thynk his or there possession and substaunce is hable to bere, and what charges soever he or thei shalbe at to have the same agayne, as before is written.

"And further, that I may be aunswered of you of the residue remainyng in the Citie of Glouceter for the strength of the same, that I may consider with you the good quietnes of the same, wherin I shall be verye glad to treat withe youe.

"WINCHESTER."

Here follows "the certificate of the vewe and mousters of all the persons inhabityng within the Citie of Glouceter and Countie of the same Citie mete and able to serve in the warres." The City of Gloucester had "Able men there to serve in warres cxx^{ti}: wherof archers xxv., pikemen xxx^{ti}, billmen lxv. Harnesses furnysshed there lx. peice: wherof archers xx^{ti}, for pikemen x., and for billmen." The total number of men for the City and County of the City was 390, "harnessez furnysshed in all cxx^{ti} peire," fo. 76-80.

1558, May 23.—“The namys of certen laborers taken out of the Citie of Glouceter by Barnard Powes, deputie to Sir Richard Lye, knyght, Surveieur of the Kynge and Quenes Majesties fortres at Berwicke, by vertue of there Graces Comysion to the seid Sir Richard Lye directed, the xxiiith day of May, in the fourth and fiveth yeres of there Graces raignes, as herafter followeth.” The names of 20 men are given, fo. 75 d.

1584.—“*Litera Comitis Leicester ad habendam nominationem unius Burgensis pro Parlamento pro civitate Glouc.*

“After my hartie commendacions, whereas it hath pleased Her Majestie to appoincte a Parliament to be presentlie called; I verie hartelie pray you that you will geve me the nominacion of one of your Burgesses for the same. I will thancke you for it, and will appoincte a sufficient man, and se you discharged of all chardges in that behalf. And so praying your speedie aunswere herein, I thus bid you right hartelie farewell.

“From the Courte, the xiith of October, 1584.

“Your lovinge frend

“R. LEYCESTER.

“Yf you will send me the eleccion with a blanck, I will putt in the name.”

Directed: “To my verie lovyng fri[e]ndes the Mayor and his bretherne and the rest of the Citie of Gloucester, with all speed.”

“*The answeere of the Citie to the same letter.*

“Righte Ho. oure dueties most humbly remembred. Wheras we have received your lordshipes ho[norable] lettres of the xiith of this moneth, thereby requestinge the nominacion for one of the burgesses of this the Citie of Glouc. to the Highe Courte of Parliamente nowe somoned; may yt please your ho. to be advertized, in declaracion of willinge mindes to doe your lordship any service or pleasure as in duetie apperteyneth, we have made known that your lordshipes desire to the Comon Councell of this Citie, accordinge to our accustomed order in all causes of weighte, and for soe muche as experience hath taughte us what a difficulte thinge it hath allwayes byn to deale in any matter where the multitude of burgesses have voice, and principally, for the tyme of our remembrance, at the eleccion of burgesses to the laste Parliament there grewe soe greате varriaunce and offence emongeste our burgesses uppon like occasions in that elleccion that, uppon diewe consideracion nowe taken, we are perswaded that it will not be conveniente to publishe that mocion unto them, perceavinge allreadie howe a greате number of those burgesses are affected; and we and the reste of that Comon Councell are uppon this conference fully resolved that the number of burgesses will not be intreated to graunte a burgesse rome to any man beinge not sworne to the fraunchisses of this citie havinge put in; besides the Sherieffes of Glouc. make some conscience in respecte of theare othes to deliver any returne not warranted by the writt of somons and the Statute. Whiche causes we, as well for ourselves as in the name of that Comon Councell, are with all humilitie to signifie unto your ho., and do moste humbly praye your lordshipes favourable construccion of oure proceadinges, beinge unable of oursealves to accomplishe your Lordshipes desire, whereuppon for our partes we woulde with all duetie have most willinglie enclined. And thus doe

most humble take our leaves, prayenge God to preserve your lordship in much honour and most happie estate."

"26 die Octobris, anno 26.

"*Per Commune Concilium tentum 26 Octobris, 26 Eliz.,*" fo. 193, 194.

1586.—"Memorandum, that at Easter in this present yeere of *anno Domini* 1586, in xxviii^o *Reginae Elizabeth*, all sortes of corne and grayne by meanes of the unseasonableness of the last yeere were sould in Glouc. mercatt at highe[r] rates and prices then in any one yeere was seene since the beginninge of the raigne of Queene Mary; that is to say wheate at 5s. 6d. the busshell, rye at vs., beanes at iiis. viiid., barley at iiis. viiid., and mault at iiis. the busshell: wherof certificates were made to the Lorde Treasurer of Englande, and theruppon lettres were sent downe from the Lordes of Her Majesties Hon. Privie Councell for the furnishinge of the mercattes and ratinge of prices, the tenor of which lettres are as followeth:

"After our hartie comendacions, whereas we are geven to understande that the prices of all kyndes of corne are of late greatlye risen and inhaunced within the Countie of the Cittie of Gloucester by reason that the comon mercattes are not duelye served as they ought to be and that the farmors and such as use tillage, havinge sufficient quantities to serve the cittie and countrey, doe of greedines and to the ende they may advance the prices bringe little to the mercattes, wherby the poorer sorte of Her Majesties subjectes are in daunger to famishe: for redresse wherof thes are to requier and aauthorize you the Justices of Peace of the Countie and the Mayor and Justices of Peace within the libertyes of the saide Countie of the Cittie, callinge unto you for your better assistance a convenient number of discrete persons, furthwith uppon the receipte hereof personallye to make searche within your precinctes in the howses, barnes, and graniers of such as have corne and have and doe usuallie make sale of grayne, what quantities are remayninge with everye of them, and theruppon to take present order for the weekelye furnishinge of the mercattes with sufficient quantities of grayne of all kyndes at convenient and reasonable prices, and to appoynte what numbers of busshells shalbe served by every person accordinge to his store, takynge bandes of them in good sommes of money to Her Majesties use for the performance therof as of such other good orders as you shall sett downe in that behalf for the better furnishinge of the mercattes and relief of the poorer sorte: wherein nevertheless we require you to proceede in such good discretion as there growe no disorder or inconvenience therby. And if any person shall disobey you or refuse to yelde to the execution of thes our directions of them, you shall take bandes with sufficient suerties for their personall apparaunce before us to answer their contempt. And soe, not dowbtinge but you and the rest will use herin such care and diligence as shall apperteyne, we bid you hartelye farewell. From the Courte at Greenwich, the xxiiith of Aprill, 1586." [12 signatures], fo. 58.

"Mr. Mayor and the Justices of Peace by vertue of thos lettres did make search in the barnes and garners of all fermors and corne breeders, and did bynde by recognizance all persons havinge corne to serve and furnishe the mercattes weekelye.

"And the Justices of Peace of the Countie of Glouc., at Trinitie Sessions of the Peace holden at Wynchcombe this present yeere, did sett downe the prices and rates of corne, viz., wheate at iiis. iiiid. the busshell, rye at iiis., beanes iiis. iiiid., barley iis. xd., and mault at

iis. x*d*. Notwithstandinge in discretion the same was not thought good to be put in practise for feare the mercattes might be abridged, yett the Justices of the cittie attendinge the mercattes abbated the excessive prices required by the owners and kept the same about vs. or vs. iii*d*. the busshell till newe corne came in.

"This yeere about Easter greate numbers of weaver[s], tuckers, and other persons moste poore and many welthie assembled them selves at Seaverne side and there stopped a boate laden with maulte passinge downe Seaverne to serve North Walles, and ryfled, spoyled, and tooke away the mault against the will of the owners and in greate disorder demeaned them selves. And afterwarde a boate laden with maulte for a bruar of Bristoll in lyke sorte was ryfled and spoyled. And soe the passage of corne downe Seaverne was stayed for a season.

"A speciall Session was had at Glouc. the Monday before Whitson-tyde for reformation of that owtrage and unlawfull assemblye; at which tyme and at Trynitie Session sundrye of the malefactors were indited and some of the principalls comitted to warde by warrant from the Lordes of the Councell.

"During the moste parte of this somer corne continued at greate and highe prices, notwithstandinge all the pollicie and consultacion taken against the same. This extremitie appeared and remayned more in the Countie of Heref[ord] and the Forest of Deane then in the cittie of Glouc. and other partes in the Countie of Glouc., and more in the Countie of Glouc. then in any other shiere adjoyninge savinge in Bristoll, where for a space they were harde and distressed, but the greate plentie of corne that came to London from Danneske, Hamburge and other places beyonde the seas kept downe the prices, and from thence good store came to Bristoll, parte wherof was gotten hither from thence, and some provision was made from London to Glouc.

"The Satterday next after the Ascention Day this yeere corne was cryed at London, viz., wheate at iis. viii*d*. the busshell, and rye at iis. vi*d*. the busshell, and about thes rates the prices continued all this somer, not much varyinge.

"Memorandum, that the prices of all kindes of graine even uppon the inninge of harvest in the [xxviiith] yeere beforesaide did abate very little from the former prices, but before Christmas followinge the same did arise to the full prices of the former yeere; wheruppon Her Majesties moste Honorable Pryvie Councell devised sondry orders for generall serches, viewes, and presentementes by juryes to be taken and broughte in of every man's quantytie of corne for bindinge the corne masters to serve the mercattes, to suppress all badgers and buyers of corne other then certen to be new licenced, none to sell or buy but in open mercatte, and for the provision of corne for the poore at reasonable prices, and sondry other good orders for the furnisshinge of the mercattes and abatinge the prices of corne: which orders were conteyned in printed bookes therof delivered into all places of the realme. The same orders were dilligently observed, but notwithstanding the prices did encrease, and so contynewed untill the moneth of Harveste hapininge this yeere sooner then in many yeeres before, havinge little or no rayne from Easter till the xiiijth of September. This yeere was as fruytefull a yeere for corne as was seene by any man's memory, and comonly in every place harveste was inned by the middle of Awguste.

"Betweene Shrovetide and the beginninge of Harveste this xxixth yeere moste comonly the prices of corne were as followeth [*prices omitted in MS.*].

"Duringe all this tyme worke was very skante for poore people, very small utteraunce of cloth by reason of the warres in Flaunders, so as

the poore were miserablie distressed in the cuntreyes neare Wales and in Wales, but the poore of this cittie were greatly releevd by all or moste parte of the able sorte, so as none perished for wante. This xxixth yeere, harveste beinge inned, the prices of corne fell and abated before the firste of September, so as then the best wheate was sould at iis. vi^d. the busshell, barly at [*blank*] the busshell and rye at [*blank*] the busshell. But this yeere, by reason of the wante of rayne and extreame heate of the yeere, grasse was consumed and hey very deare," fo. 58, 59.

No. 1451.—Council Book, 1565 to 1632. The matter contained in this book appears to be of almost purely local interest. The amount of historical interest yielded by an examination and partial perusal of this volume did not seem to warrant the expenditure of time necessary for the perusal of the whole volume, which is somewhat bulky.

1578, October 28.—"Forasmuche as it hathe pleased God to visite this citie at this presente with the plague: to the ende that the same in some sorte maie be, by His good grace, provided for, it is ordered by the Major, Aldermen and Commen Counsell at this presente assembled, that whatsoever citezen and freeman of this citie shall hereafter disobeye any rule, constitucion, or ordynauce of Mr. Mayor for the time beinge to be commanded or decreed by him for the good governement of the citie in this perillous time of sicknes, either by kepinge within his howse by the space of a monethe, or shuttinge upp of his wyndowes and forbearinge of his trade, that he shalbe discomoned *ipso facto*, and that everie other inhabytaunte whoe shall disobeye the like order to be made by the saide Mr. Mayor shall suffer impriso[n]mente and suche fine as shalbe by him assessed, and that for suche fyne or fynes yt shall be lawfull for any officer by the said Major to be assigned to distraine any the goodes of the offenders and the same to sell.

"It is also ordered and agreed at the saied Common Councell, that what soever citezen or inhabitaunte of this citie shall have any person sicke of any disease in his howse by the space of xxiiiith howres, shall make thereof certificate to Mr. Mayor for the tyme beinge of the saied diseased person and what he thinkethe of the saied disease, uppon his burges othe, if he be a burges, and otherwise of his credit, and that uppon the payne of imprisonment and suche fyne as shall be assessed;" fo. 58 d.

1580, October 22.—"*Nomination of Burges of Parliament.* Wheras the right Ho. the Earle of Leicester, by his lettres dated the xiith of this monethe, requested of the cytie the nomination of one Burgesses place in Glouc. to the Parliament nowe somoned, dischardginge us of all chardges, and to sende uppe our ellection with a blanke. For so muche as his request is a matter of ymportauce, therefore it was thought very neadefull to understande the mindes of the Comon Councell of the cytie about the same, and nowe at this Councell that Ho. lettre was opened and the contentes therof readde, and diverse matters depending uppon the same considered of and reasoned; and so, after good deliberation and consultation made and taken, it was agreed with one voyce, not any one beinge of contrary minde, that it is not convenient to graunte that his requeste, and that Mr. Mayor and his bretheren shoulde by a lettre certifie his Ho. at lardge of the reasons and causes why the same request was not yielded unto;" fo. 92 d.

1588, May 19.—Copy of letter from the Privy Council, dated May 12, Greenwich, to the Mayor of Gloucester and the chief officers of Tewkesbury, charging them with the provision of “the whole expences which have byn layde forth in rigginge up, manninge, and settinge foorth the shippe called ‘the Barke Sutton,’ beinge a shippe of 80 tonne, and stoared with victualls for three monethes.” This was read before the Council and “before certen other discreete burgesss” numbering 16, “specially called hereunto, the contents of which ho. lettres were by consultacion considered of and agreed by generall consent to deale with them of Tewkesbury in this sort: to offer them of Tewkesbury the choice either to be rated at a thirde parte or accordinge to the tenthes and fifteenes, and uppon that to delyver them notice by noate and to appointe the taxe here accordingly. Item to joyne with them for ayde, if they liste to joyne with us, although they shall refuse to accepte of oure saide offer of rate, or els to attende them and their doinges at London, and to performe on oure owne parts what becommeth us for our saffety;” fo. 112.

1588, June 15.—“It is to be noted, that since the Common Councell houlden *decimo nono die* Maii laste paste a newe lettre was addressed from the Lordes of Her Majesties most Ho. Privie Councell, the direccion and tenour wherof is as followeth;” the letter, dated June 2, Greenwich, is addressed to the Mayor of Gloucester and the Bailiffs of Tewkesbury, and refers to the former letter imposing upon them the costs of fitting out the Barke Sutton, “and wheras since yow do geve us to understande that yow are moste readye and well contented, so that the foresaide imposicion which was by us laide uppon yow might be fullie exempted, to furnishe and sett forth to the seas at your owne free costes and expences for the imploymente of your owne men one good and serviceable shippe of the burthen of threeskore and fifteene tonnes and a pynace of twenty five tonnes.” Since we perceive your forwardness in this service and the former imposition, as you inform us, amounts to a greater charge upon you than your present proffer, by reason you can afford the victualls and munition of your own at better price, and your vessels of greater force to assist and strengthen the navy, these are to will you to present, rig, and set forth your said ship and pinnace to repair to the Lord Admiral where he now is. It was agreed between Gloucester and Tewkesbury “that the devision of the totall somme with charges incidente, amountinge to *cccli.*, for preparation of that serviceable shippe and pynnace shoulde be made accordinge to the rate of the fifteenes, which being compared there fell to Tewksbury for their parte xl[], the residewe to the citty and liberties.” The money assessed in Gloucester was paid within five days, but difficulty was experienced in raising the portion due from the County of the City; fo. 113.

No. 1452.—Council Book, 1632 to 1656. Like the previous volume, this one did not warrant a perusal of its entire contents. I have here extracted everything relating to the siege of the city in 1643 with the exception of the minutes about the numerous loans for paying the soldiers, the arrangements for quartering them, and the orders for demolishing houses in the suburbs, setting of watches, sales of Corporation plate, etc.

1641–2, February 11.—“It is at this House alsoe agreed and ordered, that, in answeare to the petition of the burgesses and inhabitants of this citty that hath byn now read, fower peeces of ordinance shalbe

provided at the charges of the Chamber of this citty for the defence thereof, in case this House may be advised by such as have skill in military affayres that they may be usefull for this place;" fo. 207.

1642, August 5.—"It is at this House agreed and ordered, that the severall gates and wicketts within this city shalbe locked up every night by nyne of the clocke, and the keys to be brought upp by the porters unto Mr. Mayor; and this to be duly performed and the gates not to be opened untill sunnrising.

"Alsoe that the connstables doe provide and appointe good and able housekeepers to watch every night, in the North Ward the number of eight, in the West Ward the number of eight, in the South Ward the number of fower, and in the East Ward the number of fower.

"And alsoe that there be likewise halfe the number of men and of like abilities and qualities to ward in the severall Wards, and the Wards men to be sett before the watch be discharged, and this branch of this order touching watch and ward to continue in force untill Michaelmas day next. And alsoe that warrants be forthwith sente into the county to see that watches and wards be duely and carefully observed and kepte there.

"Alsoe it is ordered that the hundred papers of powder that is already wayed up, which is moist and unfitt for presente use, bee forthwith delivered unto severall honest and carefull men in this city to be dried and to bee by them kepte untill it shalbe called for from them by Mr. Mayor.

"It is alsoe ordered, that there shalbe forthwith seaven severall iron chaynes well and sufficiently made and provided for the seaven severall gates of this city, viz., at the upper and lower Northgate, at the Westgate, at the Southgate, at the Eastgate, at the Alvingate, and at the Blindgate, and there to be placed and fitted and fastned at every one of the sayd gates, for the preventing of the dainger of any sudden assaulte of horse.

"It is alsoe ordered at this House, that there shalbe forthwith made and provided tenn severall turned picks well bound and fitted with iron to be placed at such lanes and places that shalbe thought fitt that lye most open for horse or foote to enter, to prevente such theyr entrance.

"It is likewise agreed, that there shalbe six horses provided forthwith to be kepte in readines within this city to bee employed for to send out as occasion shall require for scoutes to see and prevente such daingers as are now to be feared.

"It is alsoe agreed, that there shalbe twenty or thirty pickaxes and twenty or thirty spades and shovells and some ten or twelve wheele barrows presently provided to helpe to make baracadoes by digging of ditches to prevente horses entrance into this city.

"And alsoe it is at this House ordered, that three or fower peeces of ordinance with carriadges shalbe provided for the defence of this City.

"It is alsoe ordered at this House, that the gentlemen undernamed, viz., Mr. Caple, Mr. Wise, Mr. Nicholas Webb, and Mr. Nurse, Aldermen, Mr. Jasper Clutterbocke, Mr. Nelmes, Mr. Wagstaffe, Mr. Anthony Edwards, Mr. Madockes, Mr. Jourdan, Mr. Ellis, Mr. Peirce, and the two eldest Stewards shalbe a committe to take care of the premises; and they, or any fower of them, to have power and authority to dispose of, provide, and procure all such things as may further and effecte the same and doe anything els that they in theyr discretion shall conceive may concerne the defence and welfare of this city and the County thereof.

"And alsoe that there shalbe one hundred pounds procured to be disposed of by the sayd Committe for the purposes aforesayd and security under the city seale to be given therefore;" fo. 222.

1642, October 3.—One member of the Council to watch at each gate of the city with the common watchmen every night, or to procure a substitute to be approved by the Alderman of the Ward; fo. 228 d.

1642, October 11.—The Stewards to allow coals and candle for the watchmen at the five gates every night; so that the proportion do not exceed half a hundred of seacoals or a peck of charcoal at every gate for a night; fo. 229.

"It is agreed and ordered at this House that two greate guilte bowles with covers, one guilt tankard, one silver can, one greate silver beare bowle and one lesser silver bowle, fower old maces, and one old seale of mayorlty, being plate belonging to the Chamber of this city, shalbe forthwith sould by Mr. Alderman Brewster, Mr. Alderman Caple, and Mr. Alderman Nicholas Webb, or any two of them, and the mony to be disposed of toward the charge of the fortifications of this city;" fo. 230 d.

1642, October 28.—A sum of 180*l.* to be laid out upon the fortifications of the city; fo. 231.

"It is also ordered at this House that every gentleman of the Common Councell of this city shall presently contribute for the defence of this city according to the rates following, that is to say, Mr. Mayor and every Alderman sixteene shillings eightpence a peice, the Sheriffes and Sherif peeres thirteene shillings fower pence a peice, and the Stewards and every other of the Common Councell tenn shillings a peice."

"It is further ordered at this House, that two hundred pounds shalbe forthwith taken up at interest uppon the security of the City seale to be employed for the defence and preservation of this city;" fo. 231.

1642, November 19.—"Whereas divers members of this House have undertaken to pay divers summes of money for the maintenance of the souldiers quartered in this city by reason the mony provided for them in London cannot be conveyed to them without hazard; it is therefore agreed and ordered, that a messenger shalbe forthwith sente to London at the charges of the Chamber of this city to take care there for the paymente of the sayd severall summes uppon returne according to the directions of the sayd severall persons, and that yf any miscariage should happen touching the same, then this House to save all and every one of the sayd persons harmeles as touching the same, as alsoe that this House shall save harmles the Receivers of the mony lente uppon the propositions to the Parliamente from any damage or losse which they may any waies susteine by reason of any of the subscriptions monyes which they already have or shall pay out of theyr treasury by the direction or appointmente of the Deputy-Livetenants of this city and county, and alsoe shall save harmelesse all and every person and persons that shall from tyme to tyme pay any summe or summes of mony uppon returne to Colloneli Essex for the maintenance of the souldiers here;" fo. 235.

1642-3, January 11.—A messenger to be sent to London to solicit an order of Parliament for 500*l.* out of the subscription monyes towards the charge of the fortifications, and for the repayment of such moneys as have been or shall be paid here upon return towards the payment of the soldiers quartered in the city; fo. 238 d.

1642-3, February 4.—Mr. Sheriff Wagstaff to have the city seal for the repayment of 20*l.* towards the payment for the fortifications; fo. 240 d.

1642-3, February 7.—Every Alderman to afford free quarters for six soldiers, the Sheriffs and their peers for five, and the rest of the Council for four, or to pay 3*s.* weekly for each soldier. All the other inhabitants to be rated in proportionable manner; fo. 241.

1642-3, March 6.—Forasmuch as the city has so long provided for the maintenance of the soldiers here that the treasury is so far exhausted, and there is a necessity that the Earl of Stanford's regiments and two companies of Sir John Merrickes regiment should be quartered; it is ordered, that the soldiers of the said regiments residing here shall be quartered by the inhabitants in some proportionable manner for the space of one month, and if any shall choose instead thereof to pay money, they shall be excused upon payment of 3*s.* weekly to every particular soldier that shall be thought fit for him to quarter; satisfaction for the same to be made to each inhabitant out of the moneys to be received in London for the payment of the said soldiers; fo. 249.

"Whereas this city is threatened with a siege and therefore it is requisite that provision of victualls be forthwith made for the use of the inhabitants and souldiers here, it is therefore at this House agreed, that Mr. Ald. Singleton, Mr. Woodward, Mr. Lane, Mr. Tyther, Mr. John Edwards, and Mr. Roberte Paine, or any three of them, shal be imployed as commissaries to contracte with any person or persons for any thinge that may serve for victualls, or to take and receive any fatt cattle, corne, or other provision to be kepte and imployed for the use aforesayd, and satisfaction to be made for the same by the Chamber of this city in some reasonable tyme;" fo. 249.

1643, August 29.—Every inhabitant rated for the relief of the poor to pay a double proportion weekly during the siege, and the collectors thereof to take care for the distribution of the same to such persons as are employed at worke for the defence of the city and such impotent persons as are unable to work; fo. 273.

1643, Sept. 18.—Committee appointed to see to the amending and reparation of all places defective in the walls and works round about the city and for the cleansing of the ditches and pefecting of such works as are already begun and what else shall be directed by a Council of War for the further fortification of the city; fo. 276 d.

1644, August 30.—"Inprimis, it is thought fitt and ordered at this House that Thirsday next being the fifth of September shall be observed in this city as a day of publique thanksgivinge for the raisinge of the siege upon the fifth of September, 1643, and that for a memoriall of that deliverance the fifth of September yeerely henceforth shall be observed and kept in the like manner, and all the Masters and Wardens of Companies to attend the Major to the Church with their severall companies solemnely morninge and eveninge upon the said daies with their streamers, as upon other dayes of solemnities;" fo. 307.

The series of Council Books is continued from 1656 to the present time in seventeen volumes (Nos. 1453 to 1469).

CHAMBERLAINS' ACCOUNTS.

No. 1500.—A large folio volume in oak boards covered with tooled leather, containing the Chamberlains' accounts. The first account is

for 1550-1, Michaelmas to Michaelmas, but a portion of a preceding account exists, the first few pages of the volume being missing. The account for 1576-7 is missing, but several blank pages have been left for its insertion. The last account is for 1596-7. The accounts are very full, as may be gleaned from the following extracts, and they are very methodically kept and carefully written.

1550-1.—“*Receptes of newe burgessez.*”

Also the same accomptauntes chargith them selffes with xxiii. *li.* for fynes of newe burgessez takyn and admytted in the Guylde Hall of Merchauntes of the same citie by the tyme of this present accompte, that is to witt, [*here follow 21 names*], every of them xxs., as in the register of burgessez therof made and uppon this present accompte shewed, proved, and examyned more at large apperith; besides xth other burgessez, that is to witt, ... this yere in the Guyldhall aforeseid resceavid as apprentices, accordyng to an ordynaunce therof made, and yevith to fyne every of them iiiis., as in the seid register more att large apperith.

“*Receptes of Money.*”

“And fethermore, the same accomptauntes chargith themselffes with xxs. by them resceavid of Thomas Pury, late Major, for the redempcion of a bankett of olde tyme usid to be made in the vigill of Seynt John the Baptist after the Watche don, accordyng to the ordynaunce of the whole Comyn Counsell of the seid citie therof late made.

“*Paymentes of Money.*”

. . . . “And in money paied for thre bokes conteynyng the whole Statutes newe bowght at London by the commaundement of the Major and Aldermen by the tyme of this present accompte, xxiiis. *iiid.*; and more to Thomas Harres for the cariage of the same from London to Glouceter, *xiid.*; also paid to John’ Paynter for makyng of fowre papers for women that ridde abowte the citie in a carte by the commaundement of the Major, *iiid.*; and to William Mercer for caryng them abowte in his carte within the seid citie, *iis.*;

“*Giftes gevyn, with other necessarie expences.*”

. . . . “Also in reward gevyn to Maister Kyngeston’s Abbott of Mysrule comyng to the Citie of Glouceter in the Cristemas tyme, by the commaundement of the Major, xxs.; also in reward gevyn to the pleyers of the seid Maister Kyngeston, by the commaundement of the Major, by the tyme of this present accompte, vs.; and fether, the same accomptauntes askith allowance for loste of money that they hadd in there custody att the tyme of the severall proclamacions made for the abatement of money, as by the boke of the seid accomptauntes hereuppon shewid doth appere, *vi. li. iis. ii d.*; also paid to Thomas Pury, Major, toward the loste of money of xx. *li.* whiche he hadd in his custody of the cities at the tyme of the fall of money, by th’assent of the whole Commen Counsell, *xlis.*”

1551-2.—“*Paymentes of Money.*”

. . . . “Also in money paied for the newe castyng of the cocke of the conduite at the Highe Crosse, and for the caryng of the same to and from London and sett on the same by the tyme of this present

accompte, xiiis. iid.; . . . also paid to Christofer Sandy for a newe peire of whelez for the skoldyng carte, and mending of the same carte by the tyme of this accompt, vis. viiid.; also paid to an halier for hallyng of the same carte from place to place sondry tymes, by the tyme of this present accompt, by þe Majores commaundement, ix*d*.

“ Giftes gevyn, with other necessari expences.

. . . “Also in money paid and gevyn to the pleyers of Sir Anthony Kyngeston by the commaundement of the Major and his brethern the tyme of this present accompte, xs.”

1552-3.—*“ Paymentes of Money.*

. . . “Also paid to Ric. Letherland for an ioron by hym made to be gravyn with the letter *f* for fawtie clothez made, iiid.; and to William Phelpys, goldsmyth, for gravyng of the same, viiid.; . . . also paid for whitte lether bowghte to bynde Wattes the smyth and David Fleccher’s wiff rydyng in the carte, iid.; and to Androwe Harres for his horsez and his owne paynes in bryngyng them abowte the cite by the commaundement of the Major, xv*d*.; . . . also paid to Androwe Harres and Walter Loveday for caryng an Irisshe phisicion and his woman abowte the cite in a carte by the commaundement of the Major, xii*d*.; . . . also in money paid to William Saunders for a poste horse of hym bowght by the tyme of this accompte, xxs.; also in money paid to Henry Dicheley for kepyng of two poste horsez alwey to serve as nede requerid, and for his labour and expences dyverse tymes ridyng fourth at Maister Maires commaundement, as by a bill therof made by the seid Henry and allowed by the seid Major more at large apperith, xxxs.; . . . also the same accomptauntes askith allowaunce in money by them paid as well for dyverse armour by them bowght as bowes, arrowes, arroweheedes, arrowe casys, strynges, shotyng glovys, daggers, girdelles, and dyverse other necessities, as also for wollen clothe and lynnyn to make cootes and skarffes, and makyng of the same, for the furnyture and setting fourth of xxiii^{ti}. sowdiers with there capteyn marchyng toward the Quenes Grace ayenst the Duke of Northumberland and his comles, by the commaundement of the Maire and Comyn Counsell of the seid cite, as by the boke of the same accomptauntes therof made and hereuppon shewid, provid, and examyned particulerly apperith, xiii*li*. xv*is*. x*d*.; and more delyvered to the seid xxiii^{ti} sowdiers att there goyng fourth from Glouceter for there preste money, *videlicet*, to every of them iiis., *summa* iiii*li*. xv*is*.; also in money gevyn to Abell Harriett there Capteyn, as well for his lyverey cote as the hire of his horse and his paynes and labours theryn taken by the commaundement of the Maire and Comyn Counsell, xxxs.

“ Giftes gevyn, with other Expences necessary.

. . . “And in money paid as well for bredde, ale, bere, wyne, suger, ceeres, counfettes, and other refresshynges, as also horsemete and other necessities bowght, paid, and expended at the Newe Inne uppon Sir John a Bridges, knyght, and dyverse other knyghtes and gentilmen and yomen with hym commyng to proclayme the Quenes Highnes in Glouceter, as by the boke of the same accomptauntes therof made and hereuppon shewid, provid, and examyned apperith particulerly, xxv*is*. x*d*.; . . . and in money likewise gevyn in reward to a geister of the Kynges Majesties and an other commyng with hym, by the commaundement of Maister Maire, vs.; also in money paid and gevyn to hym that browght

the proclamacion for Lady Jane, by the commaundement of the seid Maire, iis. ; also in money gevyn to the gentilman that browght the proclamacion for the Quenes Grace that nowe is, by the commaundement of Maister Maire and his brethern att the Newe Inne, lxs. ; also in money gevyn to Robert Osbourne for his expences ridyng to here what newes at the campe, by Maister Maires commaundement, xs. ; also in money gevyn to hym that browght the proclamacion to proclayme Dudley traytour, by like commaundement, iis. ; also in reward gevyn to Maister Arnoldes servautes on May Day at the bryngyng in of May, by the commaundement of the Maire, xxs. ; . . . and more to those persons that daunsed the moorys daunse the same tyme, by like commaundemente, vs."

1553-4.—"*Paymentes of Money.*

. . . . "Also in money gevyn to hym that browght the newis that Wyatt was takyn, by the commaundement of Maister Maire, iiis. iiid. ; also in money paid for wodde bowght for the fyre made att the Kynges Highnes commyng into the realme at the High Crosse, by the commaundement of Maister Maire and for hawlyng of the same, iiis. vid."

"*Giftes gevyn with other necessary expences.*

. . . . "Also in money gevyn in reward to the pleyers of the cite by Maister Maires commaundement, vis. viiid."

1554-5.—"*Giftes gevyn with other necessarie expences.*

"And the same accomptautes also askith allowaunce of xls. in money gevyn in reward to the Kyng and Quenes servautes at the bryngyng downe off Maister Hooper to be brente, by the commaundement of Maister Maire and his brethern ; also in money by them paid for a dyner made and gevyn to the Lord Chandos and other gentilmen at Maister Maires howse that day that Maister Hooper was brant, as by a bill of particulers made by the foresaid Maister Maire and upon this accompte shewid, proved, and examyned more at large apperith, xliis. viiid. ; and more in money paid to Agnes Ingram for wyne by Maister Kyngeston and other expended the same day in the mornyng that the seid Hooper was brante, by the commaundement of Maister Maire, vs. viiid. ; also in money gevyn in reward to a serjaunte of Tewkisbury bryngyng newes that the Quene's grace was delyvered, by the commaundement of Maister Maire, vis. viiid. ; also in reward gevyn to the Quene's geister, by the commaundement of Maister Maire, iis. iiid."

1555-6.—"*Paymentes of Money.*

. . . . "Also paid to Thomas Wheler for dryvyng the carte abowte the cite with the smyth and other, and to Gryffyn, and others for whippyng off vacabondes, and for cordes and whippys made and bowght for the same purpose by the tyme of this present accompte, xvii. s. ; . . . also in money paid to John Paynter for makyng of a molde for the beggers' bages, and pewter and workemanship of the same to a pewterer, by the commaundement of Maister Maire, xliis. vd. ; also in money paid to Christofer White for makyng of lii. lettres in parchment sealed and delyvered to pore people, by the commaundement of the seid Maire, vis. viiid. ;

"Giftes gevyn and other necessarye expences."

. . . . "Also in money gevyn to the Quenes pleyars by the tyme of this accompt, by like commaundement of the seid Major, vis. viiid."

1556-7.—*"Paymentes of Money."*

. . . . "Also paid to John Peynter for the makyng of two papur sett abowte the soowthe seier standyng uppon the leades att the Highe Crosse, by the commaundement of Maister Major, vid.; also paid to Thomas Rastall for leadyng the horse abowte the citie wheruppon the seid soowthe seier rodde, and for a horse shoue for the same horse, by like commaundement of the seid Major, vd."

1557-8.—*"Paymentes of Money."*

. . . . "Also in money payed to William Mercer for the cariage of certeigne evyll women abowte the citie, by the comaundemente of Mr. Mayor in the tyme of this accompte, iis.; . . . also in like maner payed to John Woodward, oon of the Sheryffes, for caryenge Badger and Graunger, suspectes of treason for coynyng of golde, for caryenge of theym unto the seid Councell in the Merchez, xviis.;"

1558-9.—*"Paymentes of Money."*

. . . . "Also in money payed for a pitche barrell to set on the bekyn at Matston's Hyll in the tyme of this accompt, vid.; . . . also in money payed for caryage of the pytche barrell before wryten unto the said hyll and the setting up the same beacon, xvid.;"

1559-60.—*"Paymentes of Money."*

. . . . "Also in money payed for an hundred of bordenayles to make a scaffold in the Bothall for the Quenes Majesties players, viiid.; also paid to John Battye, carpinter, and his fellowe for the makinge of the seid scaffold, iiiid.; also payed by the tyme of thys accompte for byrche to make rodde to beate the Egypcyans naked abowte the citie, ob.; also payed to Thomas Whelar for his carte where at the seyde Egyptyans were tyed and so broughte aboute the citie and scourged, viiid.; . . . also payed to Thomas Whelar for his paynes takinge to dryve the skoldes carte abowte the citie wherin the tapster of the Beare in Glouceter and one Anne Pomfreye for whoredome dyd ryde, and one Rastell a capper in the tyme of this accompte, xd." . . .

"Giftes geven and other necessarye expences."

. . . . "Also paid at the commaundement of Mr. Mayer and other the Aldermen of the citie to the Quenes Majesties players playeng openly in the Bothall in the tyme of this accompte, xs.; also paide in money for a banket the same day by the said Maire and Alermen at the Taverne upon the saide plaiers, vs. viid.; also in money paide by the afor seide accomptauntes to the Lord Ambrose Dudleies players, by the commaundement of Mr. Mayre playeng openly in the Bothall in the tyme of this accompte, vis. viiid."

1561-2.—*"Gyftes geven and other necessarye expences."*

"Also the same accomptauntes aske allowaunce in moneye payed and geven in reward to the Quenes Majesties players this yeare, xs.; also bestowed and spent upon the same players at the taverne, iiiis.;"

also payed to Mr. Ingram for a pounce of candelles at the same playe, *iiid.*; . . . also in rewardes geven to the Erle of Warwicks players at Mr. Mayores commaundement in redye moneye, *xs.*; also payed for a bankett made to the seid players and for makynge of a scaffold in the Bothall, *iiis. iid. ob.*; . . . also geven in reward to the Lorde Roberte Dudleye his servauntes and players, by the commaundement of Mr. Mayor, in redy moneye, *xiiis. iiid.*; also spente upon the seid players at the taverne and for makynge of the scaffold in the Bothall, *iiis. viiid.*”

1563-4.—“*Paymentes of Money.*”

. . . . “Also paid by the commaundement of Mr. Mayor to one that brought golden sommes parchment from the Lord of Misrule of Hineham, *xiiid.*

“*Gyftes geven and other like necessarie expences.*”

. . . . “Also geven Stanweye the Quenes Jugler for shewing pastimes and other of his juglinge feates to Mr. Mayor and other of his bretherne this yeare, by the commaundement of Mr. Mayor, *xs.*; also geven to the Erle of Warwicks playoures, by the commaundement of Mr. Mayor this yeare, *xs.*; also upon the same playoures at the wine taverne, *iiis.*”

1564-5.—“*Paimentes of Money.*”

. . . . “Also paid for the makinge of the scaffold in the Bothall at the tyme that the Quenes Majesties players did playe there before Mr. Mayor and th’Aldermen, *iid.*”

“*Gyftes and Rewardes with necessarie expences.*”

“Also the same accomptauntes aske allowaunce of money paid and geven in reward to the Quenes Majesties playours, by the commaundement of Mr. Mayor, *xvis. viiid.*; also in money paid and geven in reward to the Lorde Stranges playours, by the like commaundement of Mr. Mayor, *xs.*”

1565-6.—“*Gyftes and rewardes with necessarye expences.*”

“Allso the same accomptauntes aske allowaunce of money paid and geven in rewardes to the Lorde Hundsdon’s plaiars, the makinge of the scaffold in the Bothall, and the drinkeinge, *xiiis.*; . . . allso geven to the Quenes plaiars playinge at the Bothall, by the commaundement of Mr. Major, *xiiis. iiid.*; allso for wine and chirries spente upon them at Mr. Swerdebearers, *iis. viiid.*”

1567-8.—“*Paymentes of Money.*”

. . . . “Alsoe paid to Battie for C. and iii. quarters of elme bourdes for a skaffold for playors to playe one, *viiis.*; alsoe paid to hime for a peece of tymber to sett under the bourdes, *iis.*; . . . alsoe paid for *xvii li.* of gone powdere, paper, and packtred (*sic*) ymployed and spente ate the northe gatte in the watche tyme one St. Peter’s Eve at nyghte, *xviiis.*

“*Gyftes and Rewardes with necessarie expences.*”

“Also the same accomptaunce aske allowaunce of money paid and geven in reward to the Erle of Worcester his players and their drinkeinge at Mr. Swordberer’s by the commaundement of Mr. Mayore,

xiiis. vid.; alsoe in money paid and geven to the Quenes Majesties players and their drinkinge, xv. iid." . . .

1569-70.—“*Giftes and Rewardes.*”

. . . . “Allsoe geven in rewarde to the Quenes plaiers, xiiis. iiid.; . . . allsoe geven in rewarde to th’Erle of Lecester’s players playing before Mr. Major, xiiis. iiid.; . . . allsoe geven to th’Erle of Suxsex plaiers playing before Mr. Major, xs.” . . .

1570-1.—“*Gyftes and Rewardes.*”

. . . . “Allsoe geven to the Earle of Worceter’s plaiers for playinge before Mr. Major and his bretherne, the vith of Februarie, xs.; alsoe spent upon them at the tavern the same time, iis.; . . . alsoe geven to th’Earle of Leysetor’s plaiers for playinge before Mr. Major and his bretherne, the xxxth of Aprill, by the commandement of Mr. Major, xiiis. iiid.; alsoe spent upon them at the tavern by the like commandement, iis. viiid.; alsoe geven in rewarde to the Quenes Majesties berward for baytinge of his bears before Mr. Major and his bretherne, the seconde of Maie, vis. viiid.; . . . alsoe geven to the Liffenant of the Tower his plaiers for playinge before Mr. Major and his bretherne, the xxth of September, xs.; alsoe spent upon them at the Swordeberer’s, by the commandement of Mr. Major, iis. vid.” . . .

1571-2.—“*Paimentes of Money.*”

. . . . “Allsoe paid to oulde Steephenes carpinter for mendinge of the carte and gonestole, vid.” . . .

1572-3.—“*Paymentes of Money.*”

. . . . “Allsoe paid to Merssare for hallinge Lewes Meredith and a woman aboute the citie and wassing them at the gurrie slipe, iis.; alsoe paid to olde Stevens for makinge the gomme stole and for timber for the same, iis. viiid.; alsoe paid to Richard Croftes for a chaine weyinge a hundred twentie twoe poundes at twoe pence the pounce, beinge commaunded by Maister Major to make the same for to hange over Severne to lett the carriege of corne, xxvs. vd.; . . . alsoe paid for twoe peaces of timber for to make a pounce for the Shriveffes to putt in the pigges that goethe aboute the citie, xvs.” . . .

1573-4.—“*Giftes and Rewardes.*”

“Alsoe the same accomptantes praie allowaunce of money gevene in giftes as followethe: firste, geven to the Quenes Majestie one cuppe double gilte welowethre thre score seventene ounces and thre quarters, at sixe shillings, tenne pence the ounce, xxvi. li. xis. iiid.; alsoe geven to Her Majestie in golde in the same cuppe, xl. li.; alsoe gevene to the Kinge of Heraldes, [blank]; alsoe geven to the Sergeauntes at Armes, xls.; alsoe geven to Her Majestie footemen, iii. li.; alsoe geven to Her Majesties tromppettors, ls.; alsoe geven to the Clarke of the Markett, xls.; alsoe geven to the yeomene of the bottelles, xxs.; alsoe geven to the ordenarie massingers of the Quenes chambere, xls.; alsoe geven to them that did kepe the Quenes Majesties sworde and the mace, xxs.; geven to the Quenes musitianes, xxs.; alsoe geven to Her Majesties porters, xs.; alsoe geven to Her Majesties couchemen, xxvis. viiid.; alsoe geven unto the blacke garde, xxs.; geven to Her Majesties bakers, vis.; alsoe geven to the waie maister, xs.; alsoe geven to the officers of the boylinge house, vs.; paid to the Marshall

for a proclamacion, xiiis. iiid.; paid for a copie of the same proclamacion, iis. vid.; given to the Marshall's man, vis. viiid.; given to the Clarke of the Marketts' man, vis. viiid.; alsoe given to the waytts that camme with the Quenes footemen to dinner to Maister Majors, vs.; alsoe given to My Lorde of Leycestor's trumpettors and musitians, vis. viiid.; alsoe given to the Lorde Treasurer one sugger loffe, weyinge fiftie (*sic*) ponde at sixtene pence the ponde, xxs.; alsoe given to him twoe gallons of secke and one gallande of clarrett wine, vis. viiid.; paid to him that broughte the redde dere which the Quenes Majestie sente, xs.; paid to the waytes of Shresburie for plaienge aboute the citie everie moreninge as longe as the Quenes Grace was here, xxvis. viiid.; alsoe given to one Emanuell, a straunger of London, for sighte of his bookes and his curteseie shewed, xs.; alsoe given to his manne, vid.—Summa: iiiixxii. li xiiis. viiid."

1574-5.—"*Giftes and Rewardes.*"

. . . "Allsoe given to the Lorde of Sussex plaiers, xiiis. iiid.; and more to them in wine and makinge a skaffolde, xviiis. viiid.; alsoe given to Maister Comptroller's players, iis. iiid.; alsoe given to the Quenes berrardes, iis.; . . . alsoe given to the Erle of Essex players by Mayster Major's commaundement, xiiis.; and more in wine to them bestowed, vs.; item given to the Lorde of Leycester's bearrarde, vis. viiid." . . .

1575-6.—"*Paimentes of Money.*"

. . . "Paied unto Jhon Batty for makinge a newe carte and for palinge in the sick folkes in Saint Mary parrish, xis. viiid." . . .

There is a single year's account for 1628-9, followed by a volume containing the accounts from 1635 to 1653; another containing those from 1653 to 1663; then a volume extending from 1673 to 1708; the next includes the accounts from 1746 to 1758; the next from 1769 to 1780, after which date the series is complete until 1834.

LEASE BOOKS.

These are books containing copies of leases and other deeds made to or by the Mayor and Burgesses. The first on the list was evidently commenced as a Red Book, but was subsequently adopted for the purpose of entering leases. It was commenced as a Red Book in 1518, but the first deed entered is dated 1540. The last deed is dated in 1571.

[Circa 1520.]*—"Le Serment que Borgeys fra en la vile de Gloucestr'.

"'Ceo oyez vous Maire, Bayliffs, Vic[omtes], Seneschaux, et altres bones gentz que si sont qe jee W. H. de ceo jour en avaunt serra feal et lial a nostre Seigneur le Roy, et a ces heires, et a la comune et a la franchise de la vile de Glouc', et loialment par mon poer meyntendra la dite franchise, et obeysaunt serra a les Meire, Vic[omtes], et Bailiffs que sont et serrount par mon temps en la dite ville, et a la Comune Counsail lelement conseleray, et selonc mon poer derray et rendray ovesque mes *3ildebrethers*; et nuls biens ne chateluz d'estraunges gentz ne coevera par ma franchise, par quey nostre Seigneur le Roy, ses heires, ces Baillifs ou Vic[omtes] de la vile de Glouc. serrount en

* This is the date of the MS. The oath probably dates from the thirteenth century.

ascunes choses deshe[r]ites par dauns ou damages; et qe jeo ne purchaser[a] nuls terres ne tenementz deins la fraunchise de la dite vile de Glouc' de Abbe, priour, ne de nul alter seigneur par quel purchase joe serray mys en servage pur faire sute al ascun altre Court hors de la dite vile, mes soulment a la Courtz nostre Seigneur le Roy en ceste place, ou as alters Courtz par auncient temps tenutz dedeyns la fraunchise de la dite ville; et bon et leuaux serray en toutz alter pointz qe apertinent a un loial Borgeys, si me aide Deu et les Seyntes.' Et adonques bassera le lyver." fo. 2.

There is a note in an Elizabethan hand "Vide 21 H. 8 in libro Nominorum Portemannorum pur le serement le Porteman, scilicet, fealty al Roy et de conceale, etc. . . . ; obedience al Major et Ball. et Vic.; to cover no straungers gos' [goodes?] par ses . . . ; to take no livery; to be a true Porteman."

1520, June 6.—" * Memorandum, that at a Comyn Counsell holden at Glouceter, the vith day of June, in the xiith yere of the reigne of Kyng Henry the viiith, it is enacted, ordeyned, and establisshed by th'assent of the hole Counsell of the seid towne, that all maner of bruars that shall hereafter brue eny ale or bere to sale shall sell a galon of the same ale or bere for *id.*, whiche galon shall hold fyve wyne quartes. And also they shall sylle xiii. galons therof for the dozen stondyng mesure metyn with a cowle sealed by the Meyre for the tyme, beyng Clerke of the Kynge's Merket there, or by his deputye, att an hole truly measured. And also the seid bruer shall ordeyne at his dore most necessary for the same cawse a stone upright levelled, and there to trye it byfore it passe his howse, so that the byars therof shall have there true mesure standyng; and if the bruer of the same do refuse this to do, he shall pay to the Shrevys of the seid towne for the tyme beyng for every such defawte proved forthwith xii^d. without eny delay. And ferther, it is enacted and ordeyned, that the typlar or sellar of ale shall lett sett att there howses a stone upright levelled, so that the bruar's men shall alweys sett there cowles sealed to trye truly there mesures, and if it lacke eny therof, then the byar shall forthwith take a quarte potte and trye what is lackyng byfore the berar's face of the same or ever that they departe owt of the howse, and that that shall so lacke, the bruars shall make hit up full mesure, or els to abate at there next payment after the rate, without eny ferther delay, apou peyne of forfetyng at every suche defawte xii^d. the oon half to the Shreffes of the seid towne for the tyme beyng, and the oder half to the Stywardes of the same towne for the tyme beyng, to the use and behoffe of the seid towne. And if there be any defawte found by the seid typlers in mesure of eny ale yn the berers therof through there negligences in bryngyng good mesure from there masters' howses, or by any oder defawte in there caryng or beryng of the same, then the seid berars to see eny suche typler so complaynyng for eny suche defawte to be recompenced and payd for the same. And if the seid tipler or alewyff do not complayne and showe the namys of the berars of the same ale so lakkyng forwith, or els stoppe her money at there next payment, or els to showe it to the Shreffes, so that they shall assiste her, in maner and fourme as is aforeseid, if the bruers therof wolnott allowe her, then she shall nott be allowed, in so much that she may have remedy forwith, and she do complayne accordyng to ryght and the good ordenaunce of the same acte. Also it is ferther enacted, that the seid typlers or alewyffes shall sell owte and forthe of there dorys

* These regulations are referred in the Council Book in 1522 as being "wretyn yn the xiiith folium of a new redde boke."

a wyne quarte pott full for a *quadr.* and a wyne potell pott full for a *ob.*; and that she shall so serve the comyns, bothe ryche and pore, while she have in her howse vi. galons of ale, apon peyn to forfeite for every defawte forthewith, when it is complayned and proved, *iiiiid.*, to be paid to the Shreffes of the seid towne for the tyme beyng. Also it is farther enacted, that the seid bruars shall brue ale att the price of *id. ob.* the galon or above at the requeste and pleasure of any worshipfull man or honest person, for there howsoldes oonly, but nott to be sold or typled by the cuppe or potte yn noe wyse; so that when eny suche men wyll have eny suche ale made, then they shall geve warnyng to the bruers ii. or iii. dayes byfore there shyftyng dayes. Also it is farther enacted, that what so ever maner of person or persons that shall brue eny ale or bere hereafter to sale shall nott retayle or sell it by cuppe or potte within there owne howses nor withowt, otherwyse than is aforeseid, apon peyn of vis. *viiiid.* for every suche defawlte, to be paid and leveyed to the Shreffes of the seid towne for the tyme beyng the oon halff, and the other halff to the Stywardes of the seid towne, to [the] use and behoffe of the seid towne; and for noon payment therof, hit shalbe lawfull for the seid Shreffes and Stywardes, or ii. of them, to distrayne any suche offender for the same. It is also farther enacted, that if eny man of worship or of any onest byhavyour of the seid towne shuld labur and entrete to have eny of the penalties, fynes, or forfeictours [forgiven] to them that disobey the seid ordenaunces, that then he or they shall forfeit to the use of the seid towne for every suche defawlte vis. *viiiid.* forthwith, to be paid as is aforeseid." fo. 13.

The next volume extends from 1595 to 1629; the third from 1646 to 1664; the fourth from 1664 to 1684; the fifth from 1686 to 1710; the sixth from 1711 to 1732; the seventh from 1732 to 1757; the eighth from 1791 to 1809, after which date three other volumes bring the series down to the present day.

LETTER BOOKS.

No. 1540.—A small folio volume bound in parchment covers. There is no title on the covers. The signatures to the letters from the Lords of the Council have been cleverly copied in fac-simile by the copyist of these letters.

1618–19, February 11. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL [to the Lord Lieutenant of Gloucestershire], directing him to cause a general muster to be held of all the forces both horse and foot in the County and City of Gloucester; p. 7.

1618–19, March 4. —.—LORD CHANDOS, Lord Lieutenant of Gloucestershire, to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses, forwarding copy of preceding and requiring them to act upon it; p. 9.

1618–19, March 15.—Certificate of the said muster; pp. 10, 11.

1620–1, February 28. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to the Lord Lieutenant, directing a general muster to be held; p. 12.

1620–1, March 12.—LORD CHANDOS [to the Mayor, etc.], enclosing copy of above; p. 13.

1622, March 31. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, concerning a voluntary contribution to the King for the recovering the possessions of his children in Germany; p. 14.

1622, May 31. Tickenhill.—LORD NORTHAMPTON to the Mayor of Gloucester, and the Deputy-Lieutenants of the City and County thereof, desiring them to assist in recovering the arrears due the muster-master of Gloucestershire, which office he has conferred upon his servant Grivell Gibbs, and to assist him in making a certificate of the defects of the Trained Bands; p. 15.

1622-23, February 17. Arundel House.—The EARL OF ARUNDEL AND SURREY [to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Council], relating to dispute as to precedence between those that have fined for Sheriffs, and those that have served for the same years; p. 1.

1623, April 2. Arundel House.—Same to the same, on the same subject; p. 3.

1623, April 2. Arundel House.—The same to the same, relating to another dispute as to precedence in the Council; p. 5.

[1624, April —.]—LORD NORTHAMPTON, Lord Lieutenant of Gloucestershire, to the Mayor and Recorder, enclosing copy of letter from the Lords of the Council directing a general muster to be held; p. 16.

1624, April 24. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to LORD NORTHAMPTON. Copy of letter above referred to; p. 17.

1624, June 4.—Certificate of the musters within the city and County of the City; pp. 21, 22.

1624, October 29. Royston.—The KING to LORD NORTHAMPTON. We are moved at the instance of our son-in-law and daughter to lend them the assistance of some number of men to be impressed in this Kingdom, and to be employed in the service of Count Mansfield for the recovery of the Palatinate; we therefore require you to impress 200 men within the county of Warwick, 400 in the county of Gloucester, and 150 in the county of Worcester, 200 in the county of Salop, and 150 in the county of Hereford. You are to observe the directions that you shall receive from the Privy Council in this behalf; p. 23.

1624, October 31. Whitehall.—Directions of the Privy Council for the pressing of the said soldiers; p. 24.

1624, November 3. Whitehall.—Warrant from the Council of War to the Collectors of the Subsidy in the County and City of Gloucester to deliver to the Lord Lieutenant so much money as shall be necessary for the press of the said 400 men, and for their conduct to the port of Dover; p. 27.

1624, November 8. Ludlow.—LORD NORTHAMPTON to [the Mayor, etc.]. Whereas I have received an especial command from His Majesty at my late attendance on him at Roiston to have an especial care for supplying all the defects of the "trayne men" within my command, and that an exact certificate thereof may be sent to the Lords of the Council, these are to require you to send me an account of the horse and foot and the defects thereof, what provision there is in the city of bullets, powder, matches, and the names of such as were in the last muster refractory to His Majesty; p. 19.

1624, November 8. Ludlow Castle.—LORD NORTHAMPTON [to the Mayor, &c.]. I send you herewith a copy of a letter from His Majesty (see above, October 29), and a copy of the directions of the Privy

Council (above, October 31); you are to see His Majesty's pleasure therein performed; p. 23.

1624, November 25. Gloucester.—[The Mayor, &c.] to LORD NORTHAMPTON, enclosing the returns required by his first letter of November 8; p. 19.

1624, November 30.—Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to [the Lord Lieutenant], requiring him to deliver the men levied in accordance with the preceding orders to the officers named in this letter; p. 29.

1624, November 30. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to Sergeant-Major GIBSON, requiring him to receive the man levied in Gloucestershire; p. 31.

1624, December —. Gloucester.—The Mayor, &c. to SIR WILLIAM SANDES, Knt., one of the Deputy-Lieutenants for Gloucestershire. We have prepared 40 men for this city and the county of the same, being a full tenth part of the 400 men now pressed for the Palatinate, which is more than we were formerly charged with; and we desire to know when the Captain will come to receive our men; p. 28.

1624, December 14. Tickenhill House.—NORTHAMPTON [to the Mayor, &c.], enclosing letter of the Lords of the Council of November 30; p. 30.

1624, December 15. Cirencester.—JOHN HUNGERFORD, HENRY POOLE, JOHN DUTTON, and W. HUNTLEY to the Mayor, &c. We have received your letter informing us that you have 40 men in readiness, which you think to be your full proportion. We expected more from you, but we will leave the disputation of that matter until some other time and will accept of your 40 men, who are to be ready by 8 o'clock on Wednesday morning next, when the Lieutenant to Sergeant-Major Gibson will receive them; p. 28.

1624, December 26.—Roll of the names of the men delivered to Anthony Marshall, Lieutenant to Sergeant-Major Gibson, from the City and County of the City; p. 33.

1624, December 26. Gloucester.—The Mayor, &c. to LORD NORTHAMPTON, enclosing duplicate of the above roll; p. 35.

1625, March 30. — Proclamation of Charles the First as King; p. 37.

1625, April 24.—The EARL OF BUCKINGHAM to all Mayors, Sheriffs, Justices, etc., requiring them to see that his servant Sackville Crowe, who is commanded upon His Majesty's special affairs to use post horses to Caermarthen, be furnished with two able horses and a guide immediately upon sight hereof; p. 39.

1625, May 5. Westminster.—The King to LORD NORTHAMPTON. Whereas we have decided to assist our brother and sister with 10,000 land soldiers, we do require you to impress 1,300 men within the counties under your Lieutenantancy; p. 41.

1625, May 6. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to LORD NORTHAMPTON, giving directions for the levying of the said soldiers; pp. 43-45.

1625, May 10. The Savoy.—NORTHAMPTON to the Deputy-Lieutenants of the County of Gloucester and County of the City, enclosing transcripts of the two preceding letters; p. 46.

1625, May 23.—Roll of the 30 men impressed in the City and County of Gloucester in accordance with the preceding ; p. 47.

1625, August 13. Woodstock.—The King to the EARL OF NORTHAMPTON, directing that the rules issued by the late King for the better organization of the trained bands may be strictly enforced ; p. 51.

1625, August 23. Southampton.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to LORD NORTHAMPTON. Instructions for levying the above force ; p. 55.

1625, August 24. Bewley.—The King to LORD NORTHAMPTON, requiring him to levy 400 men within the counties of his Lieutenancy for the reinforcement of the force at Plymouth ; p. 53.

1625, September 4. Ludlow Castle.—NORTHAMPTON to the Deputy-Lieutenants of the County of the City of Gloucester, enclosing copies of letters from the King and the Privy Council concerning a levy of men to be conducted to Plymouth, and desiring them to see the service performed according to the said letters ; p. 49.

1625, September 19.—Roll of the fifteen men raised in the City and County of the City in accordance with the preceding ; p. 57.

1625, October 18.—Certificate of the number of the Trained Band, both horse and foot, within the City and County of the City ; p. 59.

1625, December 28. Hampton Court.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to LORD NORTHAMPTON, directing him to send a return of the names of such persons in his Lieutenancy as are fit to contribute by way of loan any competent sum of money for supply of the King's pressing occasions ; p. 63.

1625, December 31. Hampton Court.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to LORD NORTHAMPTON, directing that the Trained Bands be kept up to their full number ; p. 61.

1625-6, January 12. Bewdley.—NORTHAMPTON [to the Mayor, &c.] enclosing copy of two preceding letters ; p. 65.

1625-6, January 20. Gloucester.—The Mayor, &c. to LORD NORTHAMPTON. "According to your Lordship's former lettres directed unto us, wee, with as much diligence and carefulnes as wee might, indeavored to performe the service required of us, and to that end taking into our consideracion the present condicion and state of this cittie and small county adjoyninge and comparing it with former tymes, wee find the same soe much impoverished that we cannott see how a contribution may be hence raysed in anie proporcion answerable to what hath benee formerlie done, which is the true cause that wee have hitherto forborne to answere your said honorable letters. The causes of this decaie wee conceive to be these ensuing : the great fall of trade generally in this cyttie by reason of the late greate and yet continueing plague, the excessive number of poore, cheefely occasioned by the decay of clothinge wherein this city and county have much suffered more than other parts, here being nowe not above two or three clothiers and those men of meane ability, whereas wee have heretofore hadd neare twenty men of good estates who have kept great numbers of poore on worke, besides the knightes and gentlemen that have landes within this county nowe, for the most part, residing in other places, by meanes whereoff they cannott be certified for this county. These reasons, together with the late subsidies yet in levying, the severall taxacions for setting forth of

soldiers, and the ensueing Parliament (wherin we nothing doubt but His Majesties demandes shall receave all possible satisfaccion), wee humbly offer to your Lordshipp's honorable consideracion as motives to induce your Lordshipp's noble favor in this behalffe, noe waie neglecting His Majesties and your honorable commaundes which we shalbe ever most ready to obey, but rather desiring to make knowne to your Lordshippe the disability of this cyttie and countie in excuse of our performance, which wee humbly pray may finde a favourable censure from your Lordshipp with such respect unto these parts of your Lieutenancye as may stand both with your Lordshipp's accustomed clemeneye and noble disposicion towards us. And even soe doe humbly take our leaves, and rest at your honour's further service ;" pp. 67, 68.

1626, May 21. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to LORD NORTHAMPTON, directing him to cause a general muster to be taken, and to see that all defects in the men, horses, arms, etc., be supplied, and that the beacons be well provided and duly kept in reparation ; p. 74.

1626, May 24. Westminster.—The King to LORD NORTHAMPTON. We hear with singular contentment of the good effect of the industry of those Low Country officers that were distributed by our appointment into the counties to instruct the Trained Bands in the best modern use of their arms and postures, and as we know that this service has been made so profitable by the care of the Lieutenants and their deputies and that it is very important to have these industries pursued for the settling of a perfect militia, our pleasure is that you write letters to the Lieutenants in the several counties to commend their judgment in discerning the use and benefit of this service and to thank them in our name for their zeal. Lest the benefit of this good beginning be lost, we desire you to recommend it to them as a thing which we have placed our own eye and expectation upon, and shall accordingly take notice both of the industries and neglect that shall be found, that they give order for continual exercises upon holidays and other convenient times appointed by the printed orders, and endeavour all in their power to bring the country to affect the exercise of arms, and to make that the subject of their entertainments and recreations at their time of liberty. Now that the foot companies are put into so hopeful a way of good training, there is no less care to be taken of the troops of horse, which have been exceedingly neglected and are necessary to be put in order; our Lieutenants are required to give order for completing the troops of horse in numbers, able men, good furniture, sufficient training, etc.; pp. 69–71.

1626, June 27. Savoy.—LORD NORTHAMPTON to the Deputy-Lieutenants of the city of Gloucester, enclosing copies of the two and preceding letters ; p. 76.

1626, July 10. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to LORD NORTHAMPTON, directing a view to be taken of the arms of the trained forces both horse and foot, the training of the whole force of each county, the officers and men to take the oath of supremacy, and forbidding any trained soldier to remove his dwelling. You are to endeavour to increase the number of the Trained Bands, especially the horse, and to take special care that the several preparations of powder, match, and lead be provided and put in magazine in each county according to the enclosed list, and to cause sufficient provision of carriage to be in readiness upon any sudden occasion for the conveyance of munitions, stores, &c., and to see that the beacons be forthwith

made up and repaired with provision of wood to be laid by for maintaining and renewing them, and to cause them to be diligently watched. You are to so proportion the forces of those counties that to every 1,000 soldiers you allot 100 pioneers, and to appoint a Provost-Marshal in each county, &c. ; pp. 77-80.

1626, July 21. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to LORD NORTHAMPTON, reducing the number of ships to be supplied by Bristol and the county from three to two ; p. 83.

1626, July 24. Savoy.—LORD NORTHAMPTON to the Deputy-Lieutenants of the City, enclosing transcript of the letter from the Lords of the Council of July 10 ; p. 81.

1626, July 25. Savoy.—LORD NORTHAMPTON [to the Deputy-Lieutenants of the city], enclosing copy of the letter from the Lords of the Council of July 21, and recommending them to confer with the people of Bristol ; p. 85.

1626-7, March 14. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to LORD NORTHAMPTON, directing musters to be held in Whitsun week ; p. 87.

1627, May 8. Whitehall.—The same to the EARL OF NORTHAMPTON, Lord President of the Marches of Wales. We commend your Lordship for acquainting us with the names of those who refuse to furnish those contributions which are fit towards the charge of the musters ; we desire you to cause an exact view to be made at the approaching musters and to give orders to bind over all such persons as shall so refuse to furnish their contribution to answer their contempt some day in the next term ; p. 89.

1627, May 12. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to the Commissioners for Loans of the City of Gloucester. As you have heretofore received notice from us of His Majesty's gracious acceptance of the pains you have taken in the business of the loans, so we must now let you know His Majesty's expectation to have this business finally and speedily effected that the public service, which depends thereupon, may not fail ; you are therefore to quicken and call upon those that are yet behind in their loans, and cause the collectors speedily to return their collections some time the next term, and to certify the names of those that refuse to lend or pay in that which they promised to lend ; p. 91.

1627, May 23. Bath.—LORD NORTHAMPTON to the Mayor and others, the Deputy-Lieutenants of the County of the City. As I have not yet heard of any musters in your county, I send you another copy of their Lordships' letter of March 14, desiring you to see the same duly executed ; p. 90.

1627, June 30. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to the Commissioners for Loans of the City of Gloucester. We have as yet no account of your proceedings in reference to our letter of May 8, and but little of the loans paid in the last term, which being past, we must let you know that His Majesty imputes the fault rather to you who were intrusted as Commissioners than to those that are to lend, who have showed good affections in paying and promising to pay, but there has been much slackness in the collecting of the money ; and these things are particularly observed that many of the Commissioners absent themselves from the sittings that others make about this business, and have not as yet paid in their loans ; secondly, that many of the lenders

who promised have not yet paid; thirdly, those to whom day was given as for a second payment, are neither called upon nor have yet paid in that second payment; fourthly, that many shift themselves from one county to another and escape lending; and, lastly, that the refugees, whom you are to bind over to appear before the board, are neither bound nor their answers certified: in all which causes you are to use all diligence and strictly to give us account of your proceedings before the 15 of July next. And as His Majesty will interpret well where he finds diligence to be used, so the neglect herein will be as offensive to him, the public occasions being so pressing, and all the money collected of these loans and much of his own treasure being wholly employed in the public occasions for the defence of the realm, succour of his allies, and maintenance of the cause of religion, which were the motives that forced His Majesty to this course. "And this further, wee must lett you knowe wee are not ignorant of that you are the care witnesses of, that such as have shewed good affection and beene forward in yeldinge to these loanes finde themselves agreeved that others whoe stande in contempte and refuse to lende fare better then those that are the lenders, which is an occasion of discontent to the lenders whoe have deserved thanks of His Majestie and are not soe to bee discourraged nor these refusers nor contemnners to goe free and unpunished: which causeth the quicker callinge upon you and stricter accompte from you then otherwise should have needed;" p. 92.

1627, July 28. Westminster.—The King to the EARL OF NORTHAMPTON. We find it necessary to make a levy of footmen in the counties under your Lieutenancy, to be well clothed and fitted for our service; these are to require you to cause those numbers of able footmen to be raised with all convenient expedition and clothed and fitted for our said service within those counties as are hereafter mentioned; Pembroke 50; Cardigan 50; Carmarthen 50; Brecknock 50; Radnor 50; Gloucestershire 200; Herefordshire 100; Salop 100; Warwickshire 100. You are to follow such further instructions herein as you shall receive from the Privy Council; p. 94.

1627, July 31. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to LORD NORTHAMPTON. Instructions for the said levy; p. 95.

1627, August 15. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to LORD NORTHAMPTON, requiring him to have the said soldiers at Plymouth by September 10; p. 98.

1627, August 16. Bristol.—LORD NORTHAMPTON [to the Deputy-Lieutenants of the County of the City], enclosing copies of the above letters of July 28 and 31; p. 97.

1627, August 23. Bristol.—LORD NORTHAMPTON [to the Deputy-Lieutenants of the County of the City], enclosing copy of above letter of August 15; p. 99.

1627, September 4.—Tripartite indented roll of the names of 20 men impressed out of the city and county of the city by virtue of the King's letters of July 28. The city supplied 12 men out the 20; p. 101.

1627, September 10. Gloucester.—[The COMMISSIONERS OF LOANS in the City of Gloucester] to the LORDS OF THE COUNCIL. We received your letters of the 23rd of August on the 29th of the same month; in answer whereof and of your former letters of the same month, may it please you to be advertized that whereas in our former certificate in

May last we gave a particular of the names of those that appeared and promised to lend and of those that did not appear. We have, upon your letters received in the beginning of last month, given new summons for the appearance of all that were behind with their monies and of all defaulters, and have dealt with those that appeared as earnestly as we might to pay in their monies, notifying to them the contents of your said letters and His Majesty's pressing occasions. With some of them we have prevailed, who have paid in their moneys, amounting to 45*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, as appears by the particulars herewith sent, which also give the names of such as are behind and the sums unpaid, and of such as pray allowance of Privy Seals, and of such as continue still defaulters, and have not appeared before us or having appeared, refuse to lend or give bond for their appearance before your Lordships, only one excepted whose bond we have herewith certified ; p. 100.

1627, September 14. Gloucester.—[The DEPUTY-LIEUTENANTS of the County of the City] to LORD NORTHAMPTON, enclosing above roll ; p. 102.

1627, September 29. Westminster.—The KING to LORD NORTHAMPTON. For the reinforcement of the army and the prosecution of the war, we require you to cause 200 able and serviceable men to be levied in the County of Gloucester, observing therein such instructions as you shall receive from the Privy Council ; p. 105.

1627, September 30. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to LORD NORTHAMPTON. Instructions for the above levy ; p. 106.

1627, October 20. Castle Ashby.—LORD NORTHAMPTON [to the Deputy-Commissioners of the County of the City of Gloucester], enclosing copy of the two preceding letters ; p. 108.

1627, November 2.—Tripartite roll of the names of 20 men impressed out of the County of the City in accordance with the above ; p. 109.

1627, December 17.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to the Deputy-Lieutenants of Gloucestershire, requiring them to receive and billet so many of the soldiers from Portsmouth as the Commissioners at that place shall appoint to be lodged in Gloucestershire ; p. 130.

1627-8, January 8.—The Deputy-Lieutenants of Gloucestershire to the LORDS OF THE COUNCIL. "We receaved your lettres of the 17th of December, the first of January ; and for that the lettres had beene opened and the County of Gloucester enterloined and another county stroke out, and that the number of the soldiers to be billeted upon us was left to the Commissioners at Portsmouth, who, wee conceive, do not knowe the weake estate of our countrey nor our burthen, we presumed on your Lordships' favour, [and] humbly desire your Lordshipes to take into your grave consideracions how great a charge is laid upon our poore contrey by the continuance of our trained bands of 3,000 foote and 200 horse, the furnishing and makeing good their defects, the entertaineing of the Sergeants sent by His Majesty for the disciplining of them in martiall discipline, the supply of our countrey magazen of powder, match, and bullett to be ready upon all occasions for His Majesties service, the sending forth of late 1,250 souldiers out of this small county wholly at our charges, of which wee have made certificate, but have not yet receaved a parte thereof, as formerly hath beene repayed unto us for our countreyes use ; the trade of clothing by reason of their slowe markets above, being the cheiffe supporter of our abilities to performe

this service, is much decayed, so that the numbers of spinners, weavers, and others depending upon the manufacture of cloth are like to bee cast on our countreyes charge to maintaine if cloth above bee not better taken of; alsoe the husbandman, the constant and diligent laborer for foode to breed the man and help in the services, is much discouraged by reason of our wett harvest, the ill-ripenning and inning of corne, whereby all our corne doth much fall in price, the gentlemen and yeomen who lett their farmes and grounds have them turned uppon them and thereby their rents are like to be much lessened, their meanes to live impaired and made lesse able to abide any further charge; againe, the losse of sheep this rotten yeare hath much decayed the stockers of grounds, whereby they are made ferefull to rent grounds longer at former rates; lastly, the distance of this place from Portsmouth, being, as we are informed, above sixe daies march, wilbe very inconvenient for His Majesties service, there being forwardes and back so many daies lost in march and pay; these motives we represent unto your noble consideracions, doe most humbly begg, in the behalfe of our poore contrey, that this burthen may not for this time be ymposed on us so unable to beare it for the consideracions before expressed, and most humbly crave your favorable construction therein, doe for this time most humbly take our leaves;" p. 131.

1627-8, January 10. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to LORD NORTHAMPTON, ordering the Trained Bands from the 13 Counties of his Lieutenancy to be mustered and sent to Shaftesbury by nine o'clock on the morning of April 21, there to be inspected and reported upon by some competent person to be appointed by the King; p. 115.

1627-8, January 14. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to LORD NORTHAMPTON. We find it requisite to have the whole regiment of Col. Spry brought together and billeted in the County of Gloucester; we therefore require you to give order to your Deputy-Lieutenants of the said county for the receiving and billeting in most convenient places in the county as well 240 men of the said regiment, whom we have directed to be brought thither from Dorset, as also some other part of the said regiment, whose numbers we do not certainly know, but conceive them to be about 100, who will be sent thither from the Commissioners at Portsmouth; p. 110.

1627-8, January 14.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to the Lord-Lieutenant requiring him to give order to his Deputy-Lieutenants for the billeting of 300 men of Col. Spry's regiment in the county of Gloucester; p. 133.

1627-8, January 19.—The same to the Deputy-Lieutenants. We have received your letter of the 8th, and are very sensible of those things whereof you do complain, but on the other side we find that the manifest dangers that are threatened to this state from foreign enemies do overbalance all that can be said at this present; and in regard that we wrote for the billeting of a less number of soldiers in that county than many other counties of as little ability are charged with, we doubt not but that in these times of imminent danger you will readily apply yourselves to the accomplishment of His Majesty's pleasure herein; p. 134.

1627-8, January 24. Ludlow Castle.—LORD NORTHAMPTON [to the Deputy-Lieutenants of the County of the City,] enclosing copy of the first letter of the Lords of the Council of January 14; p. 111.

1627-8, — (received February 1).—SIR W. SANDYS and SIR W. GUYSE to the Mayor of Gloucester and the rest of the Deputy-Lieutenants there. "We have received, by the direction of His Majesties most honorable Privy Counsell, 200 men to bee billyted in this county, and 140 more wee expect every day to bee sent. They came to Tedbury upon Sunday at night, where they have putt the towne to a great trowble and charge through their disorder. We have, according to your proportion of the 10th parte, sent you 16 men, understanding by Mr. Kynge you have 4 already. Wee desyre that, according to your proporcion, you will pay your parte to the towne of Tedbury towards the defrayeing of the charge they have beene at in the keeping of them till wee could meete to settle them; and like order wee will take with the rest of our county that they should contribute accordingly;" p. 112. The names of the 20 soldiers billeted in the city and county of the city are entered at p. 113.

1627-8, January 28. Ludlow Castle.—LORD NORTHAMPTON to the DEPUTY-LIEUTENANTS of the County of the City of Gloucester, enclosing copy of the letter of the Lords of the Council of January 10, and desiring them to put the same into execution and to have an exact account of the numbers of horse and foot, musketeers, pikes, the quantity of match, powder, shot, and other provisions, what repair the beacons are in, what carriages they have; p. 118.

1627-8, February 7. Muserden.—SIR W. SANDYS to the Mayor of Gloucester and the rest of the Deputy-Lieutenants of the County of the City. "It is true that there is come to Cirencester 300 souldiers and are there remayneing by my direccion till their Lordships' pleasure bee knowne; to which purposse I sent post speciall lettres to London to intimate to the Lords that wee conceive the Commissioners of Sussex have mistaken, for their Lordships' pleasure was by their last direccion that wee should receive but 200 and 40 from Dorset and 100 from Plymmouth, which wee have and shall provide for. And for the potentee brought to mee was for Glouc. and would goe to yow, I sent for the commaunder to dinner on Wednesday and made much of him, and told him as much as you could say in the behaulfe of your charter and jurisdiction, and in th'end perswaded him and tould him I would write my lettres and shewed him my lettres, which was to divert this number to another county and the commaunder to intimate as much by his lettre. Of all which I will acquaynt yow with heereafter, soe that I am in hope to doe our countrey some servyce, as I have done by my lettres to the Lords written at Mr. Alderman Jones house last sessions. Now, sir, I have given my word that yow wilbe content to contribute a tenth parte towards the discharging the charge laid out for the 300 souldiers by the poore towne of Cirencester in the interim, which I presume my selfe yow will pay when it is knowne upon a just accompt. And, sir, as yet yow have not your full number according to your stynt of those that are come upp, and I doubt not but their Lordships' lettres wilbe our sufficient warrant remayneing in the custody of our Lord Leivtenant, and soe with my due respect unto yow, I cease and remayne your most assured loving freind to bee commaunded;" p. 119.

1627-8, February 13.—THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL [to the Lord Lieutenant]. Whereas we understand from the Captains and officers billeted in that county that there are divers voluntaries that resort daily unto them desiring to serve His Majesty and be enrolled in their com-

panies, but that the country refuse to billet them, conceiving them to be above the number intended by the former order to be billeted there; we, well knowing how important it is that all the regiments should be filled up and kept entire, have thought good hereby to require you to give express orders to your Deputy-Lieutenants for the billeting, in like manner with those already in pay, of all such voluntaries as shall from time to time come in. "And whereas the souldiers complaine on the one side of being billeted in the houses of such poore and indigent persones as are not able to provide for him according to the entertainment allowed by His Majesty, and the Billetter on the other side complains of the disorders of the souldiers in not being content with the provision made for him according to His Majestyes said pay, but that he wilbee his owne carver of whatsoever he likes best and can lay his hand on, to the great damage and impoverishment of the country," we pray your Lordship to give express order to your Deputy-Lieutenants as well to cause the said soldiers to be billeted upon such householders as may be of competent ability to provide for them, as also to cause your Deputy-Lieutenants to take knowledge themselves and to make known to the Captains and officers and also to the Billetters that in case the soldier shall not content himself with such fit provision as shall be made him of meat, drink, and lodging, according to the pay allowed by His Majesty, that then the Billetters may complain to the Captains and officers, and, in case they neglect to punish or redress the same, then the said Billetters may complain of such Captains and officers to your Deputy-Lieutenants, who are hereby required to give speedy information thereof to the Duke of Buckingham, General of the Army; p. 135.

1627-8, February 16. Painswick.—SIR WILLIAM SANDYS and SIR WILL. GUYSE to the LORDS OF THE COUNCIL. In accordance with your letters of January 14 we have taken order for billeting the soldiers sent to us from Dorset and are ready to receive the number being, as your Lordships think, about 100 from Plymouth. Now upon the 5th of this present February there was sent about 300 more by the Commissioners of Sussex by Sergeant-Major Buck for whom we have had no direction, but do conceive it some mistake by the Commissioners of Sussex, so that they remain at Cirencester, a poor town; of which we presume to certify you that you would be pleased to remand the said 300 soldiers of Col. Sprye's regiment to some county where there is none, for the cause we offered to you in our letters of the 8th of January, and for that we have no warrant from you for the billeting of them nor for levying for their charge. We desire that there may be a commission for execution of martial law upon the unruly soldiers as in other counties; p. 136.

1627-8, February 16. Muserden.—SIR WILLIAM SANDYS to LORD CONWEY, one of the Lords of the Council, asking his assistance to get the 300 soldiers from Sussex sent to some other county, "for they stand the poore towne of Cirencester in above 7 *li.* a day, which towne, as I am credibly informed, hath 1,200 poore people that need reliefe, and till some lettre of order or direction come from your Honors they can hardly support the burthen." I desire that, by your assistance, speedy directions may be procured "and that your Lordships would be pleased to adde what shalbe done with their armour, which breeds a terror in our country;" p. 137.

1627-8, February 22. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to the Deputy-Lieutenants of the County of Gloucester. Whereas we understand from some of you that the 300 soldiers lately sent to that county under the command of Sergeant-Major Buck have been ever since their

coming thither quartered in and about Cirencester, but in a confused and disordered manner, because they came, as you allege, without a commission and direction from this Board, which we much marvel at, remembering that we gave orders for letters to be sent to you for receiving and billeting them; and we do now authorize and require you to cause them to be forthwith removed from Cirencester and to be billeted in the division of Berkley, Keptsgate, and the Forrest Division in convenient places, and that the charge thereof, at the rate of 3s. 6d. a man weekly, be born for the present by the County, to be indifferently levied, repayment whereof shall be made out of the Exchequer upon a just account to be made by you and presented to them. You are to return to this Board certificates of those that refuse to billet any of the said soldiers or to pay their assessment for this purpose; p. 121. Another copy of this is given at p. 138.

1627-8, February 25.—SIR WILLIAM SANDYS and SIR WILLIAM GUYSE, Commissioners for the ordering and billeting of the soldiers and officers quartered in Gloucestershire, to Sergeant-Major Buck, commanding him to remove the aforesaid soldiers from Cirencester to various places in the County; p. 122.

1627-8, February 26.—List of the 20 soldiers billeted, in accordance with the above, in Gloucester; p. 123.

1627-8, February. — Note of the proceedings in Gloucester with regard to the billeting of Sergeant-Major Buck's men; p. 126.

1627-8, February 26. Muserden.—SIR WILLIAM SANDYS to the Mayor and his brethren, regarding the billeting of 31 of the above soldiers in Gloucester; p. 124.

1627-8, February 26. Prinkneshe.—SIR JOHN BRYDGEMAN, [Recorder of Gloucester,] to SIR THOMAS COVENTRY, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, desiring his assistance on behalf of the Mayor and Burgesses concerning the billeting of soldiers; p. 129.

1627-8, February 27. Gloucester.—The MAYOR, &c. to the LORDS OF THE COUNCIL. "Whereas there are divers companies of souldiers sent to bee billeted in the Com. of Glouc. without any mencion made of the Com. of the City; of which number we the Mayor and Deputy-Leivetenants of this city and County of the City are willing to receive and billett a tenth parte, though, indeed, this small county amounts not to above a xvith parte of the whole shire of Glouc., and have according to that proporcion alredy billeted a tenth parte of those that were formerly sent hither out of Dorsetshire; and now of late the regiment of Colonell Spry, being about 300 men comming by your Lordship's order unto Cirencester, we have made offer to receive the like proporcion of them, which will not bee accepted by the commaunders of the said company, who endeavour to bring a greater number to this city and to lay a heavier burthen upon us then ever heeretofore wee have beene charged with; which the inhabitants of this poore city and county will hardly be drawne to contribute unto, and wee have not auctority to levy elsewhere. Wee have therefore thought fitt heereby to become humble suytors to your Lordships that wee may not bee further charged with them then our former proporcion amounts unto, which wee shalbe ready to receive according to your Lordship's command;" p. 127.

1627-8, February 27. Gloucester.—The same to the BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS, craving his assistance in the above matter; p. 128.

1627-8, March 1.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to the Deputy-Lieutenants of Hereford, ordering them to receive and billet 300 of the soldiers now billeted in Gloucestershire; p. 139.

Same Date.—Same [to the Deputy-Lieutenants of Gloucestershire]. Whereas the 600 soldiers billeted in that county are a greater burthen than it can well bear, we have thought good to remove 300 of them into the county of Hereford; you are therefore to take order for sending them away and furnishing them with money for their march; p. 140.

1627-8, March 6. Gloucester.—RICHARD TRACY and SIR WILLIAM GUYSE to Captn. Ferrers, stating that they have received orders to remove the portion of Col. Sprie's regiment from Gloucester to Herefordshire, and commanding him to march with the said men on Saturday next to Rosse, in the County of Hereford; p. 125.

1627-8, March 10. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to the Deputy-Lieutenants of Gloucestershire. Since we gave orders for the removing of 300 men of Col. Sprie's regiment into Herefordshire, we have learnt from the Mayor and Deputy-Lieutenants of the City of Gloucester that they have been charged with the billeting of more soldiers than their proportion; we therefore direct that they are not to be charged with above a tenth part of any soldiers that may come to that county; p. 141.

1627-8, March 11.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to LORD NORTHAMPTON. Notwithstanding our letters of Feby. 13, we now give instructions that no more voluntaries are to be entertained; p. 142.

1627-8, March 13. Whitehall.—The same to the same, postponing the musters at Shaftesbury ordered, on January 10, from April 21 to June 11; p. 143.

1627-8, March 20. Savoy.—LORD NORTHAMPTON to the Mayor and Deputy-Lieutenants of the city, enclosing copy of preceding; p. 144.

1628, April 19. Westminster.—The King to LORD NORTHAMPTON, thanking him for his care about the billeting of soldiers in the counties of his Lieutenancy, and desiring him to continue the same diligence until such time as the forces can be removed; p. 145.

1628, April 24. Savoy.—LORD NORTHAMPTON to the Mayor and Deputy-Lieutenants, enclosing copy of the preceding, and stating his satisfaction in hearing "of no great insolencies or disorders committed by the billeted souldiers in those partes, wishing it may so continue;" p. 146.

1628, April 28. Gloucester.—The Mayor and Deputy-Lieutenants to LORD NORTHAMPTON, enclosing certificate of those who have made default in providing horsemen at the muster; p. 147.

1628, June 12. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to LORD NORTHAMPTON. Notwithstanding His Majesties former letters and directions to the counties of Hereford, Gloucester, Warwick, and Worcester, assuring them that he was resolved to hasten the removing of the soldiers therein billeted and that all money disbursed for their billeting and pay should be fully repaid, we are given to understand "that of late in some parte of the said counties where souldiers are billeted the inhabitants, either out of some diffidence of His Majesties royll promise, or by the example and encouragment of some persons

ill affected to His Majesties service, or out of sinister and false apprehensions of some misunderstandings betweene His Majesty and his Parliament," have refused to billet the said soldiers any longer; His Majesty is graciously pleased for the present to pass by their contempt without censure or punishment, willing them to know that, he and his Parliament being now happily accorded and agreed, it is well known to all men that he shall be instantly supplied with means to repay them their arrears due; we therefore require your Lordship to give directions that the said soldiers be there continued and provided for until such time as, the first subsidies being come in, His Majesty may be enabled to remove and dispose of them, which His Majesty is as anxious to do as they are, "the rather for that the souldier being generally in great want of cloathes (for the provideing whereof order is already given), cannot with decency and honour to the State be putt upon the March before he be clothed;" p. 149.

1628, June 15. The Savoy.—LORD NORTHAMPTON to the Commissioners of the City of Gloucester, enclosing copy of the preceding, and undertaking to procure repayment of whatsoever money they have disbursed in billeting the soldiers, and telling them therefore not to fear to procure money for the present payments; p. 151.

1628, January [August?] 15. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to LORD NORTHAMPTON, ordering the accounts of the Counties in his Lieutenancy to be carefully taken so that they may be paid; p. 152.

1628, August 26. Bristol.—LORD NORTHAMPTON [to the Deputy-Lieutenants of the City], enclosing copy of the above; p. 154.

[1628, August or September.]—The Mayor and other Deputy-Lieutenants of the County of the City to the LORDS OF THE COUNCIL, enclosing accounts of the cost of billeting, and requesting that steps may be taken "for the payment of the poore billiters, who are daylye and importunate suyters unto us in that behaulfe." We have also disbursed during the last three years 233*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.* in levyng and dispatching soldiers from this city and county; p. 155. The accounts of the billeting follow, the total of which is 106*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.*, "of which somme wee have levied of the inhabitants of this cittie and countie, as many of them as we could by any meanes draw to contribute, the somme of thirtie-five pounds." The residue, 71*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.*, is yet unpaid to the billeters and others employed in this service; pp. 156, 158.

1628, September 21. Windsor Castle.—The KING to LORD NORTHAMPTON, directing a general muster to be taken of all the Trained Bands of the counties of his Lieutenancy this summer, and requiring a strict inquiry into all defects, &c.; p. 160.

1628, October 26. The Savoy. (Received at Gloucester, Nov. 15.)—LORD NORTHAMPTON [to the Deputy-Lieutenants of the County of the City], enclosing transcript of the preceding letter, "which came very lately to my hands, though long since dated;" p. 159.

1630-1, January 31. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to the Mayor and Justices of the city, sending down printed books of instructions for the relieving of impotent poor, setting to work those that are able, and punishing the idle; pp. 163, 165.

1631, June 8.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to Capt. ROGER POWELL. Licence for raising a company of 150 voluntaries in the Counties of

Gloucester, Hereford, Monmouth, Brecknock, Glamorgan, Carmarthen, Radnor, Montgomery, and Salop, to form part of the 6,000 English volunteers to be raised by the Marquis of Hamilton to be employed in the service of the King of Sweden; p. 168. A similar licence of the same date for Capt. Wroughton, of Sir Jacob Astley's regiment, to raise 150 volunteers in Middlesex, Gloucester, Wilts, Oxford, Stafford, and London and Westminster; p. 169.

1631, June 8.—Licence for Capt. Francis Tirwitt, of Col. Hamilton's regiment, to raise 150 volunteers for the above purpose in the Counties of Lincoln, Hertford, Gloucester, and Middlesex; p. 171. Like licence for Capt. Archibald Douglas, of Sir James Ramsey's regiment, to raise 150 volunteers in the Counties of Surrey, Middlesex, and Gloucester; p. 172.

1631, June 16. Gloucester.—The Mayor and Justices to the LORDS OF THE COUNCIL, reporting their proceedings in respect to their letter of January 31, and enclosing copy of orders framed by them; pp. 166–7.

1631, June 18.—List of 13 soldiers from Gloucestershire enlisted by Capt. Wroughton for the service of the King of Sweden; p. 170.

1631, June 20.—Names of 16 soldiers enlisted by Capt. Wroughton; p. 174.

1631, July 29.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to LORD NORTHAMPTON, giving orders to bind over any persons refusing to pay their contribution towards the Muster-Master's fee to appear before the Council; p. 180.

1631–2, January 1. Moscow.—Letters of the EMPEROR OF RUSSIA for Sir Alexander Lesly, Chief Commander of his armies, to raise troops for his service; p. 184.

1632, April 30. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to LORD NORTHAMPTON, directing a general muster to be held, and that the instructions of April 30, 1629, be obeyed; p. 177.

1632, May 13. Compton.—LORD NORTHAMPTON [to the Deputy-Lieutenants of the County of the City], enclosing copies of letters from the Council enjoining a general muster; p. 176.

1632, May 25. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL. Whereas the King has given licence to Sir Alexander Lesley to levy and transport 2,000 English volunteers to be employed in the service of the [Emperor] of all Russia and Great Duke of Muscovia; we give warrant to Capt. Henry Crew to raise 200 volunteers for the above purpose within this Kingdom; p. 182.

1632, May 30. The Savoy.—LORD NORTHAMPTON [to the Deputy-Lieutenants of the County of the City]. I understand from Capt. Slaughter that many of your country have refused to pay those small sums they were heretofore rated at for the payment of the Muster-Master's fee, which ill example may cause others to withdraw their contributions; I therefore enclose a copy of the Council's letter of July 29, 1631, desiring you to observe the same; p. 179.

1633, March 31. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to the LORD LIEUTENANT, directing a general muster; p. 187.

1633, April 23. Salisbury's Court, London.—LORD NORTHAMPTON [to the Deputy-Lieutenants of the County of the City], enclosing copy

of preceding; p. 188. Copy of the Council's instructions dated April 30, 1629, for musters; p. 189.

1634, March 31. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to LORD NORTHAMPTON, ordering a general muster; p. 194.

1634, April 13. Compton.—LORD NORTHAMPTON to the Deputy-Lieutenants of the County and the County of the City, enclosing above letter; p. 193.

1634, July 15. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to the Mayor of Gloucester and other Commissioners for collecting contributions for the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral, desiring an account of their proceedings, as they have had the matter in hand a long time, and no account of the contributions has yet been received; p. 195.

1634, October —.—The MAYOR OF GLOUCESTER to the LORDS OF THE COUNCIL. As the first Commission for the collection for the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral was directed only to the Mayor and Sheriffs, and none other in particular, we found the inhabitants so negligent in appearing and so backward in giving that little could be effected, and we therefore prayed for a new commission to the Alderman likewise; which being granted, we have endeavoured to execute the same, and by our best persuasions to stir them up to a liberal and free contribution; for which purpose we have called before us such persons as we conceived to be in any way able to contribute towards the said work, and dealt with them particularly man by man, and such as did not appear at the first or second summons, we made forth new warrants for until they did appear; by reason whereof we have spent very many days in the service, the success whereof has been such that as well the Mayor, Aldermen, and Council as many others of the inhabitants have contributed to the value of a whole subsidy, and those in the county to the value of a half subsidy. The sum collected, amounting to 129*l.* 2*s.* 0*d.*, we have returned into the chamber of the city of London. But we have not found any willing to give any annual contribution, or more than the sums appearing against their names, and those with much difficulty drawn from some. The collections made by the Church-wardens of the several parishes of all such as by reason of age or other impediment could not appear before us are very small, amounting in the whole to 21*s.* 11*d.*; p. 199.

1634, October 31. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to LORD NORTHAMPTON, complaining of the neglect of the Deputy-Lieutenants to return certificates of the musters; p. 198.

1634, December 2. —.—LORD NORTHAMPTON to the Deputy-Lieutenants of Gloucester, requiring a certificate and muster-roll of the Trained Bands; p. 197.

1635, April 10.—Number of trained forces, horse and foot, in the county of Gloucester, and the names of their captains; p. 201.

1635, April 27. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to LORD NORTHAMPTON, directing a general muster to be held; p. 204.

1635, May 4. Compton.—LORD NORTHAMPTON to the Deputy-Lieutenants of Gloucestershire, enclosing copy of above letter; p. 203.

[1635, May —.]—The MAYOR and DEPUTY-LIEUTENANTS of the County of the City to LORD NORTHAMPTON, reporting their proceedings in regard to the above, enclosing a return of the names of all the able

men between the ages of 16 and 60 within the City and County of the City, amounting to 980 in the City, and 1,379 in the County of the City, and muster-roll of the 300 trained soldiers and their arms, &c.; pp. 206, 207.

[1635.]—Petition of Sir Wm. Sandys, on behalf of the Counties of Worcester and Gloucester to the Privy Council, praying that the watch that was maintained all last summer at the beacons may be discontinued; p. 209.

1635, November 30. Star Chamber.—Order of the Privy Council for the discontinuance of the watches at such beacons as were kept by virtue of their letters of April 22, the watches that had been usually kept before then to be still maintained; p. 209.

1635–6, February 10. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to the Admirals, etc., Mayors, etc., in the Cities of Bristol and Gloucester and Counties of Somerset and Gloucester. Order to impress 250 seamen for the fleet; p. 211.

1636, May 18. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to LORD NORTHAMPTON, directing a general muster to be taken; p. 217.

1636, May 27. Whitehall.—The same to the same, directing him to take order to complete the number of horse in the County of Gloucester and to see that their arms be serviceable; p. 218.

1636, July 19. Castle Ashby.—LORD NORTHAMPTON to the Mayor and Deputy-Lieutenants of the County of the City, enclosing copies of the above two letters, which he would have sent earlier had not “the feare of the encrease of this contagion made me conceive it unfit as yett to have such publike meetings;” p. 219.

1636–7, February 3. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to [the Mayor and Aldermen]. For redressing the grievances caused by the excessive numbers of maltsters, His Majesty is resolved to lessen their number and to reduce them under government by incorporating in every county some able and meet persons for that trade, such as shall be allowed of, and to restrain and suppress the others; we therefore enclose directions to that effect; p. 221.

1636–7, February 28. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to Admirals, Mayors, Sheriffs, Justices, &c., in the Counties of Somerset and Gloucester and in the cities and corporate towns thereof, directing them to impress 200 mariners in Somerset and 100 in Gloucestershire; p. 222.

1636–7, March 1.—Commission to William Bates and Gerald Dalbie to press mariners in the Counties of Somerset and Gloucester; p. 224.

1636–7, March 24. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to LORD NORTHAMPTON, directing a general muster; p. 228.

1637, April 6.—Names of 15 seamen pressed at Gloucester by Gerald Dalbie; p. 226.

1637, May 1.—LORD NORTHAMPTON to the Deputy-Lieutenants of the County of the City, enclosing copy of letter from COUNCIL of March 24; p. 229.

1637, August 17. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to [LORD NORTHAMPTON], directing him to take order that the magazines of

the counties in his Lieutenancy be kept well stored with gunpowder ; p. 227.

1633, June 30. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to LORD NORTHAMPTON, directing the musters to be held. "We have not this yeare written unto you so yearly as we were accustomed, the true cause thereof being the feare of spreading the infection by these or the like assemblies of people together, which danger is now—thankes be to God!—abated ;" p. 233.

1638, September 5. Compton.—LORD NORTHAMPTON to the Mayor and the other Deputy-Lieutenants of the County of the City, enclosing copy of above, "which I had sooner sent but that I heard your citty was sore visited with the sicknes, which I feare is not yet altogether free." If the city is free from the sickness, I desire you to take order for holding the said muster ; p. 233.

1638, September 16. Hampton Court.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to the Justices of the Peace of Gloucestershire. The City of Gloucester being much visited with plague and charged with very many poor people, some of you were, as we are informed, importuned by the Mayor in December last to assist that city with relief for the infected persons, and you did not then relieve them to the extent you are authorized by Statute to do ; we hereby charge you not only to give speedy order for the relieving of the poor and infected persons of that city with a weekly contribution, answerable to their numbers and expectations, upon the county within 5 miles of the city, and to continue the said contribution so long as the said contagion lasts ; p. 231.

1638, November 18. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to LORD NORTHAMPTON, directing a muster of the trained forces in the counties of Worcester and Gloucester ; p. 237.

1638, December 14. Crosby House.—LORD NORTHAMPTON [to the Deputy-Lieutenants of the County of the City], enclosing copy of the above ; p. 236.

1638, December 16.—Order of the Privy Council for making complete and increasing the number of horse in the various counties ; p. 238.

[1638, December.]—LORD NORTHAMPTON to the Deputy-Lieutenants of the City of the County, enclosing copy of above order ; p. 239. Two other letters, dated Feb. 23, 1638–9, and March 5, 1638–9, relating to the muster, are also given.

1638–9, February 8.—Names of the gentlemen that are owners of the light horse viewed by the Deputy-Lieutenants ; p. 250.

1638–9, February 18. Westminster.—The KING to LORD NORTHAMPTON. We have resolved to repair to the northern parts of this Kingdom for the suppression of the insurrection in Scotland ; we require you to send to us at York out of the Trained Bands of Gloucestershire 1,000 men and of Warwickshire 300, and 100 horse from Gloucestershire and 80 from Warwickshire ; pp. 240–243.

1638–9, March 11.—List of the gentlemen charged with light horse within the city and county of the city ; p. 249.

1638–9, March 25 (*sic*). Crosby House ("r[ecieved] 24 March, 1638[–9], late at night").—LORD NORTHAMPTON to the Mayor and Deputy-Lieutenants of the County of the City, enclosing copy of order for levying 260 footmen ; p. 243.

1638-9, March 15. Whitehall.—The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to LORD NORTHAMPTON. Instructions for levying the above footmen; p. 245.

1638-9, March 18. Westminster.—The KING to the EARL OF NORTHAMPTON, directing him to levy 260 men in Gloucestershire to join the army against the rebels; p. 247.

1639, April 5.—Names of the twenty-six men impressed from the City and County of the City, in accordance with the King's letters of March 18, delivered to Richard Beard, gent., chosen by the Deputy-Lieutenants of the County of the City to conduct the said men from Gloucester to the town of Selby on the Owse near York; p. 252.

1639, April 17.—Receipt by Sir William Bronncker, Commissary-General of the Musters, for the said 26 men delivered by Beard to Capt. Robert Kirby, captain of a foot company of the Earl of Essex's regiment; p. 254. Account of disbursements for the setting forth of the same men, amounting to 56*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.*; p. 254.

1642.—Names of 31 Gloucestershire men who voluntarily enlisted for service in Ireland with Capt. Arthur Roberts, of Sir John Pawlett's regiment, and who have run away from the said service, who are to be caused to repair forthwith to their rendezvous at Minhead, co. Somerset; p. 256.

(LETTER BOOK.)

No. 1541.—A small folio book bound in parchment, entitled "A Booke for entering of letters sent from the Lords of the Councell and Lord Livetenant, beginning *anno Domini* 1639." On the first page is written: "Scripta per Edvardum Wheeler quaecunque sequu[ntur]," and below: "Fallitur Edvardus Wheeler, non cuncta per illum hoc quae sectantur codice scripta manent, Thomas Pearce." As the Deputy-Lieutenants of the County of the City were the Aldermen of the city, it is doubtful in some cases whether letters are signed by them as Aldermen or as Deputy-Lieutenants.

1640, March 30. Olney Park.—The EARL OF NORTHAMPTON, Lord Lieut. of the Counties of Gloucester and Warwick, to his "very loving friends Mr. Mayor and the rest of the Deputy-Livetenants of the City of Gloucester and County of the same," sending them a copy of the King's letter for the levying of 1,500 men out of the Trained Bands for the defence of the Kingdom, and a copy of the instructions sent therewith from the Lords of the Council, and copy of letter from the Council "whereby wee are required to provide fifty stronge and able carthorses for the traine of artillerye and seventeene carters to be ready att Newcastle upon Tyne the xvth day of June next;" all which service "soe farre forth as in proporcion it concernes your city" the said Mayor, etc., are to see effectually performed; p. 5.

1639-40, March 17. Westminster.—The King's letter above referred to; p. 6.

1640, March 26. Whitehall.—The instructions from the Lords of the Council regarding the said levy of 500 footmen from Warwickshire and 1,500 from Gloucestershire, and a letter of the same date from the Council instructing Lord Northampton to raise 60 strong and able horses and 20 able carters from Warwickshire and 50 horses and 17

carters from Gloucestershire for the train of artillery, to be at Newcastle-on-Tyne by June 15; pp. 7-11.

1640, May 5. Crosby House.—The EARL OF NORTHAMPTON to the Mayor and other Deputy-Lieutenants in Gloucester, enclosing transcript of letter from the Lords of the Council postponing the assembly of the levies from May 10 to June 1; p. 12.

1640, May 3. Whitehall.—The said letter from the Council; p. 13.

1640, May 24. Crosby House.—NORTHAMPTON to the Mayor, etc., enclosing letter from the Council postponing the assembly from June 1 to July 1; p. 14.

1640, May 23. Whitehall.—The said letter from the Council; p. 14.

1640, May 27. Whitehall.—Letter from the Council directing a general muster of the Trained Bands to be taken during the summer, since "it importeth very much His Majesties service and the safety and defence of the realme in this tyme of accion to have the Trained Bands well disciplined and in readines upon all occasions;" p. 26.

1640, May 29. Crosby House.—NORTHAMPTON to Mayor, etc., enclosing copy of letter from the Council appointing the horses and carters for the artillery train to be at Newcastle by the 15th July instead of 15th June; p. 15.

1640, May 27. Whitehall.—The Council's letter here referred to; p. 15.

1640, June 2. Crosby Hall.—NORTHAMPTON to the Mayor, etc., enclosing letter from the Council giving directions for the soldiers to be assembled so soon as they are raised, notwithstanding the late directions that they should not assemble at the general rendezvous of the county until July 1. The Lord General will send down officers to take command of them and march with them to the north so soon as he is advertized that they are ready; p. 16.

1640, May 31. Whitehall.—Copy of the Council's letter to this effect; p. 17.

1640, June 16. Gloucester.—The Mayor and his brethren to the EARL OF NORTHAMPTON. "According to His Majesties commaunds in his grations lettres to your Lordshipp of the seaventeen of March last and the directions of the Lords of His Majesties most honorable Privy Counsell sent unto us by your Lordshipp, wee did forthwith call before us the trayned bands of this city and county, and prest and listed one hundred and fifty able men for the present employment, which were divers dayes trayned and exercised untill, by later lettres of the said Right Hon^{ble} Lords, signified unto us likewise by your Lordship, wee were directed not to bringe them to the generall rendezvous till the first of July next, but to have them in a redines without exercise till the second or third of the same moneth; whereupon wee forbore to have them further exercised, but charged them to bee in a redines agaynst the said first of July. And, whereas by your Lordships' later letters of the second of this moneth, you desire to know whether they bee ready and when they wilbe brought to the generall rendezvous; wee pray your Lordshipp to bee informed that the men, wee hope, wilbe all redy, but wee cannot as yet leavy the moneyes asseased for this service, for want whereof wee shall not bee able to sett them forth and send cart horses as is required.

And therefore wee have thought fitt, according to the directions of the said Honnurable Lords in their letters of the last of May, to certifie unto your Lordshipp the names of some of the cheefe of those that neglect, though often demanded, to pay towards the setting forth of them; which your Lordshipp may please to present to the said ^{Hoble} Lords that such further course may bee taken therein as to their Lordships shall seme fitt. And we further pray your Lordshipp's directions by this messenger, whome wee have sent of purpose to attend your Lordshipp, what course wee shall take if any of the said prest men should fayle to appeare at the day appointed. The soldiers that are to goe out of this city and smale county are very many and the charge great, which if, by your Lordshipp's mediation, wee might bee in parte eased of and the number abated to one hundred, wee shall account as a great favour." Signed by James Powell, Mayor, Anthony Robinson, Will. Singleton, and Will. Caple, [Aldermen]; p. 18.

1640, June 19. Crosby House.—The EARL OF NORTHAMPTON to the Mayor, etc. "I have received your lettres of the 16 of this presente June, and give yee thanks for the care yee have had of the service that was comanded us from His Majestie, which I desire yee still to continue, that those soldiers of your city and county may bee ready to march with those of the county the second of July, for I much desire to have the Countye discharged of them altogether. And for your furtherance herein, I will this day deliver the list unto the Counsell Board, and I do[u]bte not but that the Lords will forthwith send a messenger for those that refuse to pay eyther to submitt unto yee, or els to bee brough[t] up to answere theyr contempte before the Board. And whereas yee desire directions what course shalbee taken yf any of the prest men fayle of theyr appearance, I conceive the best course will bee to call over the lyst two or three dayes before they are to march to the generall randevous, and yf yee finde any that absente themselves, to grante warrants to the connstables of those places from whence they are runne away to bringe in supplies; and yf any of them that have absented themselves can bee found, they are to bee punished according to the lawe in that case. Concerning the motion in the close of your lettre, I should bee very willinge to doe mine indeavor to have it effected, but that I know it's too late to have it graunted, in regard the soldiers are listed for the number and settled under comandars;" p. 19.

1640, July 3.—Copy of tripartite indented roll containing the names of 130 men impressed out of the city and county of the city, and delivered to Capt. George Lisle; pp. 20, 21.

1640, September.—Compton.—NORTHAMPTON to the Mayor, etc., enclosing copy of letter from King commanding him to have in readiness all the trained bands under his charge, with such further forces of horse and foot as he can make, and also enclosing copy of a letter from Lord Arundell, Captain-General of the forces to be raised on this side Trent, requiring him to have the said forces ready at 24 hours notice. Lord Northampton desires the Mayor, etc., to cause a general muster to be speedily taken of all the trained forces both horse and foot in the city and county of the city, so that the company may be made complete both for number and arms, and to take order that the company be exercised weekly either in one entire body or by hundreds as may be least incommodious for them. Postscript: "This lettre of a generall muster I have deferd the sending in regard of the late troubles in the County, intending to have the generall muster about Michaelmas, but

now having this occasion, I thought fit to send it that yee may make use of it with the rest;" p. 22.

1640, August 19. Westminster.—The King's letter under his signet above mentioned ; p. 23.

1640, August 27. Arundel House.—The EARL OF ARUNDEL AND SURREY to the EARL OF NORTHAMPTON. "Whereas your Lordshipp hath lately received an espeeiall order and comande from His Majestie under his royall signature, dated the 19th day of this instant August, to put and have in readines the Trained Bands within both those counties of your Livetenancy, with such further forces of horses and foote as you could possibly rayse, to marche upon certeine dayes warneing (therein expressed) for the repelling and suppressinge the rebellious invasion of the Scotts who, as was then advertised, intended to enter into this kingdome very shortly with a powerfull army: to which end His Majestie, out of his greate care for the safety and preservation of this kingdome, hath since bine pleased againe to adventure his owne royall person, and to that purpose is already gone into the North himselfe. Since whose departure hence I and others of His Majesties Privy Councell have bine certainly informed by good intelligence that a greate army of the Scotts are already come over Tweed into England, armed and furnished with divers peeces of artillery and other warlike preparations, and are now upon theyr march towards New Castle upon Tyne and entende, without all doubt, to advance forward untill they shalbee repelled: therefore, according to the power and authority granted to mee by His Majesties commission, under the greate seale of England, of Capt.-Generall of all His Majesties forces on this syde of the river of Trente, as well for the safeguard of the Queenes Majestie, Prince Charles, and the rest of the royall children, as for the safety of the realme, I doe hereby pray and require your Lordshipp that in this case of soe greate and iminente danger, wherein both theyr safeties and the honour and safety of the kingdome in generall, and of every man of his owne particular, is soe neerely concerned, your Lordshipp will use all possible care and diligence forthwith and without delay to put the sayd Trayned Bands, both horse and foote, of both the sayd counties within your Livetenancy in readines, not onely to march upon soe longe warneing as is limited by those His Majesties lettres before mencioned, but to bee ready upon 24 houres warneing, yf neede require, when you or your Deputy-Lieutenants shall receive order from mee or from my Livetenante-Generall, in my absence, to that purpose, and to bee brought by your Lordshipp your selfe in person or by your Deputy-Lieutenants, or some of them, to such rendezvous as shalbe appointed. And, lastly, your Lordshipp may not fayle to give presente order that not onely the sayd Trained Bands, but likewise all other persons that are either able in body or estate to doe service bee alsoe forthwith in readines on all occasions upon 24 houres warning and armed in the best manner they may upon soe shorte warneinge, either for the defence of those counties or for the publique safetie of the kingdome, and to marche to any rendezvous where they shalbe appointed by mee or, in my absence, by my Lieutenante-Generall. All which being of soe greate importance, I doe recomend unto your Lordshipp's greatest care and speedy execution. And soe I byd your Lordshipp heartely farewell;" pp. 24, 25.

1640, Sept. 16. Whitehall.—The COUNCIL to the EARL OF NORTHAMPTON, Lord Lieutenant of Gloucestershire, requiring him to have in readiness a sufficient number of able pioneers, good carts furnished with men and horses, and a sufficient number of spades, shovels, pickaxes, and

other tools necessary for the making of works for defence in these perilous times; and to take effectual care that the magazine of the County be well stored with powder, shot, and match, to the end that every musketeer may have a sufficient provision thereof; and that the beacons in that County be presently made ready and duly watched; p. 27.

1640, Sept. 16. Whitehall.—The COUNCIL to the EARL OF NORTHAMPTON, Lord Lieutenant of Gloucestershire, regarding delays in the marching of the Trained Bands occasioned by misapprehensions concerning the defraying of their charge during the march to the place of service, they therefore advertize his Lordship “that not only the customes and lawes of this kingdome doe requier that in a tyme of actuall invasion every man ought to serve in the comon defence at his owne charge, butt that the very lawe of nature doth teach and obleidge us all therunto without sticking or staying upon any termes or questions.” The present danger is beyond all manner of doubt by reason of the actual invasion of the Scottish rebels, and whereas His Majesty’s subjects in the northern parts of this kingdom do cheerfully join together and serve His Majesty at their own charge with their bodies and fortunes without trouble to His Majesty or his deputies; the Council therefore think good to require Lord Northampton to acquaint the country with the sense of the Board in this particular, doubting not that His Majesty’s subjects in that County will in this occasion shew as much forwardness and zeal for the common safety as is either now shown in the northern parts or has been practised in any other time of danger heretofore in this kingdom; pp. 29, 30.

1641, November 18.—Copy of Commission from ROBERT, EARL OF LEICESTER, Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom of Ireland and General of His Majesties Army there, to EDMOND VARNEY, appointing him Captain of a company of one hundred foot in the regiment whereof Sir Simon Harcourt, knt., is Colonel, which regiment is to be levied by the said Varney for the defence of Ireland; p. 31.

1642, May 6. York House.—LORD NORTHUMBERLAND to SIR WILLIAM GUYES, enclosing copy of an order of Parliament, requiring him to put the same into due execution; p. 33.

Same date.—Copy of the order so enclosed, requiring the Lord High Admiral to order search to be made in all ports of England for the taking of Daniel O’Neale, “beinge of a swanguaine complexcon, a middle stature, light browne haire, about the age of thirty, and little or noe beard, and of late hath been sickly,” who has escaped from the Tower, and who stands charged with high treason; p. 33.

1642, June 20. York House.—LORD NORTHUMBERLAND, to [the Mayor and Burgesses?], “receaved and copied 23^o Junii, 1642,” enclosing copy of an order of Parliament, and requiring them to put the same into execution; p. 34.

Same date.—Copy of the said order of Parliament, that Mr. Potter do move the Lord High Admiral to stop the ports against Thomas, Viscount Dillon of Costillo, and Theobald, Viscount Tauffe of Carran, who have broken the restraint they were under in the custody of the Sergeant at Arms of the House.

1643, September 20.—WILLIAM LENTHALL, Speaker of the House of Commons, to DENNIS WISE, Mayor of Gloucester. “The House of

Commons having received certayne advice from the Governor of Gloucester that, by the goodnes of God, the siege is raysted from before the cittie, and considering the constant resolucion of your self and the rest of your fellow citizens and souldiers in the defence and keeping thereof for the King and Parliament, they have given me in charge to represent unto you their thankes with the acknowledgement of your great care and fidelity therein, for which not onely they but the whole kingdome alsoe will have cause to say that in this action you have done much towards the peace and safetie therof. And for your better encouragement, that you may persist and goe on in keepinge and defendinge that place, they would have you know that, as they have not fayled, through God's blessinge, to send you tymely relief at this time, soe they shall not be wantinge in the future to provide such supplies and provisions for the towne and garrison as may be most conducinge to the safetie and preservation of it amidst those dangers and enemies wherewith you stand now environed, and as occasion shall serve they wilbe allwaies ready to promote the good of that cittie, which hath soe well deserved of the whole kingdome ;" p. 43.

1643, November 30. —EDWARD EXTON, THOS. HODGES, THOS. PURY, EDWARD OWNOR, to the Mayor and Aldermen of Gloucester, received at Gloucester on April 8, 1644: "Sirs. Havinge made it our care and studye to provide both money and other thinges necessarye for the garison of Gloucester, according to the trust comitted unto us by the House for that busines, and finding money and meanes at this tyme, by reason of many pressing occasions upon the Parliament, to bee somewhat short to satisfy all present occasions ; and beeing given to understand by Sir Robert P'ye that hee hath a very good quantitie of plate in Gloucester, which hee is willing at 4s. 4d. per ounce to parte withall unto the publique and hath given direction to that purpose to have it delivered and weighed into your handes: wee have therefore thought good to desire you to rec[e]ive the said plate into your custody, and to deliver unto Collonell Massey so many ounces thereof as shall amount unto 300 *li.* at 4s. 4d. per ounce, if hee shall desire it ; and further to deliver unto such officers of the regiment that was Collonell Stephens' so much of the said plate at the said rate as cometh unto one monethes pay given unto them by the Parliament, if they shall accept of payment in this manner, which wee shall desire you to propose unto them, withall assuring them of the Parliament's intention, as sone as possibly they can, both to satisfy the engagement due to the cittye and to pay their former arreares. Wee shall desire to understand from you the proceedings in this busines, not doubting of your concurraunce with us in any thing you may by your paynes to promote the publique [weal]. Wee for the present rest and remayne, Your very loving freindes ;" p. 35.

1645, July 16. Darby House.—Letter, signed in the name and by warrant of the Committee of both Kingdoms by Lord NORTHUMBERLAND and W. HOUSTON, setting forth that they have been moved by John Davis that the monies collected or to be collected in the Counties of Gloucester and the City of Gloucester, the Counties of Warwick and Wilts by virtue of the ordinance of Parliament of October 18 last, for the relief of the British armies in Ireland, cannot be brought without danger to the Treasurer in London by reason of the far distance and the present troubles ; they have, at his desire, appointed John Bunbury and Valentine Dobbins, gent., to repair to the said counties and receive the said monies, and to give the collectors acquittances therefor ; p. 39.

1645-6, February 16. ———.—[The Committee of Parliament for Gloucestershire?] to all Constables of the City of Gloucester.

“Whereas by ordinance of Parliament, dated the xviith day of January, 1645, the Deputy-Leiftenants and Committees of Parliament of every county, cittie, and place within this realme, or any two or more of them, within their severall lymites and jurisdictiones shall and are hereby authorized, required, and injoynd from tyme to tyme to rayse, leavy, and impresse such number of souldiers, gunners, and chirurgeons for the defence of Parliament and Kingdome as shalbe appoynted by both Houses of Parliament, by the members of both houses that are of the committee of both Kingdoms, or by any six of them, or by Sir Thomas Fairfax; and whereas we have receaved a letter from six of the members of the Committee of both Kingdomes requiring five hundred men to be impressed by us and speedily sent to Sir Thomas Fairefax army for the recruting thereof, the which are since by Sir Thomas Fairfax ordered to be sent into the guarrison of Bristoll for the compleating of a new regiment now raising there for the keeping of the citties of Bristoll and Bath, to be under the command of Major-Generall Skippon there; these are therefore to require and charge you that, for the purpose aforesaid, you do forthwith cause to [be] impressed and raised twenty men uppon the places and parishes within the Cittie of Glouc., proportioning the same as you shall thinke fitt in your discretions uppon the same places; which you are to do with all secrecy, to the end the present service be not hindred; and that for your furtherance therein, you issue forth your warrants to all the severall pettit constables of the said cittie, requiring them that uppon receipt hereof they do respectively impresse soe many and such number of able men within their respective parishes or wards as you shall think fitt. And you are to take care that in the presse and choice of men the direccions subscribed be observed, and that this warrant or the contents thereof be within one weeke after your receipt thereof read in all the parish churches within your Hundred wherein the presse is to be made; provided that this publishing of the warrant be not untill you have impressed such number of able men within your respective parishes as you are hereby required; and to declare the contents thereof at least to every one that shalbe impressed, and to lett them know what the service is they are pressed for; and that such men as are impressed doe receive from the officers of all places presse money; and lett all men who are pressed and do observe the command know that they shall have coat and conduct money, wages, entertaynement, and all necessary charges and allowances fitt and convenient, and that when they come to the place of their service, they shalbe well accommodated with clothes; but if they shall disobey, they are severely to be punished. And that you cause all the sayd parties pressed to be uppon the twenty-sixth day of this moneth by nine of the clocke in the morninge in the Colledge churchyard in Glouc., and that you yourself be there, and that you require all the pettit constables to be then there alsoe, and to give an account of all their doings. And what moneys you shall lay out in pressing or conveyinge the same men to the said place, uppon a note you shall receive the same. Hereof you are not to fayle at your uttermost perills. Given under our hands the sixteenth day of February, 1645.

“Direccions to be observed by each severall constable.

“1.—That you make choice of and presse no man under 18 yeeres or above 50 yeeres of age, nor no clergiemán, scholler, or student of any of the Universities, Innes of Court or Chancery, or houses of law, or of

any trayned bond, or any person rated in the last subsidies graunted by Parliament, or the sonne of any person rated, at v. *li.* goods or iii. *li.* lands in the subsidie, or any person of the ranke or degree of an esquire or upwards, or the sonne of any such person, or the sonne of the widdow of any such person, or any mariner, seamen, shipwright, or any of their apprentices, watermen, or fishermen, or any officer employed in the office of Excise of Customs for tonnage or poundage.

“2.—That you bring in a note fairely written, with your name subscribed, of the name of every man you presse and the parish or townshipp out of which you presse him ;” pp. 41, 42.

1646, May 18. Westminster.—Copy of letter from JOHN LENTHALL and THOMAS PURY [to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses] stating that the House, having considered how far the assessments required by the ordinance of Parliament of October 18, 1644, have proved effectual for carrying on the war in Ireland, find that the city and county of the city have thereupon returned not above 411*l.* for the whole 52 weeks of that year, which is short of the full proportion required by the act. The House has thereupon given us orders, now that the said assessment is continued for a longer period, to write you to expedite the making of the assessments, the collecting and bringing in of the money, etc., the House having resolved that no excuses or pretences shall prejudice the same ; p. 45.

[1649.]—Instructions, signed by John Bradshaw, President, on behalf of the Council of State, to Will. Lenthall, Esq., Speaker, Anthony Edwards, Mayor, James Stephens, Thomas Hill, Thomas Pury, Dennis Wyse, Jasper Clutterbuck, Aldermen, Sir Will. Constable, Bart., Will. Sheppard, John Dorney, John Wade, and Thomas Hodges, esquires, and Geo. Gwinnett, gent., persons appointed within the City and County of Gloucester for preserving the peace of the Commonwealth and preventing of all tumults, insurrections, and invasions, in pursuance of the authority vested in the Council by an order of Parliament dated September 25, 1649; pp. 47 to 51.

1651, April 15. Whitehall.—President BRADSHAW, in the name of the Council of State, to the Commissioners of Militia for the City of Gloucester, requiring them “to draw forth ten able and sufficient horse which you are to take together with compleate furniture of good and serviceable armes, viz., backe, breast, pott, pistolls, and sword, of those who being appointed to finde horse by the present Act for the Militia are persons most disaffected to the present government,” to appear at a rendezvous upon May 1, towards the force of 3,000 horse and 1,000 dragoons, which the Council are authorized to raise out of the several Militia forces ; pp. 52, 53. The names of the persons charged with the provision of the horses, arms, etc., are given at p. 54, and the names of the riders at p. 55.

1651, April 22. Whitehall.—Same to same, directing them to deliver the ten horse to Capt. John James ; p. 55.

1651, April —. Whitehall.—JOHN BRADSHAWE, in the name of the Council, to the Commissioners of Militia for the County and City of the County of Gloucester, enclosing Act of Parliament for the pressing of 10,000 men for recruiting the regiments in Ireland. The Council direct that 400 of that force be raised in your County and sent to Bristol, and give instructions for the impressing of the same ; pp. 57 to 59. At p. 60 a list is given of 30 men raised in the city and county

of the city, one of whom, William Hooke, "fled away from his quarters." The receipt for the remaining 29 given by Roger Craft is entered a p. 61.

RECORDS OF
THE CORPORATION OF
GLOUCESTER.

1651, May 23. Worcester.—Capt. JOHN JAMES to SIR WILL. CONSTABLE, Governor of Gloucester, and the other Commissioners for the County of Gloucester. "Nine of the horses which my Leiv^t received from you I hope will prove serviceable, though some of them for the present are imperfect. The tenth I have returned by this bearer, being of stature to litle and quality soe bad that shée is not in any respect serviceable for us. I hope, considering the present occasion of the Commonwealth, you will hasten a retorne of another by this bearer, who hath a receipt for the tenne to present unto you;" p. 56.

1651, July 4. Whitehall.—JOHN BRADSHAW, in the name of the Council, to the Mayor. You are required to give speedy notice to the gentlemen mentioned in the enclosed instructions to meet you at a place appointed by you on the 10th inst., there to consider and act upon the said instructions, and to report to us by the 20th your proceedings in this matter and to notify us if any of them fail to obey your summons, this service being of so great importance for the public peace and safety; p. 62. The instructions, dated July 1, 1651, are addressed to Lenthall, the Speaker, the Mayor for the time being, and the other persons named above in the instructions of 1649. They are to meet on the 10th inst., and upon the first Tuesday in every month in the city, and oftener if need be; to inform themselves of all conspiracies and practices of secret meetings of disaffected persons, and such of them as are in the Commission of the Peace are to take informations and examinations upon oath in writing, as they see cause, whether expressed by words or actions, spoken, printed, written, or published wheresoever against the peace, by securing and dispersing or committing the parties found to be specially active and dangerous; to disarm and secure or commit any papists or other ill affected persons that have of late appeared in their words or actions against this present Parliament or the government thereby established, or who shall hold correspondence with Charles Stuart, son of the late King, or with any other person or nation tending to the disturbance or alteration of this present Government, or raising any tumults or insurrections; to observe what strangers or persons from other counties resort to the city, and to what persons they apply, and to inform themselves, as nearly as they can, of the business and occasions of the said strangers in these parts, and in case they are not well satisfied with the account given, to acquaint the Council with the names of such persons and where they are; to secure all the arms of the late Militia, which remain dispersed in several and many of them untrusty hands, and all other arms in the city, and all trophies that were provided with the public monies, and to take an inventory of all such arms left in their owners' hands to prevent embezzlement and misemployment of the same; to require the Sheriff of the County to be assistant, and to keep correspondence with the commanders of the forces in the pay of the Commonwealth; pp. 63-64.

1651, July 10.—"At the meeting of the Commissioners specially appointed, upon the tenth day of July, 1651, according to the instructions received from the Councell of State, there being present Anthony Edwards, Esq., Major, Sir Wm. Constable, Baronett, Thomas Hill, Dennis Wise, Jasper Clutterbooke, and James Stephens, Aldermen, and John Dorney, Towne Clerke, and afterwards George Gwinnett, gent.

"It is ordered, that all the armes in private hands within this city and county of the same be brought into the publique magazine within this city, and delivered to the storekeeper, and inventories to be taken and kept of the same, and the copy thereof to be delivered to the severall owners of the said armes for so much as concerne them respectively."

1651, August 5.—"It is ordered, that the former order for the securing of the armes in private hands in this city and county thereof be putt in present execucion, and that Sir William Constable be desired to take care for the effecting thereof by appointment of some of his officers for the gathering of all private armes as well of horse as of foote, together with all trumpetts, drums, colours, and other trophees bought with publique monies both within this city and county thereof. And all constables in the said city and county are to be aiding and assisting to such officers in the searching for, collecting, and carrying away of the said armes and trophees, the which armes and trophees are to be brought into publique magazine in this city, there to be inventoried, to the end the just interest of the severall owners thereof may be preserved.

"It is ordered, that enquiry be made by all good waies and meanes that the Commissioners may have informacion of all papistes and all other ill affected persons that have by words or accions expressed their disaffection to this Commonwealth, to the end the said persons may be proceeded withall, according to the instruccions received."

1651, August 12. Whitehall.—President BRADSHAW to the Commissioners of the Militia for the City and County of the City of Gloucester. We send copies of the act of Parliament prohibiting correspondence with Charles Stuart; you are to deliver to the Sheriff so many copies thereof as shall be necessary, who is hereby required to proclaim the same in the city and at his next County Court; we shall speedily send you more copies to be distributed and published in every parish, so that none may pretend ignorance thereof. "You are alsoe desired to take care that somme parties of horse may be uppon the roads between the post stages to secure the publique packetts and examine such as shall ride post without warrant, and free the roade from dangerous persons by apprehending of them and bringing them before somme magistrat to be disposed of as there shalbe cause." We also send you the act passed this day giving you power to act in the Militia, which we desire you to put into execution with all vigour and diligence, sitting daily as the present exigency of affairs requires. "You are alsoe to take care there may be at each post-stage alwaies twoe or three stout, discreet, and faithfull horsemen, who may examine such as ride post without warrant, and assist such as ride uppon the States service to see them furnished with horses without delay;" pp. 105, 106.

1651, August 18.—"It is ordered that all innekeepers and alehouse keepers in this city shall returne the names of all the guests that they shall entertaine in their houses for any night to the Major of the said city for the time being, till they have order to the contrary."

"It is ordered that three Common Councillmen of this city shalbe overseers of the workemen at the fortifications of this city from day to day by their turnes, and to begin according to the precedency in the list of the names of the gent. of the Common Councell of the said city."

1651, August 20.—"Whereas by order of Sir Wm. Constable, Governour of this guarrison, the Alvingate is for the present stopped up, therefore we thinke fitt, and doe order, that the highway be turned over

a corner of Mr. Brett's grounds neare unto the said gate into Feate Lane, during such time as the said gate shallbe stopped for the safety and preservation of this guarrison.

"For the better securing of this guarrison in this time of common dainger, it is ordered that Mr. Henry Fletcher, treasurer of the moneth's pay raised uppon the act for the Militia, shall out of the said moneth's pay disburse to Thomas Pingrey, of this city, ten pounds for the buying of spades, shovells, and pickaxes, and other tooles for such as shallbe employed in the amendment of the workes of this guarrison."

"It is ordered that Capt. Wise doe forthwith compleate his company of foote with officers and souldiers fitt for present service, and to present his officers' names to the Commissioners of the Militia.

"It is ordered, that six severall distinct companies of foote, consisting of one hundred in a company, shallbe presently raised in this city as additional forces to be under the commaund of Sir Wm. Constable, Governour of this guarrison, and that Capt. Wise, Capt. Evans, Capt. Clerke, Captaine Rysell, Captaine Hill, and Capt. Ellis be the captaines of the said severall companies, who are to take care for the speedy raising of them.

"It is ordered, that Mr. Henry Fletcher shall deliver unto Mr. Major five pounds of the moneth's pay raised by vertue of the Act for the Militia, for the sending forth of scouters in this time of dainger, and also to pay to the Stewards forty shillings by them layd out for scouters before for bringing in of intelligence.

"It is ordered, by the consente of the Governour, that the armes of such as are appointed captains to rayse companies of foote in this guarrison, which have bin delivered into the possession of the Governour, shallbe forthwith redelivered unto the said severall captains for the furnishing of their companies to be in readines for the safety of this guarrison.

"It is ordered, that all the draught horses in and about this city with their geeres shallbe forthwith employed for halling of timber to make a brest worke uppon the key, and that it be commended to the captain of the Watch to take care to putt this order in execucion, and that the Stewards be assistant to him therein in providing doggs and other things requisite for the same."

Then follow the names of the lieutenant and ensign nominated by each of the six captains above-named.

1651, August 21.—"It is ordered, that Mr. John Singleton doe deliver unto the bearer hereof, Thomas Shawe, the two drumms lately belonging to his company; and that Mr. Alderman William Singleton doe deliver unto Mr. Alderman Wise the two drumms lately belonging to his company, to be employed in the present service of the Commonwealth for the defence of this city, being in dainger to be besieged by the enemy. And this shalbe their severall warrant.

"It was ordered, that the horse that was now brought into this citty by Major Wade shalbe put into the little meadow.

"It is ordered, that Richard Guy, Jeffery Webb, Anthony Roberts, John Price, Humphrey Wincoth, Thomas Chamlin, Edward Hayter, and Richard Crumpe now presented unto the Commissioners by Mr. Symons, Master of the Ordnance, be and are hereby approved of to be of the traine of artillery in this citty for the present service, and are to enter into present pay accordingly.

"It is ordered, that Mr. Henry Fletcher shall deliver unto Mr. Sheriffe Lysons sixe pounds of the moneth's pay raised by vertue of the act for the Militia, for the paiment of diverse workemen at the fortifications of this city.

"It is ordered, that Mr. Thomas Peirce shall deliver to Coronett Daniell Washborne twelve saddles, twelve bridles, and twelve holsters. And this shall be your warrant."

1651, August 23.—"It is ordered, that seaven pounds be forthwith delivered to Major Wade for the paiment of tenn shillings a peece to the fourteene companies of foote, to be distributed for their extraordinary labour in the fortificacions of this guarrison for two daies and two nights last past."

1651, August 23.—ANTHONY EDWARDS, Mayor, THOS. HILL, THOS. PURY, THOS. PURY, junior, JOHN DORNEY, and GEO. GWINNETT to the Speaker.

"Uppon intelligence on Teusday last of the enemies advance hitherward, the inhabitants of this city expressed very much their good affection to the present Goverment and to oppose the Scotts King and all his army and adherents, in case any attempt should be made by them uppon this place; and to that end, uppon a publique sommons, they very readily came, and in person every day and sometime in the night laboured to repaire all the bullwarkes and fortificacions in and about this guarrison; for the effecting whereof also the souldiers unanimously did their utmost endeavours, soe that it is to be admired how much hath bin done in soe fewe dayes, in regard they were all very ruinous. We also thought it most necessary to putt the city forthwith in a posture of defence, and in two daies space we raised, listed, mustered, and armed neare uppon seven hundred able souldiers, and putt them into seven particular companies under the Governour and not regimentally, for the more unanimous carrying on of the service; and such as were able to finde their owne armes and to beare their owne charges during the time of their actuall service are listed in a distinct company under the present Mayor, Mr. Anthony Edwards, consisting uppon neare two hundred. The other six companies doe containe one hundred in each company, and are listed under six severall captains, who freely came and offered their service to us and to the Governour, by whose approbation all things here have bin unanimously effected. The said captains' names appeare in the postscript, who with their companies are already in actual service and have their severall posts allotted to them, alike to the rest of the companies, roundalong the said fortificacions. And truly, sir, thus much we may confidently assure you, that we finde both citizens and souldiers as unanimously agreeing and ready to defend this city against the present enimies as they formerly were at the last siege, and we all rest assured in the Lord of Hoasts, our most good and gracious God, that he will preserve this city at this time and give us the same good successe and to destroy all these our enimies that come against us. Our humble request at present to the Parliament is that commissions may be graunted to the severall Captains according to the Act, to warrant their services for you; and, in regard the other six companies doe consist of handicrafts men and other labourers and servauntes, who leave of their callings during this exigence to serve the publique, having noe other maintenance for themselves and their families, that some order may be given to the treasurers here for weekly pay of the said six companies during the time of their actuall service in this guarrison; we knowing noe other way how they may be maintained and kept together. Againe, truly, Sir, our city disbursements have this yeare exceeded our yearly receipts neare a thousand pounds, yet the charges of the new making of the drawbridges and other emergencies are putt uppon us; and therefore we further desire that

the Parliament will be pleased to order that cc. *li.* may be paid unto us towards the discharge thereof. Thus as our actions will manifest the constancy of our affections to the Parliament, soe we hope the Lord will give a blessing to the endeavours of your humble servants."

"A copy of this letter was then sent likewise to the Councell of State by an expresse messenger and two duplicates thereof by the post for feare of interrupcion;" pp. 74-76.

1651, August 25.—"It is ordered, that the treasurer of the moneth's assessment for the Militia for the County of Glouc. shall forthwith deliver and pay to Mr. Sheriffe Lysons the somme of twenty pounds for the paiement of halliers and diverse workemen about the fortifications of this guarrison, and for other emergencieyes, and that the said Mr. Lysons doe give an account to the Commissioners of the Militia for the County of Glouc. of what monies he laieth out;" pp. 65-73.

1651, August 25.—"It is ordered, that all burgesses and all inhabitants within this city that are not listed and doe beare armes for the defence of this city, shall by themselves, servautes, or workemen, to-morrow morning by six of the clocke repaire with spades, shovells, and mattocks, and little baskets to the Southgate within this city to worke at the fortifications all that day, uppon paine of five shillings a peece.

"It is ordered, that the Bellman doe publish this order forthwith in such usuall places and after such usuall manner as have bin formerly accustomed, and that the constables of every warde within this city doe by nine of the clocke tomorrow morning, being the xxvith day of this instant August, deliver in a noate to the Commissioners for the Militia of all such persons that are not listed or doe beare armes in this present service.

"It is ordered, that Capt. Wise, Capt. Evans, Capt. Clerke, Capt. Rysell, Capt. Hill, and Capt. Ellis doe forthwith deliver a list of the names of their souldiers in their severall companies to the Commissioners of the Militia;" pp. 78, 79.

1651, August 25. Parliament House.—Speaker LENTHALL to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens. "Although it be the duty of all such as are well affected to the cause of God and the wellfare of their country, especially in such combustions as are now kindled amongst us, to lay themselves out to the uttermost for the support and preservation of both, yett since the Parliament findes, by one of the 23th present from the Mayor and Aldermen of that your cittie, what extraordinary care you have taken and what provision you have made to put yourselves in such a posture as, by God's good hand, may secure you from violence and the Parliament of your good affections, they have required me to lett you know how sencible they are hereof, and therefore (which hereby I doe) to give you their very harty thanks, with which I rest your assured, loveing friend and servant;" p. 83.

1651, August 25. Whitehall.—President BRADSHAW, in the name of the Council of State, to the Mayor and Aldermen. "We have received your letter of the xxiiith of this instant, whereby we are informed of your good affection and unanimouse resolucion to defend that place against the enemy, which we nothing doubt but, through the blessing of God, wilbe done, you being in soe good a posture as by your letters we find you are both as to your numbers, fortifications, and resolucions; and we conceive they will hardly attempt where they are like to meete with any resistance, they making this progresse not out of their power

but for that our forces were cast farre behind. Wee have sent the commissions by the bearer which you desired. And as to the charge you have beene at for the drawbridges, you may draw bills uppon the Councell for money not exceeding twoe hundred pounds payable at twenty daies, sending up withall the account of what hath beene disbursed aboute them, and wee shall take care to see the bill discharged. Wee have alsoe written to Sir William Constable about the pay of those men now listed who are poore and not able to beare their owne charge. We have nothing further but to commend your good indeavours to the blessing of God, by which wee doubt not but you will be kept in safety;" p. 84.

1651, August 26.—"It is ordered, that turfe be forthwith digged and cutt out of the pasture ground called "the Causeway ground" otherwise "the Bell ground" lying between the high orchard and the high causeway leading to Lanthony, and that teemes and plowes be forthwith imprest to carry the said turfe to the fortificacions of this guarrison where neede requireth;" pp. 65-80.

1651, August 27.—Muster rolls of four of the city companies of soldiers; pp. 85-95.

1651, August 26. Whitehall.—President BRADSHAW to the Mayor. You are to receive herewith ten acts and proclamations concerning Charles Stuart, which you are to cause to be forthwith proclaimed, and you are to return a speedy account of your proceedings herein to the Council; p. 106.

1651, August 28. Gloucester.—ANTHONY EDWARDS, Mayor, to President BRADSHAW. "I caused to be proclaimed the severall actes and proclamacions concerning Charles Stuart, according to the commaund I received from you by your honourable letters the one bearing date the 12th and the other the 26th of this present August. What have bin done uppon the late acte touching the Militia, the Commissioners in their last unto your honours represented, having putt this city in a goode posture of defence;" p. 107.

1651.—Account of the cost of rebuilding the outward drawbridge at the North Gate, 34*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.*; of the drawbridge at the West Gate, 60*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; of the outward drawbridge at the East Gate, 43*l.* 3*s.* 0*d.*; and of the other five great drawbridges, estimated to cost 200*l.*; pp. 108-110.

1651, August 30. Gloucester.—ANTHONY EDWARDS, Mayor, THOS. HILL, DENNIS WISE, and JASPER CLUTTERBUCK, to Speaker LENTHALJ. "You were pleased to signify unto us, by yours of the 25th of this instant August, the Parliament's good acceptacion of our diligence in providing for the security of this place against the common enemy, and that the Parliament hath soe far honoured us as to give unto us thanks for the discharge of our duties therein, for our further encouragement in our future actings. We thankfully acknowledge your respects unto us in representing of our good affections and resolutions to the Parliament, and doe humbly desire the continuance of your favour in promoting of our desires in relacion to the wellfare of this city, as you shall have opportunity, which will further engage unto yow the affections of your faithful freinds and humble servants;" p. 111.

1651, August 30. Gloucester.—ANTHONY EDWARDS, Mayor, and THOS. HILL to President BRADSHAW. "We returne our humble thanks for the answeere of our desires in sending the comissions for the officers,

which we have accordingly received and delivered unto them respectively, and also for your direccions to Sir William Constable for the pay of the poore men listed by us for the present service, and for allowing two hundred pounds to us for our drawbridges; thereuppon according to your order we have sent a bill of exchange for cc. *li.* to be paid to Mr. Anthony Tither, citizen of London, which we humbly desire may be discharged. We have also here inclosed sent you an account touching the drawbridges and there withall crave leave to represent unto you the occasion of our disbursements, which was in regard the drawbridges in the beginning of the first warr were made of elme and were become soe rotten and ruinous that going to drawe one of them it fell into the river, and was like to have drowned and spoiled severall persons. Whereuppon surveying the other bridges, we found them soe ruinous that there was necessity of the rebuilding of them. There are belonging to this guarrison in number eight greate drawbridges for waines and cartes to goe over and two horse drawe bridges: part whereof are already built and the other in hand and the charge thereof undertaken by the city. We offered sixty pounds in grosse to the workemen for the making of the west drawbridge over the river of Seaverne, but they refusing to accept thereof, we therefore have imployed day workemen to perfect it. We shallbe noe further troublesome to your honour at present, therefore humbly take leave and subscribe ourselves;" pp. 112, 113.

1651, September 1. Gloucester.—The Mayor and Aldermen to General CROMWELL. "We present our humble service and therewithall forty barrells of stronge beere to your Excellency, praying your favourable acceptance thereof as an argument of the good affection of this Corporacion, whoe doth congratulate your seasonable coming into these partes for the reliefe thereof against the violence of the common enemy, and wish prosperous successe to you and your army. We desire to know from your Excellency wherein we may be any waies serviceable to you; and your commands shalbe readily observed by your Excellencies most humble servants;" p. 115.

1651, October 11.—Patent creating Oliver Cromwell High Steward of the city; pp. 121, 122.

1651, October 11. Gloucester.—WILLIAM SINGLETON, Mayor, and the Aldermen to the Lord General CROMWELL. "The bearer hereof Mr. Anthony Edwards, one of the Aldermen of the Cittie of Glouc., is desired by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Counsell of the said cittie to present unto your Excellency the tender of their humble service, together with a small token of their thankfull acknowledgement of your favours and their desire of the continuance thereof. We humbly request your favourable acceptance of this manifestacion of their respects, and together with them shall remayne your Excellencies most humble servants;" p. 123.

1651, October 27. Gloucester.—The Mayor and Aldermen to Col. HARVEY and the rest of the Commissioners of the Customs, praying for the discontinuance of the duty of 12*d.* per ton levied at Gloucester by their orders on coals brought down the Severn from Bewdley, Bridge-north, "and other parts adjacent where they are digged;" pp. 125, 126.

1651, December 16. Gloucester.—The Mayor and Aldermen to the Hon. Committee of Parliament appointed to state the sufferings of Worcester and Gloucester. "Whereas the contents of a petition lately

presented to the Parliament, in the name of the Major and Burgesses and diverse inhabitants of the City of Glouc., for reparacions of their losses by the burning and destroying of their houses uppon the approach of the King's army to beseidge the said city in the yeare 1643, is, by an order of Parliament, referred to your consideration; we, the Mayor and Aldermen of the said city whose names are subscribed, doe crave have to represent unto you, under the seale of the office of Majoralty of this city, for your better satisfaccion touching the greate charges and losses susteined by the inhabitants of this city and suburbs in the maintenance and defence of this city, that, uppon a calculacion thereof in the yeare 1645, the whole somme did amount unto thirty-four thousand pounds and upwards, as by the copy of a peticion they presented to the Parliament and hereunto annexed may appeare, besides the losses of the keeper of the Northgate, being the common goale of this city, by meanes of the discharge of prisoners, and the damages done to the lands lying near unto the said city. Towards the satisfaccion of the city debts contracted for the support of the guarrison here, we confesse we have received an ordinance of Parliament for 4,000 *li.*, of which we have received but a small part, besides the summes of money acknowledged to be received in the said peticion; and that afterwards, in 1646, uppon a more particular survey of the losses by burning and destroying of the north, east, and south Wards thereof, as also the Kingsholme, and the overflowing of the meadoes on the west and north-west sides of the same city, together with the goods consumed in the said houses, the Grand Inquest presented to the Lord Cheife Baron the damage thereby to amount to 26,000 *li.* and upwards: for the recompence of which damages, being voluntarily susteined in the Parliament's service and as yet unsatisfied, we humbly entreate your honors' favour and furtherance, and take leave, this xvith day of December, in the yeare of our Lord 1651;" pp. 133-135.

1651, December 20. Gloucester.—The Mayor and Aldermen to Major JOHN WILDMAN, THOMAS MILLWARD, GODFREY ELLIS, and GRIFFANTIUS PHILLIPS, in London. "These are to represent unto you the sense and resolucion of the Common Councell of this city, uppon debate of your proposal of some assurance from them under the city seale of an allowance of a third part to you of what should be obtained by your meanes towards the reparacions of the losses and disbursements according to the certificate and peticion adjoyned, and the burning and demolishing of diverse houses belonging to the city and hospitalls with the revenues whereof they are intrusted: they doe hold it unbeseeing the Corporacion, and feare it may prove inconvenient, to engage in such manner and for such a proporcion as you demand, yet they will not be soe unworthy as not to requite your paines in procuring their profit, but are resolved, and desire it should be accordingly signified unto you, that you should not only be liberally but very liberally recompenced, in proportionable manner to what shall be received towards those losses, by your endeavours; which promise, as they conceive, for what concerns the Corporacion is a sufficient engagement for them, soe they hope it may afford [as] much encouragement to you as the obligacions of particular persons for what concerns themselves under their hands and seales. Soe with our well wishes for the proceedings we rest your loving freinds;" p. 132.

1651, December 26.—Speaker LENTHALL to [the Commissioners of Militia in Gloucester?], relating to the assessments for the maintenance of the army, the necessity for speedy payment, and directing that all

sums unpaid be paid to the Treasurers on or before January 26, 1651-2, that being the time appointed for the payment of the first three of the present six months' assessment; pp. 142, 143.

RECORDS OF
THE CORPORATION OF
GLOUCESTER.

1651, December 27. Gloucester.—The Mayor and Aldermen to the Committee of Parliament appointed upon the reading of the petition of the Mayor, Burgesses, and Inhabitants of the City. "It is humbly certified by the Major and Aldermen of the said city that in August 1643, upon the approach of the late King's army to besedge the said city, it was resolved by the Governour and Councell of War that it was necessary, for the defence and preservacion of the said city against the enemy, to pull downe and destroy the suburbs thereof and to overflowe the grounds and meadowes on the north and north-west sides of the same; whereunto the said inhabitants submitted themselves, and suffered the losse and destruction of their houses and goods for the publique service; and upon a particular survey made of the same and presented to the Grand Inquest at a generall Assizes there held in 1646, the said Inquest then and there represented unto the Lord Cheife Baron Wylde, the then judge, that the losse susteined by burning and destroying the houses, goods, gardens, and orchards, and by the overflowing of meadowes of such persons nominated in the presentment and diverse neighbours adjoyning, did amount unto the somme of 26,000 *li.* and upwards. And it is humbly certified that, besides the persons nominated as aforesaid, there are many other inhabitants of the said city and suburbs that suffred very greate losse and damage by burning and destroying their houses, goods, lands, and tenements at the time aforesaid, to a greate value over and above the said 26,000 *li.*, who are in much want and misery. All which is humbly certified under the seale of the Majoralty of the said city, in testimony of the truthe of the premises by us;" pp. 136, 137.

[1651, December.]—Petition from the Mayor, Burgesses, and Inhabitants to the Parliament, shewing "that the late cathedrall or colledge church in the said city hath beene and yet is used for preaching the word of God and other religious exercises every Lord's day to your petitioners, and as the only fit place at all publique meetings, at the Assizes, Quarter Sessions, daies of thanksgivings and humiliacion, which is now in much decay and will in very short time become ruinous; and that there is neare adjoyning to the said colledge a parochiall church called "St. Mary de Loade," wherein about 15 hundred prisoners taken at Highnam were for some time kept in Aprill, 1643, whereby the same became, and soe yet continues, ruinous without any minister at all to officiate there or any maintenance at all for his subsistence, the cure being formerly supplied by singing men presented or appointed by the late Deane and Chapter there, who were patrons and had the impropriate tithes thereof;" your petitioners therefore pray that the college church and the said church of St. Mary de Loade may be united and "made presentative," and may be granted to the said Mayor and Burgesses, with some additional salary besides the tithes for maintenance of a preaching minister, repairs, etc. There are 83 signatures; pp. 138-141.

1651-2, January 7. Gloucester.—The Mayor and Aldermen to the Lord General CROMWELL. "These lines are to accompany a small present, being such as our countrey affords at this season, humbly craving your Excellencyes estimacion thereof not according to its value, but according to the hearty affeccion of your most humble servants;" p. 145.

1652, November 23.—Copy of Cromwell's receipt for 5*l.*, the fee due to him as High Steward of the city; p. 124.

[1652 or 1653.]—Petition of the Mayor and Burgesses to the Parliament, shewing “that we thankfully acknowledge the testimonies of your favour to this city, whose services and sufferings for your interest is so well knowne unto you that we need not to make any particular enumeration of them, seing this city hath during all the late warres and in tymes of the greatest exigence from the first to the last expressed their constant resolucion and employed their utmost endeavours for your safety and for the preservacion of this commonwealth, preferring the publike before their owne private interest, to the silencing of all detractors; and now, by the providence of God, and by the prosperous successes of your armes, the whole nacion is brought into so peaceable a posture that no city therein is wholly kept a guarrison, as we know of, being by your wisdomes thought altogether unnecessary; and forasmuch as we find by sad experience that the continuance of this city to be a guarrison and the miscarriages of the souldiery therein hath caused the trade of this city to be very much impaired and is in continuall decay, to the utter undoing and impoverishing of many of the inhabitantes thereof, as may particularly be made appeare by severall instances. May it therefore please this Hon^{ble} Parliament to take into their consideracion the premisses and to apply a remedy to your petitioners in that behalf;” p. 151.

1653, June 10. Whitehall.—CROMWELL to the Commissioners for the monthly assessments for the army in the City of Gloucester. You will receive herewith a declaration for the continuance of the assessment for six months from the 24th inst., and you are desired to speedily meet and to cause the same to be put into execution; p. 153.

1654, July 20. Bessels Leish.—WILLIAM LENTHALL to the Mayor and Aldermen. “Mr. Major and the rest of my noble freinds. I have received one letter that beares date the 15th of this instant, which makes mention of a former that you did me the honor to direct to me, but having beene from London ever since the 13 of this moneth, I feare they are miscarried. Howsoever, I have received in this soe large an expression of your favours that I may confesse my disability in the meritt of them, and especially when I finde soe greate and obliging civilities soe unanimously conferred on me, I must lett you know that my intentions were not bent to soe publike an employment, havinge beene thoroughly weard with what I have already undergone; but when I found myself soe freely elected, it was not a litle rejoycement to me to perceive that I lived in the memory of soe gratefull freinds, and as it will occasion my prayers to be very solicitous for your prosperity, soe it will my endeavors for your advantage. I should have said much more in this if my intentions (God assisting me!) were not to attend you with my acknowledgments of your favors, and then to give every particular of you an assurance how much I am engaged to be your assured, loving freind and humble servant;” p. 157.

[1654, July.]—WILLIAM LENTHALL to the Mayor and Aldermen. “I received yours of the 21 of this instant July by Capt. Phillips, by which, as by your former letters, I canot but acknowledge the greate obligations that honorable city hath layd on me, farr beyond my expectation or desert. It is an easy matter to make acknowledgements, but I shall hope and expect some opportunity to make such returne as may expresse my selfe not an unworthy receiver. The desires of a thankfull recentment of all the honors I have received from that famous and faithfull city must engage me to the utmost of my endeavors to assure you that your continued respects may not be putt under a bushell. I intend (God

willing !) when I come to Burford to wayte uppon you, and I shall then give such timely notice that I may not be prevented to meete all your honorable company, that in performance of my duty in relation to the place I have soe long holden under you I may not alwaies be an unprofitable servant. As to your indentures—which I have not yet had the hapines to receive—together with the returne of the eleccion, I conceive the returne thereof fitt to be made with all convenient speed, and for the present I doe not know anything more needefull. I may by length of lines putt a greater trouble on you then is befitting: I shall adde at present no more then the assurance of your most faithfull freind and servant;” p. 158.

1654, December 5.—Copy of Order of Parliament directing that the proportion of the assessments upon the City and County of Gloucester for the next three months shall be divided into seventeen parts, the County of the City to bear thirteen parts and the City the remainder, and appointing Commissioners for the same; p. 181. There are several letters, etc., relating to a dispute as to assessment between the County and the City members of the above Commission, and the award of the Committee for the army in this dispute; pp. 184–203.

1654–5, March 15.—“I Giles Reeve, of the City of Glouc., gunsmith, doe appraise the fifty-six musketts remayning in the custody of Mr. Ald. Wise at thirteene pounds.” Ordered the same day that these muskets be delivered to Thomas Peirce, of Gloucester, gent., to be returned by him within two months unless he have paid the said sum within that period; p. 169.

1654–5, March 16.—Ordered by the Mayor and Aldermen, that twelve muskets in the custody of Lieut. John Mathews, valued at 3*l.*, be delivered by him to the Stewards of the city, who are to pay for the same or return them to him within two months; p. 170.

1654–5, March 17.—“It is ordered by the Major and Aldermen of the said city, that Capt. Thomas Peirce, Capt. William Clarke, Capt. Robert Hill, and Capt. Godfrey Ellis doe forthwith take care for the beating of their severall drummes, and that their severall serjeants doe goe the perade and about this city and proclaime that the severall souldiers listed under the said severall captains doe repaire to their severall colours upon the day of the date thereof by four of the clocke in the afternoone of this present day. And it is also ordered, that twelve souldiers out of every the four companies under the said four captaines doe keepe watch at and about the gates of this city this next night, and that the like number of souldiers doe soe watch for future nights till further order;” p. 171.

1654–5, March 24. Whitehall.—CROMWELL to Major WADE, Major CREED, and the Mayor and Aldermen of Gloucester. “We doubt not but you have heard before this tyme of the good hand of God going along with us in defeating the late rebellious insurreccion, soe that, as wee have certaine intelligence from all parts, the risings are everywhere suppressed and dissolved, and some hundreds of prisoners in custody, and dayly more are discovered and secured; and wee hope that, through the blessing of God upon our labours, an [*and*, MS.] effectual course wilbe taken for the totall disappoyntment of the whole designe. The readines of the honest people to appeare hath beene a greate incouragment to us and of noe less discouragement to the enemy who, had he prevailed, would without doubt have made us the most misserable and harassed

nation in the world ; and therefore we hold ourselfe obliged to returne you our hearty thanks for your zeale and forwardness in soe readily appearing and contributing your assistance, wherein, although your country and your owne particuler as to outward and inward happines were concerned, yett we are fully perswaded that a more generall principle, respecting the glory of God and the good of all these nations, hath beene the motive to incite you, and therefore your accion goes upon the higher and more noble account. You have desired that we would consider of waies how to finde money to carry on this worke : if the busines had not beene allayed, wee must have found out a way and meanes to supply that want, but otherwise indeed we make it, as we hope we ever shall, our designe to ease this nation and not to burthen it, and are tender, as we conceive yourselves have beene, of putting the good people thereof to any unnecessary charge, and therefore, as you shall have fitting oportunity, you may recomend our thankfulness to your honest, willing countrymen, as wee hereby doe to yourselves, for this their forwardness, and to lett them know that when any danger shall approach, as wee shalbe watchfull to observe the enemyes stirrings, wee will give you tymely notice thereof, and wee trust those good hearts wilbe ready, being called out by you, to appeare upon all such occasions. In the meanetyme they may continue at their home, blessing God for his mercy, and enjoying the fruite and comfort of this happy deliverance and the other benefitts of peace. And I doe hereby lett you know that letters are directed to the justices of peace of the severall countyes that diligent watches be kept, such as the lawe hath appointed, for taking a strict accompt of all strangers, especially neere the coast ; which will not onely be a meanes to suppress all loose and idle persons, but may probably cause some of those that come from abroad to kindle fires here to be apprehended and seised, especially if care be taken to secure all them that cannot give a good account, and may also breake all dangerous meetings and assemblings together. And, indeed, if what by lawe ought to be done were done with diligence in this respect, the contrivance of such dangerous designs as these would be frustrated in the birth or kept from growing to maturity. Having said this, with remembrance of my hearty love unto you, I rest your very affectionate freinde, Oliver P. ;" pp. 173-175.

1655, March 27. Whitehall.—HENRY LAURENCE, President of the Council, to the Mayor and Justices of the Peace for the City and County of the City of Gloucester. "The late Parliament having by their act published the 4th of Aprill, 1653, prohibited the planting of tobacco in England, His Highnesse, with the advice and consent of his Councell, did, on the 11th of Aprill, 1654, passe an ordinance for authoriseing certaine persons therein named to put the fore-recited act in execucion, being induced thereunto from consideration then had of the prejudice and loss arising to the English plantacions abroad and to trade at home by the planting of tobacco in this nacion. After that ordinance was passed, it appeared to His Highness, by the petition of severall persons about Winchcombe in Gloucestershire and other places adjacent, that severall quantities of tobacco had beene planted that season in those partes, and it was prayed thereupon by the petitioners that they might enjoy their crop of tobacco then growing, promising withall to forbear the planting of any more for the future without license granted them in that behalfe ; whereupon the Commissioners appointed by the said ordinance and all others employed under them or by their authority had direccion from His Highnes and his Councell to suspend the further execucion of that ordinance and Act of Parliament as to the crop then growing till

further order. Lately His Highnes hath beene addressed unto by severall merchants and others relating to Virginia, etc., complaining of the greate dammage that hath accrewed to the English plantacions abroad by the greate quantities of English tobacco, the trade to those parts being alsoe thereby discouraged, in the consequences whereof navigacion will be impaired, the customes of this Commonwealth lessened, and the people thereof inhabiting these plantacions impoverished. On consideration of which and for preventing those inconveniences for the future, His Highnes, upon advice with his Councell, hath determined to leave the Commissioners appointed by the said ordinance to see the said Act of Parliament putt in effectuall execution, and not to license the planting of any tobacco in England contrary to the tenour and purport thereof; and therefore, to the intent the persons concerned may not, through want of seasonable warning, draw inconvenience upon themselves by further planting of tobacco in your parts, the Councell doth hereby commend it to your care that this resolucion of His Highnes be published within your city and county at such places as you shall judge most convenient, and in such a way as noe person concerned may have just cause to pretend ignorance thereof, and that all such persons be lett to understand that His Highnes doth require and will expect their due conformity herein; and that in case any of them shall presume the contrary, they must charge the detriment that will thence ensue upon their owne default, which will be the lesse excusable considering His Highnes' indulgence as to the last yeares crop and their own undertaking to plant noe more without speciaall license obteyned;" p. 177.

1655, August —.—Letter of the Mayor and Burgesses appointing Capt. Griffantius Phillips their attorney to take possession of all such lands as shall be allotted or assigned to them for their adventure in the Barony of Stradbally, in the Queen's County, in the province of Leinster, or elsewhere, in Ireland, and to receive the rents and profits thereof on their behalf; p. 179.

1656-7, March 11.—"To all whom these presents may concerne, the Major, Aldermen, and Common Councell of the said city of Gloucester doe hereby certify that the copy of what was heretofore presented to the Committee for Irish affaires during the tyme of the Long Parliament touching the losses of diverse persons susteyned by fyre and pulling downe of houses occasioned by the late siege of the said city, is conteyned in the parchment schedule hereunto annexed;" p. 210.

1646, July 18.—"A true collection made by divers of the sufficient inhabitants of the City of Glouc. of the perfect value of all the losses susteyned by firing and pulling downe of houses in the suburbs of the North, East, and South Wards of the same city, also King's Home, at the late siedege here for the preservation of the said city and garison, with the goods in the said houses there being also consumed by fire. We, the Grand Inquest for the body of the County of the City of Gloucester, being very sensible of the grievous losses that have beene sustained by the owners and tenants of houses and lands in the suburbs of the Citie of Gloucester, with the destroying of the meades thereto adjacent, for the securing of that city and the garrison therein kept by the Parliament against the enemy of our religion and liberties, by meanes whereof many of them have beene extreamely impoverished and the rest very much disabled to contribute to the public charges of that city and county, have thought good to informe the honorable House, that upon an accompt taken it doth appeare unto us that there were to the number of two hundred fourty and one houses, wherein so many

severall families inhabited, in the subur[b]s of the said city ruined, whereof some were pulled downe, but the greatest part thereof fired the same evening that the city was beleagured by the enemy, being upon the tenth day of August, 1643, and many of them were very faire dwelling houses, besides many barnes, stables, out-houses, gardens, orchards, which were also destroyed for the necessary safety of the said city, which the inhabitants of the said city willingly consented unto, and without which the city could not have bene preserved, in humane judgement; and we doe humbly desire that the sufferings of severall persons thereby for the publike, amounting in the whole, as it is conceived, to the value of twenty-eight thousand, seven hundred and twenty pounds at the least, which will appeare by the severall particulars underneath sett downe, may be taken into serious consideracion and presented unto this honourable Parliament of England, to the end all and every the owners of the said houses and lands may have reparacions of their damages, according to the former declaracions made by the Parliament, for the incouragement of the well-affected, and the rather in regard the greatest part of the said persons that have soe suffered have demonstrated their good affections in their assistance towards the fortifying of the said city before the seidge and defending thereof during the seidge and ever since, and in regard the preservation of that city have bene of soe great concernment to the whole nation. [*Here follow the particulars of the houses, etc., so destroyed.*] And this Grand Jury doth likewise humbly pray that your Lordships wilbe pleased, when a convenient opportunity may be offered, to present unto the consideracion of the Parliament of England the great charge this city and county of this city have been at by way of contribucion, subscriptions, and other extraordinary charge for the defence of the Commonwealth, as it doth appeare by their severall accomptes putt into the committee of accompts for this city and the county by ordinance of Parliament, that they may receive some reasonable consideration by way of recompence when the Parliament shall thinke fitt. And they shall pray for your Lordships, and this city and county thereof will rest firme to the state in their affections, etc. And lastly, this Grand Jury doth further humbly pray that when it shall please the Parliament of England to make a search and true inquiry of the particular losses mencioned in this certificate, that they shall rather finde them to be undervalued than over-valued: the truth of all which we humbly certify;” pp. 211-215.

1657, July 11.—“The manner of the solempnity in the proclaiming of His Highnes the Lord Protector.

“1. A large scaffold to be erected at the north end of the Wheate Markett, the breadth of the markett house and to be continued within the markett house unto the second pillar thereof, and to be about 16 or 18 foote without the markett house towards the High Crosse, the ascent to it to be by staires at that end next the High Crosse, the scaffold to be about 4 foote high.

“2. The sides of the scaffold to be boarded up about 3 foote and a halfe and to be covered decently with red cloth about the middle of the scaffold next the market house, against the midle pillar thereof to be placed a faire chaire for the Major and before it a square table with a chaire and stoole betwixt the table and the Major’s chaire for the Towne Clerke and his man, the table to be decently covered with a good carpett, and on each side of the scaffold and behinde the Major’s chaire formes for the Aldermen and Common Councill.

"3. The persons to attend this solemnity : 1. The Major, Aldermen, and Common Councill in their scarlett, such as weare scarlett, and the rest in their festivall or best robes, the Major to have his upper robe of scarlett upon his gowne ; 2ndly, The Masters, Wardens, and the rest of the severall Companies within the city with their pendants or streamers ; 3rdly, The Constables of the severall Wards with their staves ; 4ly, about six or more trumpetters and the Waites or loud musicke of the city ; 5ly, about 12 or more halberteires.

"4. The time and place for the meeting together of the said persons to be on Saturday, 11th Julie, 1657, at 12 a clocke at noone in the Colledge Church.

"5. After they are fully mett, to go from thence to the markett house in the order following, viz., 1st. Three or the one halfe of the trumpetts ; next them all the halbert[e]jires ; then the one halfe of the constables ; next the one halfe of the Companies of the city ; then the other halfe of the trumpetts ; next the other halfe of the constables ; and then the other halfe or remainder of the companies ; after all these the cities loud musicke or Waites ; and then the Serjeants with their maces and the Swordbearer with the sword ; and lastly the Major, Aldermen, and Common Councill in their due order and rankes, to goe up along the Mercer Row and so round by the Crosse to the scaffold.

"6. The order to be observed on the scaffold during the solemnity to be as followeth, viz., the Major to seate himselfe in his chayre, the Aldermen and eldest of the Common Councill on the formes on each side the scaffold, the rest behinde the Major or as there is roome, the two Sheriffs to stand one on the one side of the Major's chaire, the other on the other, the Towne Clerke in the chaire before the Major next the table, his clerke on the stoole on his left hand, the Swordbearer, still holding the sword erected, on the right side of the Major a litle advancing betwixt the Major and Town Clerk, and the fower Sergeants two on the one side of the table, one before the other, and the other two on the other side, bearing their maces still on their shoulders, the trumpetts and musicke to stand at the entrance of the scaffold, the one halfe on the one side thereof and the other on the other, and the halbertyres below in the streete at the entrance up to the scaffold to cleare the passage and keepe order according to the constables' direccions, who are to stay with them.

"7. When the Major and the rest are thus fully seated to sitt still for some convenient time in this solemne manner, then one decently habited to step up on the table and, a trumpet being appointed to sound three times, he is thereupon to make the proclamacion and publish the petition and advise, and at the end of all to say ' God save the Protector ! ' And thereupon all people to make three acclamations, the trumpetts sounding and musicke playing : during this whole accion the Major and all others to stand up bareheaded.

"8. This being done, all to take their places as at first, and so to continue for some short time, then the person that stood upon the table is to go to the edge of the scaffold and to say ' Long live Oliver, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging ! ' And thereupon to ensue three acclamations as before.

"9. After a short pause, the Major, Aldermen, and Common Councill to go thence up to the Tolsey with the trumpetts, musicke, halbertyers, maces, and sword only before them, where wine and cakes are to be ready provided for them, the trumpetts and musicke to sound and play

all the time on the Tolsey leads, and the Crosse to run at two cocks with clarett wine, and the Colledge bells only to ring about this time.

"10. Two gallens of French wine to be allowed to each Company of the severall Companies of the city, and a ticquett under the Stewards' hands to be delivered to the Master of each Company where to have it. And rewards to be given to the trumpetters, 5s. a peece or thereabouts.

"11. At night bonfires and ringing of bells throughout the whole city.

"12. If the troupe of horse thinke fitt to be there, to draw up in the Northgate-streete neere and facing towards the High Crosse.

"Be it remembred, that the proclaiming of His Highnes the Lord Protector was done and acted the eleventh day of July, 1657, in manner and forme aforesaid;" pp. 222-224.

[1657.]—Petition of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council to the Lord Protector, shewing "that the lott of your petitioners for the satisfaccion of 1,275 *li.* in rebells lands in Ireland is fallen in the Barony of Stradbally, in Queenes County, where there is not land to satisfy more then a small part of their debt; that what remaines unsatisfied in the Barony where their lott is fallen ought of right by the act of Parliament on that behalfe made to be supplied out of the surplus lands of any other Barony in the same county; that those adventurers whose lotts are fallen in the Barony of Portnyhinch in the same county next adjoyning to the Barony of Stradbally are fully satisfied, and there is a remaine of land in that Barony sufficient to supply what your petitioners want to compleat their lott, being the first in number to be satisfied in the said Barony of Stradbally; that your petitioners, as they humbly conceive, have a clearer right to be satisfied the remainder of their lott in the afore-mencioned surplus of land then any other of the adventurers, 1st, because that Barony of Portnyhinch is contiguous to noe other Barony in that county consigned to the adventurers but Stradbally; 2ndly, your petitioners lott according to the rules and order made by the Committee of Lotts ought to be sett out before any other lott of the same Barony, being the first in number as aforesaid; 3dly, your petitioners have already received part of their satisfaction in Stradbally, and if they should be lyable to a second allotment for the rest, the rule and causon for the preservacion of contiguity so carefully observed hitherto in all distribucions of lands to adventurers and souldiers wilbe broken and the remainder of your petitioners lott may possibly fall 100 mil[es] 'from what they now have, and consequently your petitioners wilbe much more injured thereby then all others, who, being entirely deficient, will probably by a new allotment receive an entire satisfaccion; 4ly, that your petitioners receiving their satisfaccion as they humbly desire is no infringment to the act nor injury to any of the adventurers, but a benefitt to the commonwealth in expediting your petitioners' setlment and putting them thereby into a capacity forthwith to plant and people their land. Your petitioners therefore humbly pray that your Highnes wilbe pleased to authorize and appoint your Highnes Councill for the affaires of Ireland to cause soe much of the afore-mencioned surplus lands within the Barony of Portnyhinch to be forthwith lett out and settled upon your petitioners as with what they are already possessed of in the Barony of Stradbally cleare of incumbrances shall compleat the satisfaccion by the aforemencioned act of Parliament justly due unto them;" p. 232.

1657, July 24. Gloucester.—The Mayor and Aldermen to the Lord HENRY CROMWELL, General of the Forces in Ireland. "The Parliament

having beene pleased to passe an act for satisfaction of the inhabitants of this city for their losses susteyned at the time of the seige by the late King's army out of lands and houses in Ireland, we humbly take leave to recommend our concernments to your Lordship, which will be more particularly made known to you by Doctor Clarges that waites upon your Lordship with this letter, whom we have prevailed with to prosecute our desires to your Lordship and the Councill in Ireland because he hath beene already out of his love to us very instrumental in procuring this act of Parliament. And we have much reason to hope for your Lordship's favour and assistance to him in this busines because you have often given a testimony by your kindenes to this place of your being well pleased with the interest you have in our affections [*affectiōns*, MS.]. And we humbly conceive his quality and merit will not be the least motive to induce your Lordship's respect to him on the behalfe of your Excellencies most humble servants;" p. 221.

1657, August 26.—Letter of the Mayor and Burgesses appointing Vincent Gookin, Esq., their attorney to take possession of all such lands as shall be allotted to them for their adventure in the Barony of Stradbally in the Queenes County, or elsewhere in Ireland; p. 233.

1657, December 2. Whitehall.—The Lord Protector to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council. "I doe heare on all hands that the Caveleir partye are designing to putt us to blood; wee are, I hope, taking the best care we can, by the blessing of God, to obviate this danger, but our intelligence on all hands being that they have a designe upon your city, wee could not but warne you thereof and give you authority, as we do hereby, to putt yourselves into the best posture you can for your owne defence by raising your Militia by vertue of the commissions formerly sent you and putting them in a readines for the purpose aforesaid, letting you also know that, for your better encouragement herein, you shall have a troope of horse sent you to quarter in or neare your towne. We desire you to lett us heare from you from tyme to tyme what occurs to you touching the malignant party. And soe we bid you farewell;" p. 235.

1657, December 9. Gloucester.—The Mayor and Aldermen to the Lord Protector. "Upon Munday last we received your Highnes commands touching the raising of our Militia, and presently we called together the Common Councill of our city and communicated the same to them, and they doe returne their most humble and hearty thanks for your most gracious respects and care of this city. And thereupon we appointed fower captaines, formerly commissioned, to putt themselves and their companies in the best posture for our defence, but there are not in their custody or our owne above one hundred and fifty musketts and noe pikes at all, by reason they were formerly seised upon and sent to Chepstow Castle, and this city is also unfurnished of armes by reason, as now it is discovered to us, that one Stephen Earlye, Master of Bridewell in Abington, hath bought up a great quantity of musketts in this city under pretence of selling the same to the gunsmiths of London. We see at present noe appearance of any imminent danger, yet, being forewarned by your Highnes, we shalbe vigilant and have an especiall eye on all persons we may justly suspect, and shall, as occasion is offered, certify your Highnes what occurs to us touching the malignant party. And we assure your Highnes we shalbe alwaies very ready to serve your Highnes to our utmost powers, as we acknowledge our selves obliged thereunto. And soe, with our most hearty prayers to Almighty God for your long life and happines, to the glory of God and the great

comfort of the people committed to your Highnes protection, we do in all humble and dutifull manner subscribe ourselves ;" p. 236.

1657-8, March 11. Whitehall.—The Lord Protector to the Commissioners of Militia for the city of Gloucester. "We are informed that the enemy from Flaunders intend to invade us very suddainly, and to that purpose have 22 ship of warr ready in the harbour of Ostend, and are preparing others also which they have bought in Holland, and some men are ready to be putt on board them. And at the same tyme an insurrection is intended in this nation, and the tyme for the executing these designes is intended by them to be very suddaine. We have therefore thought fitt to give you notice hereof, and to signify to you our pleasure thatt you putt your selves into the best posture you can for the securing the city of Gloucester and to putt the armes into such hands as are true and faithfull to us and this commonwealth. We desire you to be very carefull and to lett us heare from you of the receipt of this, and what you shall doe in pursuance of this letter ;" p. 237.

1657-8, March 15. Gloucester.—The Commissioners of Militia for the city to the Lord Protector. "Upon Saturday last we received your Highnes letter dated the 11th instant, and immediately thereupon taking the contents thereof into serious consideration, as the exigency thereof did require, we ordered that Capt. Wise, Capt. Clerke, Capt. Hill, and Capt. Ellis, being the persons formerly commissioned on the like occasions, should with all expedicion putt themselves and their companies into a convenient posture for the defence and safety of this city ; and we found in them a very ready compliance thereunto. And upon examination of the store of armes within this city, we found them very fewe, the publike magazine, together with all armes remayning in private hands, having been heretofore removed hence by publike order at the tyme of the dismantling of this guarrison. However, by our earnest endeavors we have bought and provided about three hundred musketts and doe hope to make them up sufficient for the furnishing of the said four companies. And we doe further humbly certify that, besides the persons that have voluntarily listed themselves under the said four captains, there are, as we are informed, sundry able citizens who are willing to provide and beare their owne armes under the command of one of the Aldermen of the said city for the defence and safety thereof ; and thereupon we humbly present Robert Tyther, Alderman, to be captaine over them soe that he may be speedily commissioned thereunto. We shall upon all occasions as much as in us lye have a speciall care of the peace and safety of this city and of the continuance thereof in a due submission and obedience to your Highnes' government as becometh your Highnes' most humble and faithfull servants ;" p. 242.

1658, September 4. Whitehall.—HENRY LAURENCE, President of the Council [to the Mayor, Aldermen and Council], announcing the death of Cromwell and the succession of Richard Cromwell to the Protectorship, and requiring them to proclaim the new Protector ; p. 249. The form of proclamation herewith enclosed is given at p. 251.

1658, September 10. Gloucester.—[The Mayor, Aldermen, and Council] to the Lords of the Privy Council notifying them of the receipt of the preceding and of the proclamation of the new Protector ; p. 252.

1659, November 19. Whitehall.—W. HOUSTON, President of the Committee of Safety, to the Mayor and Aldermen of Gloucester. "This Committee take in consideration of the present pressing necessities of the souldiery quartering in and about your city, and to the end they may not be reduced to too great extreimity till pay can be provided for them, they have thought it necessary hereby to desire that you take order for the quartering of them in private houses, or such other places whereby the same may be done with conveniency and be least burthensome to the people, and that they may have provision of fire and candle upon their guards, or that for their subsistance and defraying the charge of fire and candle you will accomodate them with a summe of money, for the reimbursment whereof out of their pay all due care shalbe taken by this Committee, to whom it will be a service at this time very acceptable;" p. 261.

1659, November 24. Gloucester.—The Mayor and Aldermen to the Committee of Safety. "We received your honourable letters of the 19th instant touching the quartering of souldiers and provision of fire and candle for their guards: in answer whereunto we crave leave to represent unto your honors that for the later provision hath beene and yet is made by us, hoping the charges thereof wilbe reimbursed; as touching the former that there have beene for about six weekes here quartered upon publique houses three foote companies of Coll. Cockrin's regiment who have beene much streightned in their quarters by reason of a troope of horse of Coll. Berryes regiment that have beene and yet are also quartered in the said houses; and the owners of the said houses have beene and are much overburthened thereby, in regard the quarters of the said foote and the greatest part of the said horse have not beene paid for. We were willing to apply a remedy hereunto, but could not perswade nor compell quarters in private houses, there being an act of Parliament to the contrary: therefore we borrowed money upon interest to pay the foote souldiers for some time, which being not accepted of, many of the said foote souldiers are now quartered upon the private families of the Common Councillmen of this city, to noe small greivance. We humbly desire that consideracion may be had that the suburbs of this city were burned downe at the seidge thereof and this city much lessned thereby, and that by reason of the greate charges thereof and debts contracted during the late warrs, the continuall burthens sithence, besides the late providing of arms and advance monies and quartering of horse and foote occasioned by the late insurreccion, the greate decay of trading here and the increase of our poore by many families in regard of the marriages of souldiers during the former troubles, this city is much impoverished. And therefore our humble request is that the said troope of horse now quartered with us may be removed to some other place, and the rather sithence almost all the hay of this city is eaten up and the said publique houses much unprovided to give entertainment to guests; and that also some speedy course may be taken for the satisfaccion of the quarters of the saide foote companies, in regard that without supply many persons are not able any longer to beare the burthen thereof;" pp. 262, 263.

1659, November 26. Whitehall.—W. HOUSTON, President of the Committee of Safety, to the Mayor and Aldermen. We are informed that our letters desiring you to supply the soldiers with convenient lodging and fire and candle have not found that due observation that was expected, but the poor soldiers are still exposed to all kinds of

extremities in this sharp season, and many of the poor victuallers are undone by having to receive more soldiers than they can lodge or provide for; for remedy whereof and that they may not be necessitated to provide for themselves free quarters, to your far greater disadvantage, the Committee have thought fit to cause the enclosed Act of Parliament, which is still in force, to be reprinted, and they send you a copy of the same that you may know that their former desire to you was not unwarrantable, and they require you to forthwith relieve the said soldiers' necessities with such supply as money for payment of their quarters and providing fire and candle for the guards, which shall be repaid out of the first money received for their pay; p. 264.

1660, June 25. Gloucester.—Appointment by the Mayor and Burgesses of His Highness Henry, Duke of Gloucester, as High Steward of the City; p. 269.

At the end of the book is "A noate of the dozens of bread sent by the severall bakers in this city to Tewkesbury for the Lord Generall Cromwell's army."

COURT BOOKS.

Hundred Court.

No. 1559.—A quarta book of paper containing the proceedings of the Hundred Court of the Borough, which are briefly recorded, the declarations and pleadings being generally omitted. It extends from 1502 to 1507. The following appears to be the only entry of value in it.

1503, August 7.—Hundredum ibidem tentum septimo die Augusti, anno regni Regis Henrici Septimi decimo octavo.

Johannes Morewode attachiatus fuit ad respondendum Ricardo Semys, Magistro Artis Corvesisarum, et Gardianis ejusdem artis de placito transgressionis, quare cum i[i]dem querentes et praedecessores sui sunt, et fuerunt, sub compositione ex antiquo tempore eis concessa [*conceditur*, MS.] per Ballivos hujus villae, qui pro tempore fuerunt, praedecessores Ballivorum nunc, et ad huc Magistro, Gardianis, et Magistris dictae artis et fraternitatis conceditur, cum sic dicatur per compositionem suam eis confectam, etc.: "Ordinatum est, quod nullus extraneus artifex artis praedictae tanquam magister publice occupet [*occupaverit*, MS.], sive incipere praesumat occupare, artem praedictam sine licentia Ballivorum, qui pro tempore fuerint, et Magistri et Gardianorum dictae artis, non essens ut serviens ejusdem artis et fraternitatis per spatium unius anni et diei, subeat poenam forisfacturae Ballivis eodem tempore existentibus, Magistro et Gardianis dictae artis xl. solidorum," ut per compositionem inde confectam plenius et magis apparet. Et unde i[i]dem querentes, per Johannem Bowear attornatum suum, queruntur [de] eo quod dictus defendens, in festo Sancti Petri Apostoli, anno regni Regis nunc xviii^o, hic apud Glouc[estriam] infra, etc., incepit [*incipit*, MS.] et occupavit artem praedictam, non essens ut serviens ejusdem artis per spatium praedictum, sine licentia Magistri dictae artis et Gardianorum, ac contra formam compositionis ejusdem artis praeantea ex antiquo tempore, ut praedictum est, huic fraternitati artis artific[um] corvesisarum concessae [*conceditur*, MS.]: unde dicunt, quod deteriorati sunt et dampnum habent ad valentiam centum solidorum; et inde producant sectam.

Defendens in propria persona sua venit, et defendit vim et injuriam quando, etc. ; p. 47.

No. 1560.—1641-1652.

No. 1561.—1657-1796.

RECORDS OF
THE CORPORATION OF
GLOUCESTER.

County Court.

No. 1558.—1632-1703.

Piepowder or Tolsey Court.

These are little more than appearance books. No. 1549 gives the rules of the Court at the end of the volume

No. 1544.—1616-1622.

No. 1545.—1622-1627.

No. 1546.—1651-1653.

No. 1547.—1653-1657.

No. 1548.—1667-1673.

No. 1549.—1673-1682.

There are seven other volumes relating to the proceedings of this Court in the last century.

Court Leet.

No. 1562.—1670.

No. 1563.—1693.

No. 1564.—1738-1783.

No. 1565.—1784-1819.

SESSIONS' BOOKS.

No. 1566.—1631-1638.

No. 1567.—1638-1647.

No. 1568.—1648-1654.

No. 1569.—1654-1663.

No. 1570.—1663-1699.

No. 1571.—1773-1792.

There are also two volumes containing copies of the indictments at the Sessions, No. 1572, 1639-1652 and No. 1573, 1653-1684.

MISCELLANEOUS BOOKS.

No. 1574.—A register of writs returned in the city, 43 Eliz. There are some lengthy notes at p. 59 regarding the proportions due from the city and from the county for levies of men.

Nos. 1542 and 1543.—Rough minute books of the Council, etc., 1609-1635, and 1635-1670. A comparison of these books with the Council minutes might yield some valuable matter, as many of the minutes are not entered in the Council Books and may possibly be the minutes of committees of the Council.

No. 1575. — A book containing records of Coroners' inquests, 1642-1660.

No. 1576. — Book of recognizances to keep the peace, etc., 1643-1649.

No. 1577.—A similar book, 1649-1652.

No. 1583.—Register of apprentices, 1645-1659.

No. 1584.—Register of Alehouse licences, 1676-1739.

No. 1584 b.—Ditto, 1740-1747.

No. 1585.—List of claims to be admitted Freemen, 1732-1749.

No. 1588.—Enrolments of bargains and sales, Statutes Merchant bonds, etc., 1648-1722.

There are also a few books of charity accounts, etc., that call for no special notice here.

The only duty that now remains for me to perform is the pleasant one of returning thanks to those gentlemen whom I have had the privilege of enrolling amongst my friends during my sojourn in Gloucester. In the first place my thanks are due to the Mayor, Aldermen and Council for their interest in, and appreciation of my work. It is rather invidious to make distinctions where all have been so kind, but I cannot refrain from specially thanking Mr. Ald. Mott, Mr. R. V. Vassar-Smith, Mr. H. W. Bruton, and Col. Washbourn. Outside the Council I have to express my thanks to Mr. John Bellows, the Rev. S. Bartleet, M.A., the Rev. W. Bazeley, M.A., Secretary of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, and to Mr. H. Godwin Chance, M.A., of the *Gloucester Journal*, for useful help and many social services. I am also indebted to Sir John Maclean, F.S.A., of Clifton, for much assistance. I feel that I owe a deep debt to the Town Clerk (Mr. G. Sheffield Blakeway), with whom I have been necessarily brought into constant contact. His invariable courtesy and his kindly interest in my work form one of the pleasantest memories of my stay in a city that is full of memories that cannot be otherwise than pleasant to a student of English history.

W. H. STEVENSON.

RECORDS OF THE BUTCHERS' COMPANY OF GLOUCESTER, IN THE
POSSESSION OF MR. R. POWELL CHANDLER.

Mr. R. Powell Chandler, of 2, College Court, Gloucester, has in his possession the records of the Butchers' Gild or Company, which are preserved in an old box specially made to contain them and the four banners of the company, which are also owned by Mr. Chandler. The Commission is indebted to Mr. Chandler for permission to examine these deeds.

1454, May 27.—The Bailiffs and Stewards of Gloucester to all to whom, etc. "Sciatis, quod nos praedicti Ballivi, Senescalli, et Communitas, unanimi assensu et communi agreeamento nostro, propter quamplura inconvenientia evitanda et honestatem villae praedictae ac etiam felicitatem dictae communitatis conservandam in futurum,

assignavimus, tradidimus, et dimisimus [*etc.*, to John Brer and eight others] adnunc carnificibus et victualatoribus dictae villae Glouc. et omnibus sociis suis atque successoribus suis carnificibus ejusdem villae qui in futurum erunt, quandam parcellam terrae communitalis praedictae jacentem juxta communam keyam dictae villae prope aquam Sabrinae, quae quidem parcella terrae mensurata est et continet ab australi fine dictae keyae ubi quaedam postis* lignea est apposita linealiter procedendo versus castrum Glouc. viginti quatuor virgas Domini Regis ulnarias cum pollicibus interpositis et tantam profunditatem interius in praedictam aquam Sabrinae sicut postis praedicta se inibi extendit, et abinde retrorsum computando versus locum vocatum '*Bareland*' sexaginta virgas Domini Regis ulnarias cum pollicibus interpositis: habendam et tenendam totam praedictam parcellam terrae praenominatis carnificibus et omnibus sociis et successoribus suis praememoratis ad deponenda, evacuanda, et dimittenda ibidem omnia et omnimoda garbagia et alia quaecunque inhonesta provenientia de arte bocheriae infra villam Glouc. ex causa praemissa imperpetuum absque contradictione [*etc.*]; reddendo inde annuatim Ballivis villae praedictae, qui pro tempore fuerint, nomine redditus longabuli Domini Regis ad *le Hokeday*, quem redditum Prior Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomaei Glouc. solebat antiquitus solvere, unum denarium quadrantem. Sciatis insuper, quod nos praedicti Ballivi, Senescalli, et Communitas, unanimi assensu, ut praemittitur, ad instantiam praedictorum carnificum, pro emendatione villae et communitalis supra-dictarum et bona gubernatione habenda in arte praedicta, auctoritate cartae regiae burgensibus villae Glouc. factae et confirmatae, concessimus eisdem carnificibus et successoribus suis ejusdem artis infuturum specialem potestatem ad eligendos annuatim infra octo dies post festum Sancti Michaelis proximo sequens duas habiles et ydoneas personas de arte sua praedicta in Carneatores sive Gardianos ejusdem artis et eos sic electos Ballivis villae Glouc. pro tempore existentibus praesentandos, juramenta corporalia praestituros quod ipsi sic praesentati et jurati artem suam praedictam et omnes personas eandem exercentes infra libertatem villae praedictae per totum tempus suum bene et fideliter supervidebunt et examinabunt, ac omnes et singulas personas illas quas invenerint in eadem arte delinquentes, una cum omnibus deceptionibus, transgressionibus ac defectibus per easdem personas delinquentes in arte illa factis, Ballivis praedictis pro tempore existentibus absque aliquo conclamento praesentabunt et aperte certificabunt. Concessimus etiam praenominatis carnificibus et successoribus suis praedictis, quod nullus extraneus carnifex decetero post diem impetrationis praesentium litterarum admittetur in libertatem villae praedictae quousque carnifex ille in arte carnificum infra eandem libertatem bene et fideliter servierit ut apprenticius obligatus eidem arti per certos annos plenarie completos et postea praesentatos fuerit per Gardianos ejusdem artis pro tempore existentes coram Ballivis et tota curia antedictae villae pro idonea persona in scientia, gestura, et aliis habilitatibus competentibus ad libere occupandam artem illam infra praedictam libertatem tanquam magister ejusdem artis et ex hoc extiterit receptus in eandem libertatem, et quod nulla persona, antequam sic instructa, praesentata et recepta fuerit in libertatem villae praedictae, praesumat imposterum artem bocheriae tenere et occupare ut magister inde neque aliquem apprenticium vel servientem in arte illa sub se habere infra eandem libertatem absque licentia Gardianorum

* *Postis* is fem. throughout.

ejusdem artis qui pro tempore fuerint sub poena solvendi Ballivis praedictis pro interesse Domini Regis in hoc casu xs. et eisdem Gardianis ad commune opus artis suae praedictae xs. Ad quae omnia praemissa debite exequenda in anno proximo sequenti post datum praesentium ordinavimus et instituimus praefatos Johannem Brer et Robertum Hoper Gardianos per nos ad haec juratos in forma juris. In quorum omnium praemissorum testimonium uni parti praesentis scripti indentati penes praedictos Carnifices remanenti tam sigillum officii Ballivorum villae Glouc. quam commune sigillum ejusdem villae sunt appensa; alteri vero parti penes nos residenti praefati Carnifices sigilla sua apposuerunt. Datum Glouc[estriae], ad Visum Franciplegii ibidem tentum die Lunae xxviii^{mo} die Maii, anno regni Regis Henrici Sexti post Conquaestum xxxiii^{do}.

Provided alwey that the seid bochers [ab]ovebounden and ther successours do well, substancially, and laufully vytell the seid town of Gloucester for every tyme and season yn the yere and that the Wardens of the same crafte shall make due serche and attendaunce geve and be resident every market day with ther Meire for the tyme beyng to shew every defawte uppon ther othes for eny unlauffull vytell that belongeth to ther crafte. [*Added in a hand of slightly later date.*]

1571, December 14.—Thomas Wykes, Mayor, and the Aldermen and Common Council of Gloucester to all to whom, etc. Whereas the Burgesses of Gloucester have been authorized by royal charters to make fraternities and gilds amongst themselves and ordinances for the regulation of the same, etc.; and whereas there has been within this city in the reigns of several of the Queen's progenitors a company of butchers known, reputed, and kept by the name of "the Fraternity of Butchers of the City of Gloucester;" know ye that at a general assembly holden in the Council Chamber December 11, 1571, it was agreed, for the weal of the said city and at the request of William Phelps, John Maddock, and Richard Sparks, and others the butchers of the city, that they and 19 others (whose names are given) shall be reputed and taken as one and the only company of butchers within the said city, and shall be taken and reputed as one brotherhood, as freely and lawfully as any other company at present within the said city; and that they may yearly elect from amongst themselves an able and fit man to be Master and two others to be Wardens, which Master and Wardens shall have full power to enquire in the common hall of the said fraternity of all defaults, deceits, and trespasses committed by any of the brethren of the said company of, for, or concerning anything pertaining to the said art or occupation, and to correct and punish the same as they shall require. Every person who shall be elected by them yearly on the Monday before the feast of St. Michael to be Master or Warden of the said company shall be so accepted for one whole year next following such election; and they and their successors, Masters and Wardens of the said company, may govern the said brotherhood in all necessary affairs as stands with law, right, and custom of the said city; and that they may assemble the said company in any fit and convenient place in the said city, which place shall be called by the name of "the Butchers' Hall of the City of Gloucester;" and that the said company shall be called and be answerable in this city by the name of "The Brotherhood of the Boochers of the Citie of Glouc." We grant that they may make, for the better government of the said company, constitutions and ordinances, and hold the same firm and inviolable after they have been approved by the Mayor and Court of Aldermen, and to abbreviate, alter, or annul any of them with the consent of the said Mayor and Aldermen; and that

such constitutions so approved shall be holden inviolable within the said city and the liberties of the same, without let or contradiction from any one. For the more perfect execution of the premises until Monday before the feast of St. Michael next coming, we appoint the said William Phelps Master and the said John Maddccke and Humphrey Straforde Wardens of the same company, to execute all that pertains to the said offices according to the following articles and rules:—

I.—From henceforth yearly, on the Monday before the feast of St. Michael, the old Master with the whole brotherhood shall assemble in their said Hall, and there choose by the voices of the majority from themselves a new Master for the ensuing year, which new Master shall elect one brother to be his Warden, the company to elect the other Warden for the ensuing year; and the said new Master and Wardens shall be presented within fifteen days after their election to the Mayor in the full Hundred Court, there to take their corporal oaths before the same Court to this effect, to wit, the said Master to do his best endeavour for the accomplishment of all things belonging to his office, observing and fulfilling all acts and provisions in this book comprised with all such good rules, customs, and laudable usages as ought to be done and kept amongst the said brotherhood, as well such as be already made, as such as shall be hereafter made, and to make payment of a moiety of all forfeitures received by him to the Sheriffs of the said city; and the said Wardens shall make oath that they will be obedient to the Master in all lawful things touching the said occupation, and be aiding and assisting to him for the execution of the said charge and all and every “white” of that which shall pertain to the office of Warden for the time being.

II.—The said Master, Wardens, and Brethren shall yearly, on the day of their said election, choose in their common Hall one beadle, who shall then and there take his oath to be obedient to the said Master in all things belonging to his office and to summon the brethren and sisters of the said art to come to the said Master and Wardens when he is so commanded by the Master and Wardens, and to gather all fines, amercements, and forfeitures and all other duties belonging to the Master for the time being. Provided always, that if the said election and oaths of the Master, Wardens, and Beadle be not duly and truly executed and observed upon such days, places, and in such form as is aforesaid, then the old Master shall forfeit twenty pounds.

III.—The Master, with the due assistance and aid of his Wardens, shall have power and authority to oversee, look unto, and examine, according to their oaths before recited, all and singular persons of the same occupation within the city of Gloucester and liberties of the same in any wise occupying the same art or any part thereof, and to present all manner of deceits, transgressions, offences, and defaults made or done by any person of the said occupation done and found upon that search to the Mayor for the time being to be corrected and reformed, and to punish and correct the persons so offending before the Mayor and the Master and Wardens of the said brotherhood, according to their discretions and the just deserts of the offenders. It shall be lawful for the Master and Wardens with the assent of the brotherhood to make wholesome and necessary ordinances concerning their said occupation, and to alter, revise, or annul the same if necessary; the Mayor and Court of Aldermen to be made privy to the said ordinances, or otherwise they are to be null and void.

IV.—Any person of the said brotherhood refusing to fill the office of Master, to forfeit 20s., or to relinquish the said occupation in the said

city; for refusing the office of Warden 6s. 8*d.*; for refusing the office of Beadle 3s. 4*d.*

V.—No person of the said company shall instruct or teach or suffer to be taught any son of his own above the age of 14 or any servant of his in any point or cunning belonging to the said occupation, until such time as such son or servant have been presented to the Master and Wardens, and then to be bound by indenture as his apprentice or covenant servant for the term of seven years at least, upon pain of forfeiting 10*s.*

VI.—No person of the said company shall from henceforth provoke or entice any apprentice, covenant servant, or journeyman of any other member of the said company to leave his service before the end of his term of service, on pain of forfeiting 10*s.*; and the said servant shall be delivered back to his master by the Master and Wardens to serve the remainder of his term. If the Master and Wardens fail to correct any such offence within 20 days, then the Mayor is to take order for the reformation of the same.

VII.—If any strife or controversy shall arise between any persons of the said occupation for any matter concerning the said occupation, the parties so aggrieved shall make relation thereof to the Master, who shall, with the advice of two or three honest persons of the said company, examine the said matter within three days after complaint, and shall pacify the same according to their discretions; and if they cannot or will not so do within six days, then the party aggrieved may complain to the Mayor, and so seek for his remedy by due order of law, or otherwise to stand to the order of the Mayor in that behalf. Any person of the said company offending against this order to forfeit 13*s.* 4*d.*

VIII.—If any journeyman or covenant servant do suddenly depart from the service of his master without licence or a quarter's warning given to his master, if he were retained for one whole year, and go and dwell for a season in some place outside the city and return thither again, or if he remain in the said city and require to be hired by another master, it shall not be lawful for any person of the said company having knowledge thereof to receive or retain such servant until the said servant have compounded and agreed with his late master and have made a reasonable fine with the Master of the said company. If any person of the said company receive any servant contrary to this order, he shall pay such reasonable fine as shall be fixed by the Master, Wardens, and greater part of the said company. Every journeyman or hired servant retained with any of the said company shall give his master one quarter's notice before leaving his service, unless reasonable cause to the contrary be shewed to the Mayor and two Justices, on pain of forfeiting 6*s.* 8*d.*

IX.—The Master and Wardens of the said company shall cause the Beadle of the company to call a meeting every quarter of the brothers and sisters of the said company in their common Hall, to be held at a time to be fixed by the Master and Wardens, then and there to consider all matters concerning the commonwealth of the said company, and all faults and misorders concerning the said art; and if any offence or misorder be found amongst any of the said company, then they may order and reform the same according to their discretions, as may befit law, equity, and conscience: the Beadle to forfeit 12*d.* for not giving summons. The Wardens shall then levy of every master of the said occupation 2*d.* in the name of quarterage, for the use of the said

company. Every brother and sister of the said company absenting himself or herself after such summons shall forfeit 2*s.* 4*d.* for every time.

X.—No foreigner nor other person except the brothers and sisters of the said company shall be admitted to sell by retail within the said city or the suburbs of the same anything pertaining to the said occupation without the special licence and consent of the Master, Wardens, and greater part of the said company in their common Hall, or unless he have served an apprenticeship to the said occupation of at least seven years within the said city, and have been presented before his admittance by the Master and Wardens before the rest of their brethren in their common Hall for a meet person in the knowledge of the occupation aforesaid and well-trying to be a man fit and able, as well for good behaviour and quality as competent ability, to occupy and set up the same occupation within the said city and suburbs as a master of the same, upon pain of forfeiting 6*s.* 8*d.* for every day, other than the usual days hereinafter mentioned, that he shall set up contrary to this order. If any person occupy or use within the said city or suburbs any part of the said occupation of butchers by the selling of any kind of dead flesh fit for man's sustenance or eating for the space of six days, unless he be a burgess that has been of the same company, not discommoded but remaining still free within the said city, and also a brother of the said company, he shall forfeit 6*s.* 8*d.* and shall be further punished and corrected as the quality of the cause deserves from time to time by the Mayor and Court of Aldermen, provided always that it shall be lawful for any stranger or foreigner, citizen or freeman of the said city not free of the said company to sell meat on Saturdays between eight in the forenoon and one in the afternoon at the place near the common school called "Chrifte Schole," or in such other place as shall be appointed by the Mayor, provided that the said strangers or foreigners bring in the hide, fell, or skin of the flesh brought by them to be sold and the whole tallow of any beast or mutton, and offer the same for sale at a reasonable price, excepting such as they shall require without fraud or deceit for their own use. The government and regulation of the said foreigners or strangers to be with the Mayor with the attendance of the Master and Wardens of the said company.

XI.—No householder or journeyman of the said company shall from henceforth presume to speak to the Master or Wardens any malicious, unfit, or unseemly words, upon pain of forfeiting such sum as the said company shall think fit at their next common assembly in their common Hall.

No householder or journeyman of the said company shall from henceforth willingly absent himself from their common assemblies after being duly summoned by the Beadle unless he or she can show a lawful cause for his or her absence, on pain of 20*d.* ; and shall not absent himself from the common and solemn watches when they shall happen to be used within the same city, without lawful cause to be allowed by the Master and Wardens at their next general assembly, on pain of forfeiting 6*s.* 8*d.* for every default at the two watches. All sums of money forfeited as above to be levied of the goods and chattels of the offender by the Master and Wardens, taking with them a constable and a Mayor's Sergeant. It shall be lawful for the Master and Wardens to sue any person for any of the aforesaid forfeitures.

XII.—Upon the election of a new Master and Wardens the old Master shall deliver an account to the new Master and Wardens and to the whole company then present of all monies received by him during

his term of office, and shall make payment of all arrears within 10 days, on pain of forfeiting 10s. for every week that he shall detain such money or refuse to render his account after the said ten days. Half of the fines and forfeitures to be paid by the Master to the Sheriffs within 28 days after the expiration of his term of office, to the end that they may be aiding and assisting the said Master, Wardens, and Company; the other half to be employed for the use of the company.

The Mayor and Aldermen to have power to annul or amend any ordinances that shall be found to be contrary to the Queen's prerogative or statutes or to the commonwealth of the said city or to the fellowship aforesaid.

The Mayor and Aldermen grant to the said fraternity and company for the more clean keeping of the said city, a parcel of land at the common quay of the said city near the Severn, measuring 24 yards "with inches betwene putt" by 60 yards "with inches betwene putt," for the said company to there place their "gorbage" and other filth or offal, the said company keeping clean and paving the said ground at their own charges.

Approved by Sir Edward Sanders, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and Serjeant William Lovelace, the Justices of Assize within the County of the said City of Gloucester, on July 24, 1572.

1614, July 15.—A table of the orders made by the Master, Wardens, and Company of Butchers, and approved by the Mayor and Aldermen, for the regulation of the trade.

1695-6, January 24.—A similar table.

1665, September 25.—Order signed by the members of the company, numbering 91, that every Master of the said company shall upon the day of his election make a breakfast to the value of 6s. 8d. for the whole company at his own cost, on pain of forfeiting 20s.; and upon that day fortnight or on the second Monday after Michaelmas a sufficient dinner to the value of 1l. 13s. 4d. for the whole company at his own cost, on pain of forfeiting five pounds. This order was made because an ancient custom to the same effect had been broken for two years last past, "we the whole company takeing into consideration the great disorder that have bin in amongst us through the breach of this antient custome, and likewise how wee have been scandalized by other companies for the breach of such a custome, which tendeth not only for the keeping up of a brotherly society amongst our own and other companies, but likewise in some cases for our particuler profits."

There is another copy of this order with signatures.

1702, September 2.—Agreement between the freeholders, landholders, and parishioners of the parish of Sandhurst, co. Gloucester, regarding rights of common, etc., in Sandhurst.

W. H. STEVENSON.

RECORDS OF THE TANNERS' COMPANY OF GLOUCESTER IN THE
POSSESSION OF C. H. DANCEY, ESQ.

Mr. C. H. Dancey, of Midland Road, Gloucester, has a bundle of papers relating to the Gild or Company of Tanners. He has permitted me to take the following notes of the contents of these papers, a permission for which I here wish to tender him my thanks. I may add that Mr. Dancey also possesses the banners of this company.

1541-2, March 3.—Ordinances of the Company.

I.—Every year in the feast of St. Clement the Martyr the Master and two Wardens of the fraternity shall cause all the brethren of the said craft of tanners to assemble in their Common Hall, when a new Master shall be elected; and in sign of election the old Master shall set on the head of the new Master so chosen a garland of flowers. The new Master shall then take oath of office.

II.—The new Master shall then choose two honest and lawful brethren of the same company to be Wardens, who are thereupon to take their oath of office.

III.—The new Master and Wardens shall, within fifteen days of their election, come before the Mayor and Sheriffs at their Hundred Court, and shall there take oath to truly and indifferently govern the said craft, and to present to the Sheriffs all defaults, deceits, and trespasses done or committed by any persons of the said craft during their year, and shall swear that they will correct the offenders according to their demerits, and that they will pay a moiety of all fines and amercements thereof arising to the said Sheriffs, the other moiety to be laid out for the uses of the said fraternity.

IV.—If the Master and Wardens neglect to pay the moiety of any fine to the Sheriffs within one month after the offence, they shall forfeit 10s. (?) to the Sheriffs.

V.—The Master, Wardens, and fraternity shall, on the day of the election of Master and Wardens, choose a beadle, who shall take oath that he will be obedient to the Master, that he will summon the brethren and sisters of the said craft when he is commanded so to do by the Master, and that he will gather all fines, amercements, and forfeitures, with all other duties belonging to the said craft. If any brother, except such as have been Masters, shall refuse to serve as beadle, he shall forfeit 3s. 4d. The beadle shall receive at the end of his year 1d. from every brother and sister, being a widow, of the said craft, and shall also be acquitted of his quarterage for that year.

VI.—Any brother refusing to fill the office of Master shall forfeit 6s. 8d.; and any brother refusing to serve as Warden shall forfeit 5s.

VII.—When the said Master and Wardens have anything of charge to be done concerning the said craft, they shall be together in their Common Hall, and the one shall not do without the other.

VIII.—The Master and Wardens shall not admit any man or woman for a brother or sister into the said fraternity and craft for money, favour, or affection, unless he or she be of good name and fame and of honest conversation and cunning.

IX.—No person of the said fraternity shall receive or keep in work any journeyman, other than his apprentice, by the space of 14 days together, unless he undertake that the said journeyman will pay 2d. for the entry of his name, in case he have not paid it before, and 1d. every quarter as long as he shall work in the said town for the maintenance of the light of the said fraternity and the poor people of the same. Any person refusing to so undertake for his servant shall forfeit 3s. 4d.

X.—No brother or sister of the said craft shall entice or procure any servant of any other brother or sister to depart from their service, on pain of forfeiting 5s.

XI.—If any discord or variance arise between any of the brethren or sisters of the said fraternity for any matter concerning their said

craft, the matter in strife shall be debated and reasoned before the said Master and Wardens, who shall pacify the cause and make an end of the matter if they can; but in case any of the parties so in strife require to have his or her matter to the common law, it shall not be decided then; notwithstanding they shall first notice their cause to the Master and Wardens to be debated, on pain of forfeiture of 10s.

XII.—Every brother and sister of the said fraternity falling into poverty or impotency, not able to help him or herself, and having been a person honest and profitable after his or her wit and power to the said fraternity, shall have 4*d.* a week from the Master and Wardens, to be paid at the four usual terms of the year. If any such brother falling into poverty have filled the office of Master of the said craft, he shall receive 7*d.* a week.

XIII.—When any brother or sister of the said craft die or depart from this life, the Master and Wardens shall, so soon as knowledge thereof comes to them, cause the common bellman of the town to go through the town at a convenient time in the day, and to pray* by name for the soul of the brother or sister so deceased, at the costs of the said fraternity. The Master shall also cause all the brethren and sisters of the said fraternity to bring the corpse of the deceased brother or sister to church, and there to offer at the mass: every brother or sister making default and having no reasonable excuse, to forfeit one pound of wax to the maintenance of the lights of the said fraternity.

XIV.—The Master and Wardens shall cause to be celebrated every year, on the Monday next after Easter Day, in the chapel of St. Clement within the church of St. John the Baptist in Gloucester, the exequies, and on the morrow mass by note with priests and clerks then and there gathered, for the souls of all the deceased brethren and sisters of the said fraternity, at the cost of the said fraternity and craft. If any brother or sister be then absent from “dyriges” and “mass,” or do not offer to the priest’s hands as becomes, having no reasonable cause for being absent, he or she shall forfeit one pound of wax for the maintenance of the said light.

XV.—No person of whatsoever degree or condition he be shall occupy the craft of tanners within the town and liberties of Gloucester as a freeman or brother or sister of the said craft, unless he be first burgess and freeman of the same town; and the Master and Wardens shall admit no manner of person as a brother or sister without special knowledge from the Mayor and Sheriffs that the person so to be admitted is a burgess and freeman of the said town. The person to be admitted as a brother or sister shall pay such fine and fees as shall be lawfully judged and taxed by the Master and Wardens, not being “contrariante” to any statute or law; and the person to be admitted shall then and there in their Common Hall take oath to be obedient to the Master and Wardens in all lawful things touching their craft and fraternity, and to give and yield with his elder brethren, and after his wit and power shall maintain and support the charges of the said fraternity in time of necessity.

XVI.—If any man or woman do occupy or use by himself or herself or by any other for his or her use the craft of tanners in the said town by the space of one month, unless he or she be a burgess and a brother

* According to the construction of the sentence in the original, the meaning is that the bellman shall pray for the deceased; but the meaning intended is, no doubt, that the brethren shall pray for the deceased.

or sister of the said craft, he or she shall forfeit 13s. 4d. for every month that he or she shall occupy the said craft, and he or she shall be further punished and corrected by the Mayor and Sheriffs according to their discretion.

XVII.—It shall not be lawful for any brother or sister of the said craft to take any apprentice under the term of seven years, on pain of forfeiting 40s.

XVIII.—If any brother or sister of the same fraternity, being a widow, be lawfully summoned by their common beadle to appear at a certain time and place appointed by the Master and do not appear and have no reasonable excuse, he or she shall forfeit for the first default 4d., for the second 8d., and for the third default shall be expelled from the said fraternity unless he or she pay the other two amercements to the Master and Wardens.

XIX.—In case any brother of the said craft be discommoned by the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Common Council for rude and ill behaviour, he shall not use or occupy by himself or by any other for him the craft of tanners during the time of his discommoning, but shall be adjudged no brother of the said craft, and shall incur the same forfeitures as foreigners for using the said craft, until such time as he shall be re-admitted by the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Common Council, when he shall again be admitted a brother of the said craft.

XX.—Every brother of the said craft shall be in readiness with the Master and Wardens at their Common Hall every year on the eve of St. John the Baptist at eight o'clock at night and on St. Peter's Eve at the same hour in his best apparel, with "bendes" and badges on their shoulders touching their faculty, to await on the Mayor and Sheriffs on both nights in the King's Watch in the said town; and he shall not depart from the Watch until it be done and until he have brought the Master and Wardens to their Common Hall; which Master and Wardens shall make to the brethren of the said craft there assembled on each night an honest drinking as has been accustomed, at the cost of the said Master and Wardens. Every one of the said brethren that shall ride in scarlet or be a Steward for the year, and every widow, and every one having lawful impediment shall send an honest man well apparelled, as is abovesaid, to supply his or her room. Every brother and sister making default herein shall forfeit 3s. 4d.

XXI.—The Master and Wardens shall make an account at the end of their term of office, and deliver it to the new Master and Wardens with all arrears, and shall also deliver such goods and chattels in their hands as belong to the said fraternity, on pain of forfeiting 100s.

XXII.—Provided always, that if anything herein contained be contrary to the King's laws or the commonwealth of the said town, it shall be reformed and amended by the Justices of Assize when they come the circuit.

Approved by Sir Edmund Mervyn, knt., and Thomas Bromley, Serjeant at Law, Justices of Assize in the County of the City, at the Assizes holden at Gloucester.

There are, in addition to this, 13 leases, etc., relating to the Tanners' Hall, and two indentures of apprenticeship.

W. H. STEVENSON.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE CORPORATION OF HIGHAM FERRERS.

MS. OF THE
CORPORATION
OF HIGHAM
FERRERS.

The records of this ancient corporation are kept in a chest in the Town Hall. They consist of the rolls of the borough court (usually called "Curia Burgi," but sometimes in English "Halmote") with the manor-rolls and view of frankpledge for the manors of Higham Ferrers, Irenchester or Irchester, Rushden, and Raundes. These manors formed part of the Duchy of Lancaster, and as such were assigned in the time of Edw. IV. to his Queen, Elizabeth Woodville, as part of her dowry. The records of the last three manors begin in the reigns of Hen. V., VI., and to these is added in the time of Hen. VIII. the manor of Passenham. The rolls have been much exposed to damp, and are consequently very often in a state of mutilation and decay, sometimes almost pulverized, especially in the reigns of Hen. V., VI., VIII., and Elizabeth, besides being frequently deficient. The earliest roll is of the "Curia Burgensium de Heyham," or "Heccam," (held on Fridays) for 4 Edw. I., 1275-6. It contains the ordinary entries of surrenders of, and admissions to, property, with admissions of burgesses, licenses to brew, pleas of debt and trespass, &c. This is perfect. The next is of 4 Edw. II., 1310-11, in four membranes. Then follow those of 2, 16, 17, 23, 24, 26, 27, 29, 32, (?) 36, 37-51, Edw. III. The reigns of Rich. II. and Hen. IV., V., are perfect, and from the beginning of the reign of Rich. II. a list of the mayors could be continuously drawn out, with not many gaps in the series. From the beginning of Hen. IV. the entries become generally much more numerous, and the number of rolls in each year is multiplied, by which a growth of population would seem to be shown.

In 2 Edw. III. 1328, a cottage is let for sixpence per annum on condition that the tenants have a mass celebrated every year for the souls of Thos. Middelington and Agnes his wife, giving one halfpenny to the sacrist for carrying the bell.

Many members of the Chichele family are, as would be expected, mentioned; but, contrary to expectation, not Archbishop Chichele himself. Thomas Chichele, evidently the Archbishop's father, was mayor in 7 Rich. II., 1383-4; and this fact, hitherto unknown, proves that he was not, at that time at least, in the low condition of life which an unverified tradition assigns to him. And in May 1399 "Thomas Chychely et Johannes Bryhan capellanus, q[ue]rentes op[er]onunt se separatim versus Thomam Thomessone et Alic. uxorem ejus in placito debiti." Of others of the family, the following list has been noted; it is probably not exhaustive, for a careful examination of all the entries on each roll would be likely to add other names.

Margaret, "s[oror] Thome Chichely," has pleas of debt against several persons in May 1399.

William Chychely [brother of the Archbishop], mentioned 9 Hen. IV. 1408, and 9 Hen. V., 1421 [died in 1425].

Henry Chechely, claims his burgage-freedom at a court held 9 Jan., 6 Hen. IV., 1405.

Henry Chichele [the same?], sued by John Abbot, 5 Dec. 8 Hen. VI., 1429; fined 2*d.* in 19 Hen. VI., 1441; bailiff in 1445-6; mentioned 1447, 1454, 1464; on a jury in 1472.

John Chichele, in 12 Hen. VI., 1434, one of the tasters of bread and beer; on 30 June in that year surrenders the moiety of a cottage in Irenchester to Thomas Chichele.

Thomas Chichele, 22 July, 12 Hen. VI., 1434, claims land in Irenchester as being son and heir of Margaret Chicchele, one of the co-heiresses of John Patour (*Pato*⁹).

John Chicheley, a tithing-man in 2 Edw. IV., 1462; mentioned, 1468-1507.

William Checheley, 1479, 1481.

Margaret Checheley, 1495.

Henry Checheley, 1495, 1503-1509.

Robert Checheley, senior, 1508-13, 1526-9, 1530, 1537, 1539, 1543-4.

William Chicheley, 1517.

Robert Chicheley, junior, 1526-1530, 1537-1543; died in 1544, see *sub anno, infra*.

Thomas Chicheley, and Elizabeth his wife, 1548, 1556-8, 1569, 1578, 1581, 1589-90.

Robert Chicheley, 1594, 1602, 1617.

George Chicheley, 1594, 1600-1629; died in 1632, see *sub anno, infra*.

One Richard Brabasoun was several times mayor during the reign of Rich. II.

It will be convenient from this point to arrange in chronological order the other notes made from the rolls.

14 Rich. II., 1390-1.—Extract from the will of John Gylour about a burgage in St. Botolph's Street, between the burgages of the chantry of St. Mary. This street is frequently mentioned in subsequent rolls, and also Newland.

16 Rich. II., 1392-3.—Extract from the will of Robert Gardiner, barber.

18 Rich. II., Jan. 1395.—The will of Hen. Knotte, vicar of Higham Ferrers (who was vicar in 1372), was executed by Rob. Knotte, parson of Mephale. In this year John Bonothetone is vicar, and John Bryan chaplain. Will. Deen is mayor in this and the following year. Payments are made "de expensis factis circa aulam burgi;" for repairing the east wall; "pro les quynes gabule;" "pro emendacione gabule predictae et le shoppewyndoue;" &c.

22 Rich. II., May 1399, mention occurs of John Barton, son and heir of Henry Barton, "scolemayster" of Heigham.

2 Hen. IV., 28 Apr. 1401.—William Topclyve, mercer ("mercenarius") of York, dies at Higham. An inventory of his goods was made by his companion, Thomas Stanferye, a mercer of Abingdon, and they were valued at 74s. 5d., of which 13s. remained to be paid over when the expenses of his illness and funeral were deducted.

10 Hen. IV., 1408-9.—John Halleswane, vicar of Heygham, has several pleas of debt against various persons.

12 Hen. IV., 1410-11.—In the view of frankpledge at Rushden, "Jurati dicunt quod Johannes Chonne, Johannes Curryour, et Ricardus Broun communiter frequentant tavernas, et utuntur talis et aliis ludis noctanter, vigilando noctibus et dormiendo diebus, contra festum (*sic*) stat.;" they are fined 20d. each.

In the reign of Hen. VI. the rolls for the fifth and thirty-eighth years are wanting; of all the other years some portions, more or less, of the records remain.

In 11 Hen. VI. (1432-3) "le Townwellane" is mentioned.

Will of John West, 28 Apr. 1433; to be buried in the parish church; leaves "pro principali meo vijs viij^d vel optimam rem, ut mos ville expos-

tulat ;" to the high altar, xij^d ; to the fabric of the church, v^s viij^d ; to the lights of the church, vj^s viij^d ; to Sir William Campioun [the vicar ?], xij^d ; to each chaplain present at his funeral and at the mass, iiij^d ; to each clerk, ij^d, and to the boy j^d ; to the parish clerk, iiij^d ; for the mending of the king's highway, vj^s viij^d.

17 Hen. VI. 1439, 27 Feb.—Will of Roger Benethetone, chaplain, of Colmord, Bedfordshire. Leaves his body to be buried in the cemetery of St. Denis, at Colmord, near his father ; to the rector of Colmord, xx^d ; to each priest present at his exequies and mass, vj^d, but if at mass only, iiij^d ; to the Prior of Bysshemed, ij^s, and to each canon coming to his funeral xij^d ; for the warden of the church-goods at Colmord, his processional ; for the light of the sepulchre, ij^s ; "ad torcas," xij^d ; for the bier, xij^d ; for two tunics to vest it, or for any other necessary work of the church that may be deemed better, xij^s iiij^d ; to the brethren there, x^s ; to the Carmelites at Cambridge, x^s ; for a light at the testator's bier, 3 lbs. of wax ; to each tenant (?) of the village, viij^d ; to each marriageable maiden within the said village of Colmord, xij^d ; to every one coming to the testator's funeral, i^d ; for the support of the bridge, ii^s iiij^d ; for the building of the bridge at St. Neot's, ii^s iiij^d ; for the work of the church at Higham Ferrers, vj^s viij^d.

19 Hen. VI. (1440-1).—In one of the rolls for this year is enrolled the will of Robert Wyngrave, of Heigham Ferrers, dated 2 Aug. 1439. Leaves his body to be buried in the cemetery of St. Mary's Church at Heigham ; to the high altar, ii^s iiij^d ; to the bridge of Heigham and Irtlyngburgh, xij^d ; "tortie' eccl. præd.," 3 bushels of barley.

24 Hen. VI. (1445-6), "le Spitelende" mentioned.

1452.—In the view of frankpledge at Irenchester the jury present "quod Hugo Druell fecit rescuss[um] Johanni Kempe, decennario ; quod idem Hugo fecit affr[ayam] super Thomam Henyng hale cum longo baculo ; quod idem Hugo fecit aff. super servientem Johannis Harde wyk ; quod idem Hugo est communis litigator cum vicinis suis, quod idem Hugo est communis noctevagaas et auscultator subtus domos vicinorum suorum." He is fined 2s. 8d., but a heavier penalty follows in a subsequent order : "Ordinatum est per dictos juratores quod nullus laborator devillabit pro aliquo labores [i.e., *shall work outside the town*] quam diu possit habere magistrum ad ipsum occupandum in eadem villa sub pena solvendi domino Regi xi^d tociens quociens ; et quod nemo dimittet nec conducet Hugoni Druell aliquam mansionem infra villam de Irenchester sub pena solvendi domino Regi xl^s."

In 3 Edw. IV. (1463) a presentation is made at the Halmote on 28 Nov. "quod custos collegii de Hiegham habet, unum fossatum non secur. subtus Wardeyn Cros." This is the first mention of Chicheley's College which has caught my eye in these rolls.

1467, 7 Edw. IV., June 3.—Will of John Bere. To be buried in the church of Hegham : "item lego pro principali meo quod justum est secundum usum . . . ibidem. Item, volo et lego ecclesie de Bletnesho 1 vestimentum et 1 calicem . . . iiij. marcas, ea intencione ad orandum in pulpito ibidem diebus dominicis imperpetuum pro animabus parentum meorum et anima mea ac [Marione] uxoris mee et omnium benefactorum meorum . . . Item, lego summo altari de Hiegham pro decimis meis oblitis 11^s . . . Item, lego capelle S. Edmundi in ecclesia de Bletnesho 1 lb. cere."

1469.—"Dominus Johannes Warde custos Collegii," chaplain. He obtains a writ from Chancery to the mayor and bailiffs to show cause why they attached 24 quarters of barley. He is still warden in 1480.

Will of John Bartlett, 4 Sept. 1481.

1483, 1 Rich. III.—Collectors of the rents of the Brethren of the Chantry of B. M. V. appointed.

1486, 1 Hen. VII., Apr. 6.—Presentment that “Elizabeth Gylford non permisit decenarium capere panem suum ad ponderandum illum secundum officium suum. Ideo ipsa in misericordia. Et quod ^{11d.} _{vid.}

Petrus Lacy cepit excessivas mercedes (*sic*) pro pistandis panibus burgensium, contra consuetudinem ibidem usitatam, &c. Ideo ipse in misericordia. Et preceptum est ei capere mercedem suam secundum anticum (*sic*) consuetudinem burgi ibidem usitatam a tempore quod non extat memoria, sub pena vjs viij^d majori forisfactura.” This Lacy was an obstinate offender, being several times fined for short weight in his bread.

1487, 3 Hen. VII.—At the borough court on 15 Nov., after hearing two cases, “Major pardonavit omnia alia defalta tam secte curie quam querent. et defend. &c.”!

1488, on 20 Apr., “Mandatum per Majorem quod quilibet burgensis debet mundare ex opposito burgagii sui in regia via citra festum S. Botulphi proxime futurum sub pena xl^d.” John Frende, Warden of the College. In later rolls when the warden is mentioned, it is simply as “Custos,” without being named. “Le Shoprow” mentioned; and a street called “Botolf Yende.” Thomas Townesyend, Warden of the College of Irthlingborough.

1490, 5 Hen. VII.—At a court held in April “ordinatum est quod si aliquis sit vel aliqui sint inventi ad lusum vocatum le Coyt vel a lez bowles nisi sit in diebus festivis quod forisfaciunt Majore [*l. majori*] xx^d et ecclesie xx^d tociens quociens inde convicti fuerint, et quod nullus eos hospitaverit sive custodierit sub eadem pena infra domos sive clausos, &c.”

1494, 10 Hen. VII.—In this year there occurs a roll of the view of frankpledge for Daventry, and constables’ papers and others are found in the time of Q. Elizabeth.

In the reign of Hen. VII. the roll for year 14 is lost, and in Hen. VIII. those for years 6, 7, 9, 33, and 38.

1513-4, 5 Hen. VIII.—With the rolls for this year is part of the will of Jean, wife of Rich. Clarke, and formerly wife of George Jekell, dated 27 March, 1513. Gives to the high altar, viij^d; to the Grey Friars of Bedford; Friars of Northampton, x^s; to the bedeman of Heigham xij^d.

1520/Oct., 12 Hen. VIII.—The constables of Rushden present several persons for harbouring neighbours’ servants to play unlawful games, “videlicet, ad talos, tabulas, ac sortulas,” as well as the players themselves. The former are fined fourpence, and the latter twopence.

1523-4, 15 Hen. VIII.—Amongst the rolls of this year is one of the view of frankpledge at Kenilworth.

1526-7, 18 Hen. VIII.—Publication in the Mayor’s Court of notice of claim by the mayor and burgesses to burgages which have fallen in, begins to be entered as being made “Anglicis verbis.” Abstracts (containing the portions only that relate to land and houses) are enrolled of the wills, in English, of Robert Pipewell, 4 May, 1521, and Robert Bull, 8 May, 1501.

1530-1, 22 Hen. VIII.—Will of Roger Ashburnere, dated 30 Nov. 1529, in English. His body to be buried in the churchyard of Hygham, to the mother church in Lincoln, ij^d; to the high altar in Hieham, iiij^d to the torches, iiij^d; to the bells, iiij^d; “to the Roode chappell, my housse, iij. payre of scheres, and a payre of tenters, and all other implements belongynge to my occupacyone, and iiij^s in money, and if the laue it suffer, to be dymitted in the feoffours hands of the said chappell toward the fynddyng of a preste; if not, the feoffours to sell the goods to the best advantage of the chappell, my wife to have the seid housse, scheres, with all other implements, the space of iij yerres.”

1537-8, 29 Hen. VIII.—Wills of Thomas Rudde, 13 Dec. 1536 (his body to be buried in the parish church, before the image of St. Michael); of Nicholas Hulle, 14 Feb. 1536; and of Will. Browne, 13 Aug. 1536.

1540-1, 32 Hen. VIII.—Will of John Angell, 10 March 1540; after his wife's death his house to be sold, and the proceeds distributed among poor people.

1543-4, 35 Hen. VIII.—Wills of Thomas Wyngrave, 11 Feb. 1542; of John Whyght, 11 Nov. 1538; and of Thomas Harte, 31 March 1543.

1544-5, 36 Hen. VIII.—A street called “le Woldbayly.”

At the court held on 19 Oct. 1544, Robert Checheley, senior, enrolled the will of Robert Checheley, junior, dated 19 Jan. 1544. Leaves his soul to God Almighty, our Lady Saint Mary, and to all the holy company of heaven, and his body to be buried in the churchyard of our Lady in Higham; to the mother church of Peterborough, ij^d; to John Chycheley, his house, &c. in the street called Newland.

14 Oct.—Will of Elizabeth Underwood, widow, dated 16 Apr. 1544.

At the court on 19 Oct. a singular decree was made by Robert Cocks, gentleman, mayor of the borough, with the consent of the burgesses, against Robert Saunderson, the late mayor, expelling him from his place as a burgess. The decree recites that, whereas the mayor ought to have authority, with the assistance of the burgesses, to rule the borough, the said Rob. Saunderson hath at sundry times disobediently used himself to the mayor now being and to other mayors before, not only with “obprobrious, cruell and manasyng words” but also with slanderous reports, and has with force resisted their lawful powers, and hath disclosed the secrets and counsel of the mayor and brethren; and forasmuch as he is of such ill and malicious disposition and of so light and unreasonable demeanour, for the reformation whereof he hath had good counsel and advice, and also hath for the same sustained divers manner of punishments, whereby in no manner of wise he hath been yet reconciled or reformed, but obstinately continues in his malicious, cruel and cumberous manner, fashion, and living, therefore it is resolved that henceforth he have no place or authority whatever as one of the brethren, and never shall be chosen mayor hereafter; and if he or any one else hereafter disobey the lawful orders made for the borough, they shall be subject to a penalty of 40^s, to be recovered, if need be, by distraint.

The reign of Philip and Mary is more or less complete; years 4 and 5 of Edw. VI. are wanting, and 28, 30, 35, 37, 40, 41, and 45 of Elizabeth.

1554-5, 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar.—An examiner of leather, “Scrutator correi,” is appointed. Possibly there may be earlier instances, but this is the first that has been noted in the course of examination.

1555-6, 2 & 3 Phil. & Mar.—No tenants of the borough are allowed to have under-tenants, “Mother Drage excepted.” A common way that had been stopped up is ordered to be opened again.

1557-8, 4 & 5 Phil. & Mar.—Wills of Rich. Shoote, 14 Nov. 1557; Nich. Aungell, 10 Sept. 1558 (*sic*) (to the high altar, xij^d; to the bedemen of Higham Ferrers, xij^d); and of Ame Powers, widow, 1558 (to be buried at Strixton, leaves to each poor house in Strixton, iij^d; and to the church of Strixton, xij^s iij^d).

1559, 1 Eliz.—Indenture with the sheriff of the county, Sir John Spencer, knt. (mutilated by damp), of the election on 10 Jan. 1559 by the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses, of the worshipful John Purvey, auditor of the south part of the duchy of Lancaster, as member of parliament. This is the only notice of a parliamentary election which has been met with.

1563-4, 6 Eliz.—Will of Thomas Eldershaw, 16 Jan. 1564.

1569-70, 12 Eliz.—Will of Rich. Lynacar, 4 Nov. 1570, with bequest of his house called the *Crown*.

1601, 5 May, 43 Eliz.—Will of Will. Wrosse of Irthlingborough, miller, dated 10 Dec. 1600.

To the roll for this year is attached the commission for justices of the peace. The records for Elizabeth's reign consist chiefly of the original presentments of juries, orders of court-leets, &c., on paper, not enrolled. These are in the most tattered condition from damp, and were found in great confusion. A portion have now been sorted under their respective years, but eight bundles of unsorted tattered papers have been tied up separately. The manor court rolls of other places than Higham cease with the reign of Elizabeth.

In the reign of James I., years 2-4, 7-9, 11, 12, 16, 17, and 18 are wanting.

1632, 22 Oct., 8 Charles I.—Abstract of the will of George Chicheley, dated 13 March, 1629. He was buried, as is found from the Church Register, on 17 June 1632, and seems to be the last of his name found in the records. His property was left to daughters, of whom one was Frances Page.

1637, 20 Apr., 13 Chas. I.—Sam. Eaton, shoemaker, and Francis Barre are presented for selling their wares on Sundays, and John Marriott, shoemaker, and Thomas Baylie, mason, for absenting themselves from church. Marriott is also presented for not repairing his burgrave, late Chicheley's. With this year the vellum rolls cease.

The paper books of Corporation Acts begin at the year 1724, and up to the year 1865 are contained in one folio and two quarto volumes. From 13 Chas. I. to the year 1724 there appear to be no records in existence, so far as known. Under date of 10 Sept. 1725, is the following entry:—“Joseph Eedy, the sexton, being complained of for neglecting his duty as sexton in ringing the four, eight, and twelve o'clock bell, and in looking after the chimes, itt is agreed that from henceforth, and the said Joseph Eady doth promise for the future, to ring the bell from Michaelmas to Lady Day at four o'clock every morning during the time of seed soweing, and at noon at twelve o'clock, and at eight o'clock at night constantly without failure, and within the said time att every other morning at four o'clock to order it so that the bell may fall of itself by leaving it set for that purpose (Sundaies alwaies excepted), and from Lady Day to Michaelmas to ring the bell at noon at twelve o'clock only and no more, and alwaies in the whole yeare to

look after the clock and chimes by duely winding up the same that the same may constantly go, the chimes at one, five, and nine constantly, and are to be from henceforth sett to that time; and the said Joseph Eedy doth promise faithfully and honestly to do his duty."

There are five royal charters. The first is granted by Philip and Mary, dated at Grenewiche, 14 March, *an.* 2 & 3 [1556], which states that several old charters granted by letters patent have been lost through the carelessness of their custodians, and that therefore on the petition of the burgesses, and in reward for their strenuous resistance to the late rebellion of the attainted Duke of Northumberland, this new charter is granted. It constitutes a body corporate of a mayor, seven aldermen, and thirteen capital burgesses; gives power to make ordinances, and to have a mayor's sergeant; nominates George Jenkyns as existing mayor, and John Coxe, Nich. Steare, Will. Dyck, Geo. Jenkyns, Nich. Lane, Rob. Saunderson, John Jackson, and John Griffyn, as aldermen, and Will. Rudd, Francis Dyck, Rich. Shote, Rich. Hall, Tho. Eldershawe, Tho. Wryght, Nich. Angell, Will. Kendall, Will. Mayes, Tho. Chych-eley, Rob. Mayes, John Wilkynson, and Tho. Swayne, as capital burgesses; two markets, two fairs, a court of record, a steward, one burgess in Parliament. And whereas after the dissolution of the college founded by Archbishop Chycheley for a warden, seven fellows, four clerks and six choristers, K. Hen. VIII. reserved to himself and his heirs the appointment of two curates, one schoolmaster, twelve poor men, and a laundress for the same, the right to these appointments is now granted to the mayor and aldermen. The bounds of the borough are assigned to be in length from the south end near Rushedenfelde to a cross near Mallardes close beyond the north end. The great seal is lost.

II. James I.; Westm. 9 July, *an.* 2 [1604] creates the mayor for the time being a justice of the peace; exempts the mayor, aldermen and burgesses from juries, &c.; grants return of writs, &c. Fragment of the seal.

III. Charles II.; West. 4 Aug., *an.* 16 [1664].—Confirmation of preceding charters, with special reference to the fairs, markets, and court; provides that on the admission to offices the oath of supremacy be taken. Seal lost.

IV. Charles II.; Westm., 18 Feb., *an.* 36 [1684].—Charter of re-incorporation, after surrender of former charter. Grants a common seal; a recorder; one fair on Thursday before the feast of the conversion of St. Paul, with a court of pie-powder ("Pedis Pulverizati"); &c. Goddard Pemberton Esq., is the mayor nominated in this charter. Seal lost.

Of these four charters there is a translation into English made within the last half century.

V. A new charter, granted in pursuance of the provisions of the Municipal Corporations Act of 1882, which extinguished the old corporation. Dated 16 July, 50 Vict., 1887.

A large vellum sheet contains rules made by the corporation 20 Apr. 1615, in pursuance of the charter from Phil. & Mar., for the regulation of the town revenues, appointments to offices, rights of burgage-holders, &c. "Item, that the mayor being a craftsman or artificer, shall not during his mayoraltie use his occupaçon or mistery with any open shew, and . . . shall not accustomedly haunt any taverne or ale-house."

Parchment certificate, signed by the mayor, and sealed, 10 Oct. 1753, that Jeremiah Lenton, of Chelveston, husbandman, is an inhabitant

within the Duchy of Lancaster, and therefore, in pursuance of the privileges granted to residents in the Duchy, and confirmed by Act of Parliament, entitled to exemption from all market tolls, &c., outside the Duchy.

MSS. OF THE
CORPORATION
OF HIGHAM
FERRERS.

Indenture between Rich. Rawlings, of Raundes, gent., and the mayor and others of Higham Ferrers, 25 May 1736, for the carrying out of a bequest by Elizabeth Freeman of twenty shillings to be laid out annually on the feast of the Circumcision, ten shillings to be given to the minister for preaching a sermon, and the other ten shillings to ten poor widows.

A small deal box contains various tattered constables' accounts, with some of those of the flesh and fish tasters, and accounts of the relief of the poor, in the time of Charles I., which are almost reduced to powder by damp. It contains also a paper book of a "Rentale de Raundes, Ringsted, Hargrave et Stanwyg," made by John Peche, junior, in 1552, 6. Edw. VI.; as well as a briefer rental of the same, made by Rob. Selby in 1614; and various churchwardens' accounts between 1630-1640, in which are expenses for stone and timber for repairing the steeple which had fallen down, and casting of bells by Mr. Watts (21*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.*), with a list of subscriptions received from the town's men in 1631 towards the steeple, amounting to 7*l.* 2*s.* A letter to the corporation from "Robert Rochester," dated "from the courte at Westm. the viii daye of Februarie," vindicating in a very severe tone the bearers, John Cock and Nich. Steere, who had been sent to conduct a suit respecting the privileges of the town, from a slander that had been raised against them of rather seeking "ther own synguler advantage then your publycke commodite:"—"yf I shall here that yow do quyetyly governe and agree togyether as becummeth good subjects to doo, I shall hereafter be a meane for your liberties as occasion shall serve." * Orders made at court leets in 1568 and 1577, and a presentment made at a leet in the time of Q. Elizabeth. Printed form (in black letter) of an apprentice's indenture, filled up 1 March 1621.

One document unconnected with Higham Ferrers, except in so far as the town formed a part of the possessions of the duchy of Lancaster, is found among the rolls of the reign of Hen. IV. It is part (on three membranes) of an account of the receipts and issues of the receiver of the lands of the duchy in the county of Northampton, and adjacent counties, as rendered to John Leventhorpe, the Receiver General, 13 Feb. 3 Hen. IV., 1402. To Katharine, Duchess of Lancaster, 15*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* are paid from the lands in Lincolnshire and Huntingdonshire, in pursuance of a warrant of the same date. There are long lists of annuities paid from Higham (in total, 123*l.* 15*s.* 4½*d.*), Daventry (51*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*) and other places.

The corporation possesses a very handsome silver-gilt mace, which was given in 1791 by John Lee, M.P. for the borough, and Attorney-General for the county palatine of Lancaster. It bears the device which is used for the common seal; a hand, with two fingers upraised in benediction, and nine human heads. Probably these heads signify the mayor, seven aldermen, and recorder; the latter officer being constituted by the second charter of Charles II., by which the common seal was granted.

WILLIAM DUNN MACRAY.

* Robert Carr was created Viscount Rochester 25 March 1611, and Earl of Somerset 3 Nov. 1613; this letter, therefore, was written either in 1612 or 1613.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE CORPORATION OF NEWARK.

MSS. OF THE
CORPORATION
OF NEWARK.

Contrary to what might be expected, this ancient borough, which holds so important a place in the history of the Great Civil War, possesses no documents or papers bearing on the general history of the country. Its municipal register (which is simply a register of appointments to offices) only commences at the year Of 309 original deeds extending from the time of Hen. III. to 1555, relating to the property of the corporation, and of 39 others, from 1334 to 1624, relating to the chantry of All Saints and to the town charities, there is a catalogue and abstract in a folio volume, drawn up by the late Rev. J. F. Dimock, with indexes of names and subjects. In the hope that something more might be found, I was permitted by the Town Clerk (Mr. Godfrey Tallents) to examine the contents of three ancient oaken and iron-bound chests which are kept in the Town Hall, but these were found to be almost entirely filled with writs and warrants (from the time of Q. Eliz.), papers relating to poor-law settlements, and other purely local documents. I extracted from them, however, a few parchment deeds, the earliest of the time of Hen. II. and the latest of Hen. VIII., which I transferred to the Town Clerk's care, with a catalogue, as a supplement to Mr. Dimock's collection. Amongst these one document deserves notice here. It is a tattered fragment of a small vellum roll containing the accounts of the Guild of the Holy Trinity, as kept by John de Lincoln, alderman of the Guild, for three terms in the years 1392-3; "term. S. Michaelis," "term. S. Andree Apostoli," and "term. Palmarum." The total receipts from rents and debts amount to 10*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.*, and the expenses to 9*l.* 10*s.* 11*d.* At each term 40*s.* and 20*d.* are paid to two chaplains; 13*d.* are twice paid to Joan Crumbwell "in elemosina gilde"; and an entry of 1½*d.* twice occurs "pro uno durband." Although there was thus but little found to reward inquiry and search, the report may nevertheless be useful in saving future investigation, and as showing that no likely depositories were omitted to be examined. One noticeable Civil War entry is found in the Parish Register, which I examined. Among the burials under date of 27 June 1643 we read, "Lord Barinit Doner, generall over Quene fourssis." This is baron Dhona, who is mentioned in Dugdale's *Diary* as having been killed on June 21, and buried in the quire of Newark Church "with great solemnity" on June 24. It may be presumed that the date in the Register is the correct one rather than that assigned by Dugdale.*

WILLIAM DUNN MACRAY.

* See Corn. Brown's *Annals of Newark*, 4^o, 1879, p. 167. It is worth mentioning here that there is in the parvise of the church a little-known library, chiefly consisting of books of the 17th century (numbering some 1,200 volumes), bequeathed by Bishop White, of Peterborough, who died in 1698. The books are generally in good condition, and there is a printed list, which was published in 1854. They do not appear to number amongst them many rarities, but there is a Sarum Missal printed by Pynson in 1520, and a copy of one of the London editions of 1554 of the *Sarum Manual*. A York Hymnal, printed at Rouen in 1517, was found concealed in the choir on removing the seats when the church was under restoration upwards of 30 years ago, and was then unfortunately sold by the churchwardens for 50*l.* in aid of the restoration fund. They refused, however, to sell any of the other books, although offers for them were made.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF SOUTHWELL CATHEDRAL.

MSS. OF
SOUTHWELL
CATHEDRAL.

The records of the Minster of Southwell, which are preserved in the Library (a thirteenth-century room reached by a stone staircase from the north aisle of the choir), are extremely scanty. It is said that most of the muniments were formerly kept in the adjoining palace of the archbishops of York, and that they perished when that building was rifled and unroofed after the Civil War by Parliamentary soldiers. For access to the small but well-cared-for remnant of muniments (which have been several times examined, most recently by the late Rev. J. F. Dimock, M.A., the well-known editor of the *Vita S. Hugonis*) I am indebted to the courtesy of Rev. R. F. Smith, M.A., Minor Canon and Librarian, and am bound to express my obligations also to Rev. R. H. Whitworth, vicar of Blidworth, for kind services in furthering the object of my visit.

I.—The *Liber Albus* (so called according to usual custom from its white skin binding) is a folio vellum register, containing 476 numbered pages, of which 26 at the end of the volume are blank. Pp. 1–61 are in a hand of the 14th century; 62–441 in several hands of the 15th; and the remaining written pages belong to the 16th century. Large portions of W. Dickenson Rastall's *History of Southwell*, published in 1787, are drawn from this book. It contains transcripts of the charters of the Minster, of which the following is a summary:—

1. Thirteen papal bulls, from one of Alex. III. in 1160, “de libertatibus et consuetudinibus capituli ecclesiæ Beate Mariæ Suthwelliæ,” to one of Nich. [III. in 1280], granting relaxation of 40 days’ penance to those who visit the Minster on the festivals of the B. Virgin or during eight days following.

2. Exemplification by Edw. III., dated at Clarendon, 26 Nov., *an.* 3 (1329), of a plea *de quo warranto*, before the justices at Nottingham, as to the rights and privileges of the canons in their several estates.

3. A series of royal grants, from Hen. I. to Rich. II., many of which are noticed in Rastall's *History*. One charter of Hen. III. (16 July, *an.* 16, 1232), “de perambulatione forestæ” of Sherwood, does not appear to be mentioned. A license from Edw. III. (16 Oct., *an.* 11, 1337) grants leave to the chapter to cart stone for the church from their quarry at Mansfield through Sherwood forest free of toll.

4. Deeds relating to the endowments of prebends, chantries, and vicarages. These extend to the end of the volume, and amongst them are copies of court-rolls of the prebend of Northwell Overhall in the time of Hen. IV.

5. Statutes of the church :

i. By Thomas de Corbryge, archbp. of York, June 1302 ; p. 51.

ii. By Archbp. John [the Roman], Jan. 1293 ; (Rastall, p.146.)

6. “Constitutiones laudabiles capituli”; p. 78, written in a hand of the time of Hen. VI. (Rastall, pp. 87–9, where they are said to bear date 5 Rich. II., apparently because they follow transcripts by the same scribe of royal charters of that date confirming view of frank-pledge and the other privileges of the church.)

7. "Placita in diversis curiis prebendarum . . . placitata propter errores judiciorum in eisdem . . . remota ad curiam capituli, ut ibi terminentur prout jus expostulat et consuetudo ejusdem capituli." 1 Edw. III.—12 Hen. IV.; pp. 81–101.

Inserted amongst these is an original instrument by John de Tyverington, notary, of York, relating to an appeal to the chapter of York by Gilbert de Welton, canon of Southwell, respecting land at Wodeburgh, 1345.

Three leaves appear to have been cut out before p. 116.

8. [1439,] *an.* 17, March 8. At St. James's, near Westminster.—Grant by Henry VI. on the petition of John [Kemp], archbp. of York, and in consideration of the payment by him of 300 marks, of the alien priory of Ravendale in Lincolnshire, in augmentation of the church of Southwell; p. 133. (*See Rastall, p. 203.*)

9. "Munimenta fabricæ ecclesiæ," grants to the fabric; pp. 146–153, 166–9, 175–6, 182, 192.

10. "Redditus luminaris ardentis in choro ubi missa de Sancta Maria cotidie celebratur"; p. 365.

11. 1460, Aug. 8.—Confirmation by the chapter of a manumission granted by Nich. Gosse, prebendary of one of the parts of Oxtun, at the request of some friends, to Will. Gylbert, his son John, and his daughters Agnes and Joan; p. 430.

12. Copies of three letters from Sir Edw. North, Chancellor of the Augmentations, to the chapter, restraining their spoiling the property of the church, and ordering them to send up to the King (Hen. VIII.) a chalice and cross of gold, and an altar-table of silver gilt, with an inventory of effects; p. 431. (*Rastall, pp. 29–31.*)

Attestations are prefixed to the volume of its having been produced in causes in Chancery in the years 1833 and 1838. There is a folio volume, written about the close of the last century, which contains an abstract of the contents of the whole book.

II.—A folio volume of 773 pages, on vellum, marked "No. 2," in parchment cover. This contains transcripts of leases granted by the chapter, with other grants and official documents, from Sept. 1448 (27 Hen. VI.) to Oct. 1624. The greater part of the volume appears to have been written in the time of Q. Elizabeth or James I. There are but few documents earlier than the reign of Henry VIII.; one in the time of Hen. VI., one of Edw. IV., and two of Hen. VII. The charters of re-foundation by Philip and Mary, Elizabeth, and James I. are included.

III.—A folio volume of 354 pages, on paper, marked "No. 3," in parchment cover, containing a Register of Chapter Acts with an index of subjects prefixed. It commences with a list of admissions of prebendaries from 1470 to 1537; followed by admissions of vicars choral, 1469–1537; admissions of chantry priests, 1472–1537; admissions of vicars to prebendal churches, 1469–1502, 1533–7; admissions of deacons and sub-deacons (amongst whom two had previously been choristers), 1469–1538; "correctiones vicariorum," five cases between 1499 and 1502, referring to three vicars, who are severally ordered "quod removeret a se famulam suam"; resignations of vicars, 1473–1487, 1506–1534; admissions of incense-bearers and choristers, 1469–1526; resignations of chantry priests, 1470–1476; probates of wills of canons and vicars choral, and others, 1475–1527. These are followed by further entries of presentations, corrections (1470–1535), and similar acts, confusedly

intermixed (as are also many of those noticed above), to the end of the volume.

1475, Oct. 2.—“Visitacio ministrorum ecclesie Suthwell,” p. 253. *Dom.* Will. Norton is threatened with suspension for constant talking during divine service, and for frequently leaving it; “rebaldus est, scurrilia proferens inter laicos, in obprobrium clericorum.” “Dominus Ricardus Sledmere illicite ludit ad speram.” “Presbyteri cantariales non attendunt ad precentorem chori in cantando.” “Non est nisi unum gradale ex parte boreali, et ex parte australi duo.” Several persons are forbidden to frequent particular houses, and there are four charges of assault, of which one was in the church, and one in the chapter-house.

1478, July.—Another visitation, p. 269. The charges are chiefly of stopping out late at night, after 9 o'clock, from the vicars' house, and of irreverence in, and neglect of, divine service, and carelessness in singing. *Dom.* John Bull, who has been complained of under every head of offence, is at last suspended.

Other visitations follow in 1481, 1484, 1490, 1503, 1506, and 1514. The charges in these years are very generally of carelessness and irreverence. In 1490, “chorales in cantando *Faburdon* non dant aures debite adinvicem ut concorditer cantent.” In 1503, “Detectum est quod libri in choro vulgariter vocati *le Standarthes* non observantur tempore hyemali cum candelis de cereis, ut antea servabantur, sed cum candelis de cepo, in defectu sacristæ. . . . Item cantaristæ et alii ministri qui tenentur legere lectiones in choro tempore servitii divini non prævident eas super tumbam ut fieri solent, set tractant libros legendarios usque in stallis suis, qua de causa libri læduntur, quia non clauduntur post prævisionem et lectiones.” In 1506, “Registra in libris ponuntur in infimitate librorum et non ex transverso, unde libri lace-rantur et pejorantur.” These visitations (which reach from p. 269 to p. 337) deserve printing, as illustrations of ecclesiastical discipline, and of points of ritual.

The wills contained in this volume are of the following persons:—

- 1526, Oct. 4.—Barra, Rob., preb. of York, proved 10 Dec. 1527; p. 108.
- 1475, Dec. 28.—Warsopp, John, vicar choral; p. 112.
- 1476, May 1.—Goldthorp, Rich., chaplain; p. 113.
- 1470, May 1.—Custance, Will., chaplain; p. 114.
- 1489, Sept. 12.—Browne, John, vicar of Rampton; p. 115.
- 1527, Apr. 9.—Nevyll, Rob., of Ragnell (*Engl.*); p. 119.
- 1485, Aug. 22.—Gyls, Thos., chaplain of Northmuskham; p. 122.
- 1487, May 20.—Greene, Will., vicar of Rollstone; p. 123.
- 1490, Aug. 14.—Knoll, Nich., chaplain; p. 124.
- 1490, Jan. 20.—Worsley, Rich., chaplain; p. 125.
- 1499, June 20.—Roper, Rich., vicar of the parish church of Southwell, at the altar of St. Vincent; p. 127.
- 1498, Dec. 2.—Ratclyffe, George; *ib.*
- 1512, June 23.—Batemanson, Rob. (*Engl.*); p. 128.
- 1521, Jan. 19.—Arnall, John, of Morton, proved 20 Feb. (*Engl.*); p. 198.
- 1529, May 28.—Hall, Rob., of Bokyngham, with inventory, proved 4 June; p. 205.
- 1529, May 13.—Peper, Rob., of Morton (*Engl.*); p. 207.
- N. Y., Oct. 22.—Santon, Christina, widow, will proved; p. 216.
- 1474, May 31.—Straton, John, will proved; *ib.*
- 1474, May 31.—Greyson, Joan, of Whetley, widow, will proved; *ib.*

- 1482, May 21.—Baxter, John, chaplain of the chantry of St. John Ev.; p. 217.
- 1483, May 15.—Hobson, John, rector of the church of St. Helen, South Whetley; p. 218.
- 1491, Dec. 7.—Rede, Rich., of Southwell; *ib.*
- 1486, Apr. 20.—Mery, John, vicar choral, will proved; p. 219.
- 1499, July 19.—Orston, Thomas, of Southwell, intestate, inventory ordered; *ib.*
- 1499, July 27.—Belyngbam, Rich., administration granted; *ib.*
- 1499, Oct. 10.—Belfyn, Thomas, of Calverton; p. 220.
- 1499, June 29.—Jakeson, Rob., of Dunham; *ib.*
- 1503, Apr. 29.—Nycholson, Geo., of Mlynethorp, will proved; p. 221.
- 1503, Apr. 4.—Keell, Will., vicar choral, will proved; *ib.*
- 1503, May 26.—Knoll, Rich., will proved; *ib.*
- 1514, Aug. 1.—Coupar, Rich., proved 26 Jan.; *ib.*
- 1523, Jan. 29.—Wyvell, *sir* John, vicar of North Leverton, proved 23 Feb. (*Engl.*); p. 222.
- 1534, Dec. 8.—Kepeas, Dorothy, of Bekingham, daughter of Rich. Kepeas of Mattersey, proved 1535 (*Engl.*); p. 224.
- 1527, Feb. 27.—Ludman, Alice; p. 225.
- 1535, Feb. 14.—Ynkersell, *sir* Will., priest of the chantry of St. John Bapt. (*Engl.*); *ib.*
- 1536, Feb. 11.—Blaunche, *sir* Rob. (*Engl.*); p. 229.
- 1535, Feb. 7.—Greve, Rich., of Besthorpe (*Engl.*); *ib.*
- 1537, Apr. 17.—Hunt, Edmund, of Normanton, proved 6 Oct. (*Engl.*); p. 230.
- 1534, Sept. 9.—Marshall, John, parson of the church of St. Helen, South Whetley, proved 18 Oct. 1537 (*Engl.*); p. 231.
- 1534, Nov. 7.—Parker, Thos., of Southwell (*Engl.*); p. 232.
- 1525, June 26.—Barra, Agnes, widow, of Southwell, proved 4. Nov. 1526 (*Engl.*); p. 246.
- 1541, March 6.—Arnall, Will., of Southwell, proved 26 May 1542 (*Engl.*); p. 248.
- John, bishop of Elphin, is mentioned at p. 104 as being abbot of Welbeck in 1527.

IV.—Visitation books for the peculiar of the chapter of Southwell from 1563–1595, 1667–1671, 1742–1753, 1776–1821.

V.—Minute books of the chapter, 1590–1616, 1660–1694, 1727–1777, 1784–1872. The last canon of the old collegiate foundation, Thomas Henry Shepherd, M.A., canon of Beckingham, died 11 Feb. 1873, aged 94. There is a carefully drawn-up index to these chapter books.

VI.—A copy-book of wills proved in the peculiar in 1538–1547. The wills, with their dates, are as follows:—

- 1545, Nov. 20.—John Bull, vicar choral.
- 1538, March 11.—Will. Blaunche, vicar choral.
- 1539, June 27.—Sir John Umfray, chantry priest.
- 1538, March 6.—*Robert Whitmore.
- 1540, Apr. 16.—John Crampton, vicar choral.
- 1541, Sept. 29.—Sir Will. Kyrke [a chantry priest].

* Of all those persons to whom an asterisk is attached inventories and valuations of their goods follow.

- 1539, Jan. 17.—John Trappe, vicar choral.
 1546, Apr. 8.—John Wyllson, of Southmuscham.
 1546, April 29.—Rich. Barmby, of Northleverton.
 1545, Jan. 14.—Will. Calton, of Northleverton.
 1545, Jan. 10.—Rich. Jackson, of Rampton.
 1545, Oct. 4.—Joan Bagaley, of Bleysbie, widow.
 1546, July 16.—John Cotham, of Rampton.
 1546, Dec. 21.—Thomas Yonge.
 1544, June 6.—John Hoton, of Southmuscham.
 1546, Aug. 29.—Rich. Bowthe, of Southwheatley.
 1546, Feb. 8.—John Gramer [of Blythworth].
 1546, Feb. 2.—Thomas Capron, of Blythworth.
 1546, March 4.—John Lostoo, of Southwell.
 1547, March 25.—Thomas Brokett, of Southwell.
 1546, Feb. 16.—Thomas More, of Kirtlyngton.
 1547, June 15.—John Horner, of Blythworth.
 1546, Dec. 25.—*Rich. Huchenson, of Cropwell [or Crophill] Byshop.

In a second copy dated 15 Dec.

- 1538, Aug. 10.—*Will. Hall, of Bekyngham.
 1538, July 5.—*Henry Doggson, of Northleverton.
 1539, Nov. 8.—*John Barmby, of Northleverton.
 1538, Dec. 31.—*Agnes Mowre, of Northleverton.
 1539, Oct. 6.—*Robert Cosen, of Darleton.
 1540, July 8.—*Gilbert Walsham, of Bekingham.
 1541, Jan. 10.—*John Tailzor [Taylor], of Darleton.
 1542, June 20.—*Robert Wode, of Dunham.
 1541, Oct. 18.—*Thomas Goodhyne.
 1543, July 20.—*Will. Fox, of Crophill Bishop.
 1542, July 10.—*Rich. Hawkesmore, of Ragenhill.
 1542, Nov. 3.—*Alison Wode, late wife of Rob. Wode, of Dunham.
 1542, June 23.—*Rob. Hailes, of Bekingham.
 1544, March 28.—Guy Fairefax, son of Thos. Fairefax, sergeant at the law.

- 1544, Aug. 2.—*Alex. Garthe, of Northleverton.
 1545, March 25.—*John Boythbie, of Northleverton.
 1544, Dec. 6.—*Thomas Cowper, of Rampton.
 1545, Aug. 10.—*James Nightgale, of Northleverton.
 1545, Aug. 4.—*Rich. Sobie, of Rampton.
 1545, June 17.—*Will. Aston, of Carleton, Southmuscham.
 1546, Apr. 29.—*Rich. Barmbie, of Northleverton.
 1545, Jan. 14.—*Will. Calton, of Northleverton.
 1546, July 16.—*John Cothame, of Rampton.
 1546, Aug. 29.—*Rich. Bowthe, of Southwhalley.
 1547, June 10.—*Alice Huchenson, of Crophill Bishop, late wife of Rich. Huchenson.

On a fly-leaf at the end is the will of Richard Baynes, of Southwell, 14 Dec. 1556. Entries of probates in 1660–5 are found in the visitation book for those years, and entries of grants of probates and marriage licenses in 1667–1693 are in chapter minute-books for that period. There is also a cupboard filled with parcels of administration bonds, licenses, and other similar documents, during, apparently, the 17th and 18th centuries.

VII.—The Register of the Priory of Thurgarton in Nottinghamshire. A folio volume of 195 numbered leaves of vellum, written in the time of Edw. III., and given, as an inscription on a fly-leaf testifies, to the

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library of Southwell by Cecil Cooper, Esq., in whose possession it was (according to Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*) in 1677. It retains its original binding of oak boards, covered with parchment, but one of the boards is broken. Its contents are of the usual kind, consisting of a series of deeds relating to the places in which the priory possessed property, and commencing with the charter of foundation by Ralph de Ayncurt.* A list of the places is prefixed to the volume, which is printed at pp. 359–60 of Rastall's *Hist. of Southwell*. At the end are "Placita de quo warranto," relating to the rights of the monastery, in 1330–6; and "Extenta terrarum et ecclesiarum pertinentium ad monasterium" in 1328, with the names of all the tenants and their annual rents and services, occupying nine leaves. At f. 191b is the following note relating to the descent of the family of Annesley, and of part of their lands: "Memorandum, quod quidam Radulphus de Anneslay, miles, habuit duos filios, Reginaldum, videlicet, seniore, et Radulphum, minorem, cui Radulpho Radulphus pater dedit sex bovatas terræ cum pertinentibus in Morton, tenendum sibi et heredibus suis imperpetuum. De isto Radulpho filio descendit Robertus de A., filius et heres ipsius, de quo Roberto Johannes descendit, de quo Johanne alius Johannes, de quo Johanne Isabella, filia et heres ipsius Johannis, quæ fuit desponsata cuidam Johanni Asschewell, et prædicta Isabella dedit per finem prædicta tenementa dicto Johanni Asschewell, marito suo, et heredibus suis. Prædictus Johannes dedit dicta tenementa Ricardo de Wynwyk et Willelmo de Gunthorp, qui dederunt ea Ricardo de Crumwell, qui dedit ea Johanni de Wyloghby et aliis, qui dederunt ea Johanni de Horspole et aliis, qui de licencia domini Regis dederunt ea Priori, &c., prout cartæ et finis quæ inferius scribuntur testantur, quæ cum aliis cartis et munimentis reponuntur." The charters here referred to are dated 13 Hen. IV.

VIII.—Paper MS., bound in (broken) oak boards; 15th cent.; ff. 202. The English "Liber Festivalis," or sermons on feast-days throughout the year, very clearly written. Beg. "By myne owne feble lecture I know how hit faryth by odyr that bynn in the same degre that haue charge of many sowle." At the end (f. 171b), "Explicit liber festivalis quod Johannes Meyre," *al.* Mirk, canon of Lilleshall priory. Upon the sermons follow these lives of saints:—

Life of St. Ursula, "with har feliship," f. 172.

St. Katherine, f. 175.

St. Oswald, f. 191.

St. Dunstan, f. 193.

St. Edmund the Confessor [Rich., of Pontigny], f. 194b.

St. Edmund, King and Martyr, f. 199.

St. Edward, King and Martyr, f. 200.

St. Faith.

The MS. was given to the Library by Henry Raper, who was its owner in 1693–4. It appears to have been carefully examined at several times, and a letter respecting it, to Archdeacon Eyre from Mr. John Holmes of Retford, dated 6 Jan. 1823, lies in the volume.

IX.—Folio, paper, pp. 74. Register of administrations of wills granted, from 6 Aug. 1660 to 2 May 1670; with an index of names prefixed.

X.—Folio, paper, ff. 26, time of Charles I. "Simposion, conteyning a dialogue touching the state of the church of Southwell, by Canon-

* This is printed in Dugdale, where, for Will. de Hertz and Rich. de Kiviell, read Heriz and Kiriell.

cus, Tusculanus, Mecænas, Julianus, Quadrapilator, Publicanus, interlocutors."

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XI.—Folio, paper, ff. 11, together with a first draft in the same cover. "1724. Some observations touching the complaints of the vicars chorall of the church of Southwell," relative to alleged encroachments upon their ground by the building of the Residence House; "by Mr. Mompesson and Mr. Laybourne, our then two oldest prebendaries, the first of which had a niece's husband, and the second a son," vicars chorall.

XII.—The records of Manorial Courts of the Chapter are preserved at Southwell in the custody of Mr. Metcalfe, the Steward of the Manors, who courteously permitted me to inspect them. The earliest extend from 1556 to 1564; other dates are, 1573-4, 1615-29, 1621-30, 1651-8, and from 1666 onward. Amongst those of 1726 two or three of the Protectorate period are transcribed, with a note that the earlier records had been all destroyed in the Civil War. In 1676 the signature of Edward Cludd is found, who was the chief agent for the Parliament in the neighbourhood, but who is said to have saved the noble Minster from contemplated destruction. The custom of gavelkind exists in the manors of Askham, Sutton-cum-Lound, and Laneham; in other manors that of borough-English. The records of the manor of Stowe, Notts, which belonged to Lord Willoughby of Parham, are found here for the years 1665-1679.

In the possession of Mr. R. H. Warwick, of Burgage Manor House, Southwell (the house in which Lord Byron lived with his mother from 1804 to 1807), there is an historical common-place book, containing so many items of unusual interest as to deserve extended notice. It was bought by that gentleman a few years ago from a working man, who had purchased it at a sale of some effects which had belonged to a member of the same family with that of the original writer of the volume. The volume contains 112 leaves, in folio, and was written (with the exception of a small portion at the end) in the time of James I. and Charles I. by William Davenport, Esq., of Bromhall, or Bramall, near Stockport, in Cheshire. Besides many such articles as are often found in common-place books of the same period and character (such as the divorce of the Countess of Essex and her case as Countess of Somerset, the charges against the Duke of Buckingham, letters of Sir W. Raleigh, royal and other speeches in Parliament, &c.), there are found in it a number of poetical pieces and satirical verses, together with some pieces in prose, of a kind not ordinarily met with. It appears to have been used by the Rev. John Watson, a well-known Cheshire antiquary, who made some extracts, which have been printed from his copies by the Cheshire historians, as noticed further on. The first page has lists of flower-roots and plants, interesting as showing (as it may be supposed) the favourite kinds, viz., tulips, lilies, fritillaries, hyacinths, gladioli, "mortigonus imperiall," &c., bought in 1603 "of Mr. Francovyle, a Duchman, dwelling in Bell Alley in Coleman Streete," and in 1613 of "Mr. Parkinsonne, apothecarie, in Londonne, at the signe of the Goulden Morter and Pestell." Of the poetical pieces the first is a long "hunting sounge" (142 lines) of the hunting of a hare in Cheshire, which is headed "Certaine verses wrytten by a Wirralyte," i.e., a native of the hundred of Wirral, "to the tune of Upp, Willye, its tyme to ryse, 1615." f. 4.

Beg. "The hare followed her jorney as it was said,
And cald on David Holland that dwelt at the Reade."

Mention is made of various persons and places in the county; old Sir Thomas, whose "head was white and bearde was hore," Mr. Glegg, Knole, Thurstanton, Puddington Hall, Bretton Hall, &c.; at last, "In Flintshire rearde, in Flint I dyed."

2. Various verses against the Earl of Somerset.

Beg. i. "The house of the Howards is now growinge towards her woonted declynge." (6 lines) f. 10*b*.

ii. "Here, Pylate [*read* Pilot] thou art lyke to loose the pinke." (14 l.) f. 11.

iii. "Here lyes he that once was poore." (8 l.) *ib*.

iv. "From Robert's coach to Robin's carre." (14 l.) f. 11*b*.

v. "The wealth he gott to make his meanies greate." (14 l.) *ib*.

vi. "Why how now, Robin? discontented quite?" (48 l.) f. 12.

vii. "There was an ould ladd roade on an ould jade." (48 l.) f. 14.

"To the tune of, Oh, doe me no harme good man."

Apparently a copy of a scurrilous printed broadside.

3. Lines on the life and death of Sir W. Raleigh, "made by Ed. Kel. 1618." (30 l.) f. 14 *b*.

"O had thy name bene causer of thy death."

4. Lines on the Duke of Buckingham, Dec. 1618. (20 l.) f. 18.

"O joyful newse, for Buckinghame is nowe
Both maister of the horse and frothie mayne."

5. "The Kinges verses upon the blassinge starre, 1618." (28 l.) f. 12*b*.

"You men of Brittain, why gase you soe."

6. "King James his verses on his Queene." (16 l.) f. 20.

"Anne, wilt thou goe and leave me here?
O doe not soe, my dearest deare."

7. "Lines put on the Ladie Lake's doore." (6 l.) *ib*.

"Here dwelles the breefe of badness, vice's nurse."

Another version, in 22 lines, is in Ashmole MS. 36, Bodl. Libr.

8. "A lybell uppon the Ladie Rosse." (10 l.) *ib*.

"Was'te not a signe that courtlye Rosse should fall."

9. Two laudatory epitaphs on Arnold Ryle, of Northden and Ken-worthdry, by H. L., 1619. f. 21.

10. Four amusing sets of verses about a dispute, which was carried to the Star-Chamber, concerning the erection of a pew in a church, which was hindered by the opposition of the Mayor and the parish. ff. 22, 23.

The first (72 l.) begins,—

"I gladly would tell
How of late it befell
To a brother of Lincolne hue,
Whose wife in high Lent
Could not rest content
But needs she must have a pewe."

The last (56 l.) is a dialogue between "Amicus et Poeta." Many names of persons are given, and the place appears to be Stockport, and the claimant to belong to Reddich Hall.

11. A satire on the King and the Lords, dated 1627, of which each verse ends with the words "pay for all." (64 l.) f. 27.

12. Another scurrilous one, beginning, "Heavens, bless King James." (54 l.) f. 32.

13. "A souenge from France"; 1623. (117 l.) f. 30b.

"I rode from England into France
Nether to learne to ryde nor daunce,
Nor yet to fight nor fence."

14. Lines against the Spanish match. (72 l.) f. 32b.

"All the newse that is stirring now
Is of the Spanish ladie."

15. Q. Elizabeth's answer "to her whylome subjects." (168 l.) f. 33.

"Your bould petition, mortalls, I have sene."

16. Lines on the state of affairs in the time of James I. (76 l.) f. 35b.

"Illium deplores, but still ould Priam's glad."

17. Elegy on the death of Henry Arderne, Esq., of Aldenley and Harden; signed H. (20 l.) f. 37.

18. The well-known satirical lines (12) on the expedition to Cadiz. f. 41b.

"There was a footman ranne a race,
When he made haste he ranne apace."

19. A series of satirical poems, inveighing bitterly against the Duke of Buckingham.

i. Beg. "Come heare, ladie Muses, and helpe me to singe,
Come love me, come love me, &c.

Of a Duke that desired to be crowned a King,
the cleane contrarie waye."

26 lines, with the refrain to each. f. 58.

ii. "*Rex and Grex* are of a sounde,
But *Dux* doth *rex* and *grex* confounde."

8 lines: "pinned upon the Court gates, May 1627." *ib.*

iii. "There is a man, a plague uppon him
Who hath ta'en many thinges uppon him."

28 lines, *ib.*

iv. A curious ballad, written as a parody on that of the Old Courtier of Q. Eliz., which I subjoin at length. f. 58b.

"Hear's a new souenge was never souenge yett
Made by a new souldier in a madde merrye fitt,
Who went ore with Count Maunsfeild and gott nere a good bitte,
But came backe into England to learne witte.

Sayes the new souldier of the Kinges,
And the Kinges new soldier.

With a newe shippe and a new Generall,
And a new noble Lord High Admirall,
With a new device to batter an ould walle
And a new peatarre to make the gates falle.
Sayes, &c.

With a newe peece off ordinance
And a newe device came but late out off France,
To teache us to fight with a newe pyke and a newe lance,
And to kille a newe devill and his damme by chance.
Sayes, &c.

With a newe priss, with a twelvenpenye peece,
And a newe knapsacke filde full of newe bread and cheese,
And a newe officer to cosen us off our fees,
Which bryngis manye a newe soldyer as lowe as his knees.
Sayes, &c.

With a newe lieutenaunt, a serieante and corporall
That in a newe alehouse can fight lyke soldiers talle
Till they come out reeling, alle to beate downe a newe walle
And lye drunke in the myre where our foes should falle
Sayes, &c.

With a newe promiss for an olde paye,
And a new commaunder, whom we are firste to obaye,
That when our due comes putes us off till a newe daye,
Which makes manye a newe soldyer runne awaye.
Sayes, &c.

With a newe device off a pike and a bowe,
Wich till now off late England did never knowe,
Wich wee hope shalbe advanced and shoven against our foe,
And shall give them noe doubt a brave overthrewe,
Sayes, &c.

Laste to conclude, Heaven prosper our gracious newe Kinge,
In authume, in sommer, in winter and in springe,
That his shipping to England better pryzes may bringe
And then the newe soldier a better newe sounge shall singe.
Sayes, &c.

- v. "Our cross-row's turn'd, a signe off monstrous luck,
When D. ledd the English cross over St. Gorge's brooke."
20 lines, signed E. K. f. 60.

- vi. "One askte me, why I mournde?
Because I walkt in blacke."
12 lines, *ib.*

Two satirical epitaphs on Dr. Lambe, signed E. K. f. 68.

- vii. A spirited ballad, of ten eight-line stanzas, comparing Buckingham with the soldiers of Q. Elizabeth's time; signed E. K. f. 62*b*.

Beg. "The noblest brave profession
That ether is or hath bene
Was for to be a souldier true,
And theire to live and die in."

- viii. "In reditum ducis."

"And arte returnde againe? with all thy faults,
Thou great commander of the all-goe-naughts." f. 63*b*.

106 lines. [Ascribed in a copy in Ashmole MS. 36, Bodl. Libr., to a "Mr. John Heappe."]

ix. On the death of the duke. f. 69.

"Great George, and art thou gone?"

24 lines, signed E.K.

x. "Rodomontados"; lines said to be sent by the duke "from Nonsuch to the Parliament by his servant the Lord Graymes, June 29, 1628." f. 69*b*.

Beg. "Avant you giddie headed multytude."

72 lines.

xi. "In ducem." f. 70*b*.

"Great duke, although I litle am acquainted."

84 lines.

xii. Epitaph "in ducem." f. 71.

"Heare lyes ambition, lust and pryde;
Stab'd, swore, 'God zowndes,' and dyed."

20. Epitaph on the Earl of Castlehaven, "set on his tombe, after his beheadinge, 1631." 8 lines, f. 72.

Beg. "I made noe trophies to adorne my hearse."

21. A humorous and satirical epitaph on Lord Brooke as a miser (died 1620). 40 lines, *ib*.

Beg. "Reader, Ile be sworne uppon a booke
Here lyes the right uglye the Lord Brooke."

22. A loyal address to Charles I, 1633, extracted, apparently, from some collection of poems by a Roman Catholic; "Epigram 17." 24 lines. f. 78.

Beg. "Pardon, most gratiouse soveraigne, if my verse."

23. Satirical lines upon a portrait of John Pym; 1642. 22 lines. f. 86.

Beg. "Reader, behold the counterfait of him
That rules both Kinge and State, almightie Pime."

24. "A game at chesse"; lines on the affairs of state at the same time. 8 lines. *ib*.

Beg. "The pawnes have all the sport."

The prose pieces which are not of the kind usually found in such common-place books are as follows:—

1. List of ships to be employed in the expedition against the pirates, under command of Sir Rob. Mansfeld, vice-adm. of England, in 1620 (being 7 king's ships and 14 merchant ships, with armaments ranging from 45 guns to 8). f. 26.

2. Extracts from a news-letter of 22 May, 1623, chiefly with reference to the negotiations for the Spanish match. f. 31*b*.

3. List of the colonels and captains that went with four regiments to the Low Countries in 1624. f. 39.

4. The number of soldiers that went from every shire in England to Count Mansfeld "about the last of November," 1624, in all 12,050; f. 39*b*.

5. News-letter from the Hague of 18 Nov. 1624. f. 40.

6. List of captured Spanish ships brought into Plymouth 30 Sept. 1625. f. 40*b*.

7. Table of the marriages between the royal families of England and France, from William Warren, Earl of Surrey, to Charles I. f. 41.

8. "A relacion concerning the navie which went forth 8 Oct. 1625" to Cadiz. f. 42.

9. Extract from a letter giving an account of a great storm in London on 15 June, 1626. f. 46.

10. List of English ships captured or lost at sea in the three years last past. f. 68.

11. "A copie of the strange commission which came downe into Cheshire, 26 of May, 1631," concerning commissions for knighthood. f. 72*b*.

12. An account of the battle of Lutzen, 6 Nov. 1632. f. 76*b*.

13. Very interesting memoranda by William Davenport of his losses during the Civil War, and of the movements of the hostile armies in his neighbourhood. These were copied in the last century by Rev. J. Watson; and were in consequence printed from his copy, partially by Ormerod in his *Hist. of Cheshire* (1819, II. 400-2) under the mistaken name of *Peter Davenport*, and more fully and correctly (including the whole of the "Briefe Summary") in J. P. Earwaker's *East Cheshire*, 4^o, 1877, vol. I. pp. 429-433. But some portions of what is here subjoined are not given in either work. The memoranda commence with an angry and acrimonious record of the opposition of his tenants to the royal cause, which deserves renewed transcription as affording a typical instance of the universal dislocation of all ties and relationships, and illustration of the strength of the popular feeling, just after the setting up of the King's Standard at Nottingham. ff. 88-91*b*.

"17 Sept. 1642.—A wryting sent to me by some off my tenantes off Bromhall with their names sett unto it the 17 off September, which I sett downe with my owne hand for a perpetuall remembrance to my heires, hereafter *in futuro*, that they may take knowledge off itt, how most treacherously the deale with me, and, as occasion is (by God Almightye) offerd, that the would remember their passages in them or their posterie to right me wherein I cannot right myself.

A perpetuall remembrance for those my successors, as they will aunswere me in another world, if such be a possibilitie. W. D.

A true copie off the Letter.

Much Honored Sir,—Wee your Worships tenants here present, havinge these manie dayes with sadd spirites weighed not onelie the woffull distractions off our kingdome, but also the present standinge that is betwixt your worshippe and ourselves, have thought it our dutie, as well for the workeinge up off a sweete union, as for the takinge away off all jealousies amoungste us, to present youre worshippe with these few lynes off our humble request.

Wherein wee doe most humbly intreat your worshippe, That ethir you would be pleased to bend your intencions that waye which wee maye with upright hartes and saffe consciences cleave to you both in

lyffe and death: (which in so doinge wee shalbe ever most willinge to doe;) or else that your worshippe will not repute us ill affected or falseharted tenants in refusinge to venture our lyves in causses that our harts and consciences doe perswade us are not good or lawfull, nor such as wee dare safelye and with good consciences maintayne and defendd you in. For, howsoever wee would not for the world harbour a disloyall thought against his Majestie, yett wee dare not lifte upp our handes against that honorable assembly off Parliament, whom wee are confidently assured doe labour both for the happiness off his Majestie and all his kingdome.

WILLIAM SIDDALL.

JOHN COWPER.

HUGH DANIELL.

JOHN HENSHALL, senior.

JOHN HENSHALL, junior.

JOHN POWNALL.

THOMAS TAYLOR.

WILLIAM BIRCHE.

JOHN BRETNALL.

HUMF. POWNALL.

RAPHE SMITHE.

WILLIAM COWPER.

RICHARD BROCKE.

WILLIAM HALL, de Doghill.

THOMAS HALLE.

RAPHE COWPER.

WILLIAM TOMSSONNE.

WILLIAM SMYTHE.

WILLIAM HOULTE.

WILLIAM COWPER, de Chiphill.

JOHN DANIELL.

FRAN. POWNALL.

THOMAS SIDDALL.

GORGE TAYLOR.

This petition was sent me by these persons above named the 17 off Sept. 1642, when I was at my supper, with a desire or command to have my present resolution. I, takinge it into consideration, after my first and 2^d veiwinge off it, how nerely it might conserne mee, sent them word by my servaunt Richarde Browne, at whose house the all stayed, that within 2 dayes, when I had duly considered off itt, I would ethir satisfie them myselff or send them my answere, and for that time desired them to departe to there owne homes, and to expect at the time prefixed my answher. Yet nevertheless the verie next day (and it beinge the Saboth daye too), not stainge or belyke caringe much ffor me or my ans., they with some others off my tenants enrowled their names and listed themselves with Capt. Hyde off Norburie to become souldiers ffor the Parlement under his command.

How perfideously and treacherously these have done against Kinge and Maister, you that read judicially judge, and as the Almightye great God shal inable you reward.

W. DAVENPORT."

On the opposite page are notes of refusal of heriots (with bitter comments) by some tenants and of payment of heriots by others, in the years 1643-1650; and at the foot of this page, the following:—"In 1643, and these fattall tymes, the tyth of Bramall was taken from my house chiefly by the meanes of these my (good) tenaunts, which the Lordes off Bramall had ever heretofore bene possessed off from the Rector of Stopporde church."

Attached to the same page is an original receipt, signed by Richard Waringe and Michael Herring, treasurers of the moneys paid into Goldsmiths' Hall, for the payment by Wm. Davenport, of Bromhall, in the co. of Chester, Esq., of 372*l.* 10*s.* as part of a fine of 745*l.* for delinquency, 2 Nov. 1647; with an order, signed W. S., that Mr. John Davenport and Mr. Woode are to be taken as security for the remainder.

On the next five pages follows a "Breife summary" of military visits and military plunder, beginning with visits of Sir W. Brereton's troops in March 164²/₃ and on Jan. 1, 164³/₄; the rifling of his house, &c. by Prince

Rupert's and Lord Goring's men in May 1644,* followed by a return of Parliamentary troops who took what the Prince had left; of which visits the respective dates are these—20–22 May, plunder by, and quartering of, Parliamentary soldiers; 26 May, Lord Grandison's troops quartered at Bromhall; 28–9 May, Sir C. Lucas' regiment quartered there; 8 June, return of Parliamentary horse under Capt. Standley. Proceedings of the Commissioners for sequestration, 9 Aug. 1644 to 7 March 164 $\frac{1}{2}$. From Saturday, 10 May, 1645, to Thursday, 15 May, part of Fairfax's own regiment of horse, which had removed from about Macclesfield, where they had been for nearly a fortnight, was quartered at Bromhall, and on Saturday following marched away into Yorkshire. "They said that the reason of their so long abode in these partes was because Sir Will. Brereton withheld the pay from them which he promised my Lord Fairfax when he sent for them, and although he often sent to haue them returne to him againe, yet they alwayes refused except he would performe his promise." The "Breife summary of my sufferinges" concludes with the following paragraphs:—

"Sonday the 17th of August, 1645, an army of Scots, consisting of about 6,000 horse and 1,000 dragoones came into these partes, under the command of Lieutenent generall David Lesly. They marcht that day from Congleton to Stopport, where was their head quarters. Collonell Cragge his regiment being quarter'd in Bromhall, himselfe with Major Stuart, Cornet Dumbar, Quartermaster Young, and Quartermaster Gibbe, with his owne and the Major's troopes were quartered with me. They stayed with me all night, and next morning marched away towards Blackston Edge. They reported that they came from the siege of Hereford that day sevenight, and that their designe was to intercept the King in his march (as was thought) into Scotland or the north, whose drawing downe towards Bakewell the Thursday before had given a generall alarme to the whole countrey.

Monday, the 25th of August, 1645, Major Jackson, commanding eight troopes of Lancashire horse, who had marcht forth of Lancashire in the reare of the Scots, came out of Yorkshire to Stopport. The Major himselfe, with Captaine Martland, Lieutenent Dunster, Cornet Brookes, and one Cornet Hilton, were quartered with me. They stayed till Wednesday, and then marcht back to the leaguer at Lathum."

The last articles in the volume are copies by another hand of the official accounts of the trial and execution of Charles I., and of the execution of the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and Lord Capel. In the margin of the account of the King's death are these notes:—

"It is observed the King desired to have [at Whitehall] the use of the cabinet and the little roome next it, where there was a trap doore."

"It [the scaffold] was neare (if not in the very same place) where the first bloud in the beginning of the late troubles was shed, when the King's cavaliers fell on the citizens, killed one, and wounded about 50 others."

WILLIAM DUNN MACRAY.

* Saturday, 25 May, the Prince held a rendezvous on Bowden Downs, thence marched to Cheadle, "where the Parliament's forces run away," thence "to Stopport, where they do the like." Monday, 27 May, his rendezvous is on Barlow Moor, and the next day on Walkden Moor. 28 May, Goring marches out of Derbyshire into Cheshire, and quarters all between Lyme and Stockport, and on 29 May keeps his rendezvous on Stockport Moor.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF LINCOLN.

Among the many collections of early MSS. in the possession of Cathedral and other public bodies, which have of late years been treated with loving and discriminating zeal, that in the Muniment Room of Lincoln Cathedral must be given a very leading position on account both of its intrinsic importance, and of the completeness of its arrangement.

MSS. OF
THE DEAN AND
CHAPTER OF
LINCOLN.
—

Our gratitude for the present excellent state of things at Lincoln Cathedral is due in the first place to the unwearied personal labours of the late Prebendary Wickenden, aided by the Dean and Chapter. The first time Mr. Wickenden entered the Muniment Room, as a stranger there, he saw before him a vast number of dirty, crumpled, dusty, parchments and papers, all in a state sufficient to deter any ordinary man from even thinking of dealing with them. Seven years of occasional labour on the part of Mr. Wickenden, with the help of an assistant provided by the Dean and Chapter, changed that state of chaos into a well-ordered chamber of Muniments, each document in its own proper place with a label attached indicating its nature, and each as ready for the student's use as it was possible for skilful and careful hands to make it.

Others who have assisted in the good work are the late Mr. Henry Bradshaw, who often visited the Muniment Room as a friend of Mr. Wickenden's, and himself made notes upon and drew up a rough catalogue of the contents of Presses A. B. ; and also the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth who, since the time of my visit to Lincoln, has completed a catalogue of all Mr. Wickenden's labels and endorsements, and otherwise perfected what had been left undone by him.

This Catalogue is kept in the Muniment Room.

The single documents in the collection number many thousands, the MS. volumes are equally full of information ; all therefore that could be aimed at in this report was to give such a general sketch of the contents of each volume and each press as would enable an inquirer to see how far the MSS. of Lincoln Cathedral may be fairly expected to supply information upon any particular subject.

In drawing up the following report I have made the freest use of the labours of Mr. Wickenden and Mr. Bradshaw.

The report upon the Bishop's Registry is the work of Mr. A. Gibbons of Lincoln, who has done much valuable work there under the directions of the Bishop. I am glad to take this opportunity of tendering my hearty thanks to him not only for this one piece of work, but also for much kind assistance throughout my own work at Lincoln. It is also a pleasure to acknowledge the cordial aid afforded to me by the Dean and the Members of the Chapter.

PRESS A.

SHELF I.

Four boxes labelled "Royal Charters."

BOX I.—ORIGINAL CHARTERS.

1. Henry I.—Grant of the Manor of Biggleswade to Bishop Alexander and the Church of Lincoln. Test. Roger Bishop of Sarum, G.

the Chancellor, Nigell the Bishop's nephew, Robert of the Seal, Robert de Ver Constable, Humphry de Buh[un] Dapifer, William de Pontearch Chamberlain. At Gillingham. A.D. 1132.

2. Henry I.—Judgment against the Abbot of Burg in a suit with the Bishop of Lincoln as to rights in the parish church of Burg. Test. Aldulf Bishop of Carlisle . . . sig, Robert Earl of Gloucester, William Earl Warrenne, Brient the Earl's (father?). At Roch.

3. Henry I.—Addressed to Ralph Earl of Chester, Hugh of Leicester, and to the barons of Lincolnshire, restoring to Bishop Bloet 12 bovates of land, viz., 6 in Burgh and 6 in Welingham, which Ralph Basset had claimed as of demesne. Test. Ralph the Chancellor, Hig' de Albinaco, William de Tancerville, Geoffry de Glint'. At Guildford.

4. Henry I.—Confirmation of the rights of the French and English in Lincoln, addressed to Bishop Bloet and others (*Imperfect.*)

5. Stephen.—Grant to Bishop Alexander "quod teneat et habeat milites suos quos ei dedi de feodo Rogeri Pictavensis, sel. Radulfum fil. Hacon, et Cudan de Grenesbi, bene et in pace sicut eos tenuit die quo primum veni ad obsidionem Linc[oln]." Test. Queen Matilda. At Lincoln.

6. Stephen.—Confirmation of the rights of Bishop Robert de Chesney within and without Lincoln. Test. William Martel. At St. Alban's.

7. Stephen.—Grant of the Chapelry of Blyth to the Church of Lincoln to form a prebend. Test. Robert de Ver, William de Ipra, Richard de Luci, Henry de Essex, Adam de Belun. At Oxford.

8. Stephen.—Charter endowing Brampton prebend and confirming all the rights "quas Willelmus avus meus et avunculi mei reges Anglie eidem ecclesie dederunt." Test. Richard de Luci, William de Caisun, Richard de Canvill. At Oxford.

9. Henry II.—Confirmation of a grant to Bishop Robert by Henry I. of tolls and fairs in August and September, and at Michaelmas, and Pentecost. Test. Thomas the Chancellor, Richard de Humet Constable, Manasser Bisset Dapifer, Warin fitz Ger[old] Chamberlain. At Westminster.

Endorsed, de teloneo de Stowa.

10. Henry II.—A similar confirmation "de faria de Niwere," addressed to Bishop Robert at his castle of Niwere. The fair is one of 5 days at the Feast of St. Mary Magdalene. Test. Roger Archbishop of York, H[ugh] Bishop of Durham, Richard de Luci. At York.

11. Henry II.—Confirmation of the Episcopal rights of warrens at Newark, Stowe, and Louth. Test. Richard de Humet. At Dover.

12. Henry II.—Grant of the Manor of Wickham.

13. Henry II.—Grant of the site of the Bishop's palace. *Printed in the Monasticom.*

14. Henry II.—Grant of a warren between Lincoln and Newark "sicut tempore Henrici avi mei." Test. Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury, Reginald Earl of Cornwall. At York.

15. Henry II.—Confirmation of the possessions of the Abbey of Eynsham, the house having been removed from Stow, and Newark and Stow having been accepted by the Bishop in exchange for Charlbury, &c. The properties consist of the vill of Eynesham and Rolin-dried, Schiford; in Gloucestershire, Micheletune; in Oxford, the church of S. Ebba and two mills near Oxford, and all that Robert Bishop of Lincoln gave in exchange for Niwere, viz., Cerlebiria, Stoches, and Wdecote and its wood; in Cambridgeshire 15 hides 3 virgates in Histon; the tithe of Thame "in annona, in pecudibus, in lana, in caseis, et unum bordarium cum duobus acris; et decimam de Banne-

bery, et de Croperia cum bordariis;" the tithe of Mildeton; the tithe "cere altaris" of Stowa; one hide and three and a half hides of land in Midelcumbe, the gift of Nigel de Vill; the tithe of Darneford, Widel, and Cornewell, the gift of Richard de Gray; the tithe of his land at Ministre and of all his wool in Oxfordshire, the gift of Roger de Chesneto; the tithe of two parts of Straton and of all his wool and cheese, the gift of Gilbert Basset; tithe of one hide of land in Estley and of all his wool, the gift of Ralph Basset; the tithe of Wicheham, the gift of Robert fitz Walquelin; two parts of his tithe, the gift of Geoffry Croper; two parts of the tithe of Claindon, the gift of Richard de Niwere; a house in Oxford, the gift of Walter fitz Nigel; two houses, one without and one within the borough of Oxford, the gift of Hardine of Oxford; a house at Oxford outside the borough, the gift of Gilbert de Almery, saving the customary royal rights; his tithe, the gift of William fitz Bernard. The nomination of the Abbot is to be in the Bishop of Lincoln. Test. Roger Archbishop of York, Arn[ul]f of Lisieux, Philip of Bayeux, Hillary Bishop of Chichester, Froger Bishop of Seez, Thomas the Chancellor, William fitz Hamo, William de Chesney, Manasser Bisset Dapifer, Richard de Humet Constable, Josceline de Baillol, Stephan de Beauchamp, Robert de Donstanville. At Rouen.

16. Henry II.—Grant to Bishop Robert de Chesney of a Thursday market at Banbury. Test. Hillary Bishop of Chichester, Hugh Bishop of Durham, Thomas the Chancellor. At Rouen.

17. Henry II.—Confirmation to Bishop Robert of the grant of Henry I. of the Wapentake of Welle to the Bishop and Church of Lincoln. Test. Roger Archbishop of York, Hugh Bishop of Durham, Richard de Luci, Manasser Bisset Dapifer, William fitz Hamo. At York.

18. Henry II.—Grant to Bishop Robert of a Whitsuntide fair at Banbury. Test. Arnul]f of Lisieux, Philip of Bayeux, Rotrold Bishop of Evreux, Manasser Bisset Dapifer, William fitz Hamo. At Rouen.

19. Henry II.—Grant of the Manor of Kildsby to Bishop Robert "sicut tempore regis Edwardi . . . et sicut carta Henrici avi mei." Test. Roger Archbishop of York. At Nottingham. (*Imperfect.*)

20. Henry II.—Grant to the Bishop Robert of a Thursday market at Banbury. Test. Bishops Philip of Bayeux and Arnul]f of Lisieux, and Thomas the Chancellor. At Lincoln.

21. Henry II.—Confirmation of the endowment of a prebend. Test. Robert Earl of Leicester, Richard de Humet Constable, Manasser Bisset Dapifer, William fitz Hamo, Nigell de Broch. At Westminster.

22. Henry II.—Confirmation of the Canons in certain lands given to them by Martell in the time of Henry I. of which they had been despoiled. Test. Manasser Bisset Dapifer. At Tenchbrai.

23. Henry II.—Charter endowing Brampton prebend. Test. Thomas the Chancellor, Manasser Bisset Dapifer, Warin fitz Gerold. At Breh . . . (llm?).

24. Henry II.—Charter of liberties to the Canons of Lincoln. Test. Manasser Bisset Dapifer, Nigell de Broc. At Woodstock.

25. Confirmation by Pope Alexander of the liberties (*antiquas et rationabiles consuetudines*) of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln.

26. John.—Grant to Bishop Hugh of the manor of Winthorpe by Newark; of remission of the annual payment of 10*l.* upon the Wapentake of Stow; and of liberties. January 21, 1215.

27. John.—A similar charter tied together with the last, dated November 21, 1214.

28. Henry III.—Exemplification of No. 26, dated February 12, 1227-8.

29. Henry III.—Request to Bishop Hugh for consent to a royal grant of Dunsby and Braunston, the lands of Eustace de Moreton of the Honour of Peverel in the King's hands during the minority of the said Eustace, to Ralf, son of Nicholas, the King's steward. Test. Henry Bishop of Rochester, Walter Bishop of Carlisle, Richard Earl of Cornwall our brother, William Marescall Earl of Pembroke, Geoffry de Craucumbe. August 15 Anno 10^o [1226]. At Abingdon.

30. Henry III.—Requisition for a tenth of hay and flour. May 27, 1228 (?).

31. Henry III.—Relaxation of the subsidy granted to the king by the clergy, for the siege of Bedford. August 18, 1224. Test. The King at Bedford in the presence of Hubert de Burg Justiciary, William Earl of Salisbury, William Earl Warren, Gilbert Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, William de Mandeville Earl of Essex, Hugh Earl Bigod, Humphry Earl of Hereford, Henry Earl of Warwick, J. Constable of Chester, William Briwer, P. fitz Herebert, William de Albini, Thomas de Multon, J. de Monmouth, Robert de Courtenay, John fitz Robert, Richard de Munfichet, W. de Lancaster, P. de Brug, Richard de Percy, W. de Ros.

32. Henry III.—Copy of the Charter of the Forest.

33. Edward I.—Exemplification of a charter of Henry I. confirming a grant of the Manor of Netelham by Queen Matilda "cujus erat" to the Bishop of Lincoln. Test. to the charter of Henry I. Queen Matilda. Die S. Germani Episcopi, anno regni primo [July 26, 1101]. At Winchester. Test. to the charter of Queen Matilda "consors predicti regis." Hamo Dapifer, Urs de Abitot. At Winchester. Test. to the Insepimus. Robert Bishop of Bath and Wells, Thomas Bishop of St. David's, Anthony Bishop of Durham, Henry de Lasey Earl of Lincoln, Thomas de Clare, Otto de Grandison, Roger Le Strange (*Extraneo*), Robert fitz John, Eustace de Hacche. February 6. 12 Edward I. At Netelham.

34. Henry II.—Confirmation of a grant by William I. of the churches of Ossington, Chesterfield, Ashburn, and Mansfield, to the church of Lincoln for 100 marcs and three aurei annually "pro omni servitio." Test. Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Henry of Winchester, Hillary of Chichester, Bishops, Robert Earl of Leicester, Richard de Luci, Reginald de S. Wall[eran], Richard de Humet. At Windsor (?).

35. Henry II.—Confirmation of a purchase by Bishop Robert de Chesney from the Templars, of houses in St. Andrew's Holborn, for the use of the See. *Printed in the Monasticon.*

36. Henry II.—Confirmation of the grants of William I. of Welton, Sleaford, Kirton, Caistor, Wellingore, and of the churches of St. Lawrence and St. Martin in Lincoln, of Lecton given by Earl Waldo, of Waburn given by the King to Bishop Remigius with the staff, of St. Mary's Bedford, and another, and also of Buckingham and Aylesbury. *Printed in the Monasticon. A small fragment of a seal.*

37. Henry III.—Copy of the Charter of the Forest. 1217. Before he had a great seal. *Seal in a box.*

38. Henry III.—Grant of a market at Biggleswade.

39. Henry III.—Grant to Bishop Hugh of deer-leaps at his parks at Buckden, Spaldwick, and Liddington. May 15, 1229.

40. Copies of various charters about the liberties of the Church.

41. Copies of three charters of William I. when the See was moved from Dorchester to Lincoln.

The original of the second of these charters is in the Library.

42. Edward I.—Exemplification of a confirmation by William II. of a charter of William I. granting laud and churches. Test. The Arch-

bishop of Canterbury, Maurice Bishop of London, Gundulf of Rochester, Ralph of Chichester, Earl Alan, Walchelin Bishop of Winchester, Gilbert Abbot of Westminster, Herbert Bishop of Thetford, Osmund of Salisbury, — of Chester, William de Albeigni, Baldwin Abbot of S. Edmund's, Stephen de Albemarle, Geoffry de Stoterville, Robert the Chancellor, Robert Bishop of Hereford, William the Chaplain and the Canons of the church, Robert Earl of Mortain, Robert Earl of Montgomery, Hugh Earl of Chester, Heudo Dapifer, Ivo talib [Tailboise], Hubert deria, Hugh de Port, Hugh de Mountfort, Robert de Olei, Robert fitz Hermon, Heremon Sheriff of Canterbury, Robert de Curcei, Wido de Olei, Robert de Grentemaisnil, Ivo de Grentemaisnil, William de Percy, Alvred de Wareham, Geoffry de Berci.

Exemplified on the petition of Bishop Oliver on account of the decayed state of the original charter. May 20. 9 Edward I.

43. Edward I.—Exemplification of a confirmation by William II. of the charter of William I. for the transference of the See to Lincoln.

44. Edward I.—A distringas to the Sheriff of Nottingham for money due to the Chapter.

45. Edward I.—Confirmation of the report of Roger de Brabancon about the boundaries of the forest in Rutland. February 14, 1300-1.

46. Edward III.—Grant to Bishop Henry de Burghersh of permission to make a park. October 9, 1330.

Seal.

47. Edward II.—Letter of protection to the clergy. April 30.

48. Edward II.—Commission to inquire into the rights of the Dean and Chapter in Haydour, Mumby, Thedelthorp, Thoresby, Ormesby, Timberlound, Lissington, Randby, Thurleby, Langetone, Scredington, Foderby, Tefford, Suthenby, and Haltham. July 18, 1324.

49. Edward III.—Grant to the Bishop of escheats on his estates.

50a. Edward III.—Grant of free warren on his estates to Bishop Henry de Burghersh and his successors. April 12, 1329.

50b. A copy of the same.

51. Edward III.—Pardon to the Bishop of certain evasions of the civil law on the part of clerks of the diocese accused of felony. September 17, 1329.

52. Similar to the last.

53. Edward III.—Grant to the Bishop of forfeitures upon his estates.

54. Edward III.—Confirmation of the report of a Commission in favour of the Dean's rights in his park, &c. at Eyton. May 12, 1331.

55. Edward III.—Licence to the Bishop to make an exchange with the Prior and Convent of Markby of the advowson of Great Carleton for that of Mumby. February, 1333-4.

56. Edward III.—Licence to the Abbey of Roucester (Staffordshire) to pay 30s. yearly on their Manors of Edensoure and Rokenastowe to the Chapter of Lincoln. April 11, 1340.

57. Edward III.—Licence to the Priory of Norton to pay on Waretoft (co. Leicester) 60s. yearly to the Bishop of Lincoln. October 27, 1343.

58. Edward III.—Licence in Mortmain to the Chapter of Lincoln for Gretewell, Grimolby, Somercotes, Stenewalth alias Stennyth, Spyttlegate near Grantham, and Welby near Haydour. February 17, 1344-5.

59. Edward III.—Licence to the Abbey of Bardeney to charge their estates with a yearly payment of 10 marcs to Bishop Thomas le Bek and his successors. November 9, 1345.

60. Edward III.—Licence to the Chapter to hold property in Wolyngham, Kynthorpe, Wragby, and Lincoln. January 28, 1355-6. *Seal.*

61. Edward III.—Exemplification of a record relating to the transference of the See to Lincoln, and of the right of the Chapter to hold the Galilee Court. June 30, 1376.

62. Henry VI.—Pardon to the Chapter for transgressions previous to September 2, 1431. Given at Westminster, 1436-7.

63. Henry VI.—Pardon to the Chapter for their part in the late disturbances before Easter of the preceding year. August 7, 1452.

64. Edward IV.—Pardon to the Chapter for their support of Henry VI. and Margaret. November 6, 1468.

65. Henry VIII.—Exemplification of a charter of Edward III., given at Reading, May 10, 1347, by which the tenants of the Priory of St. Frideswide, Oxford, are exempted from military service. 1539-40.

Box II.

Nine exemplifications of charters of the reigns of Edward III., Henry IV., and Henry VII.

Box III.

Five exemplifications of charters of the reign of Edward IV.

Box IV.

1. Two fragments of a Register in quarto of the 12th century.

One of these was formerly gummed into the Registrum Antiquissimum.

2. Fragment of a Register. Temp. Henry II.

3. One leaf containing copies of five deeds in a 13th century hand.

4. One leaf containing copies of four deeds in a 14th century hand.

5. One leaf containing copies of four deeds of the same.

6. A Chorister Cartulary, temp. Edward III., with a list of obits at the end.

Probably only one quaternion of a large book.

7. Confirmations of various charters by Edward III.

8. Exemplification of an agreement about farming the chantry lands of the cathedral in 1590.

REGISTERS.—SIX VOLUMES.

V. Registrum Antiquissimum.

This is a parchment volume, bound in rough calf, with clasps, 13 × 9½ inches, containing 250 folios, and 1,073 different entries.

At the beginning of this volume there are some notes in the hand of Archbishop Wake.

Its contents are Royal Charters, Episcopal grants, documents relating to the Cathedral manors and revenues, &c., Papal Bulls, a form for conducting the election of a Bishop, with a note that it was used for Bishop Oliver Sutton, 1279, with a list of the fees paid by him.

The late Mr. Bradshaw has left in the volume a paper stating that in his opinion it must have been compiled at the end of King John's reign, when Hugh de Wells was Bishop, and Roger de Rolveston was Dean. Two quires of Register matter of the time of Hugh de Wells, and Henry de Lexington respectively (but in one handwriting), are inserted in different parts of the volume. The whole book, including these two quires, has been gone over very carefully, divided into *tituli* and

furnished with rubrics when necessary, all for the purpose (apparently) of transcription, early in the reign of Edward I. Several quires of documents omitted in the original register are supplied in a neat handwriting of this period under the direction of the person who did this. This director of the work puts down what he himself witnessed of the enthronization of Bishop Oliver de Sutton in 1280, and he also adds an account of his funeral in 1299, likewise from an eye-witness.

At the close of the volume are some later documents of the early part of Edward III.'s reign, about 1330, and a few still later entries, but these form only an insignificant portion of the whole volume.

The deeds of Bishop Hugh de Wells in the volume are transcripts, of which copies have been made and transmitted to the Pope by Walter, Archbishop of York, for security in these perilous times.

The Royal Charters fill the first 34 folios of the volume. They begin with William I. and end with Stephen, and comprise—

Of William I., two, both in the *Monasticon*.

Of William II., 12, of which 7 are in the *Monasticon*.

Of Henry I., 57, of which 36 are in the *Monasticon*.

Of Henry II., 81, of which 6 are in the *Monasticon*.

Of Richard and John, 11, and of Stephen, 28, none of them printed in the *Monasticon*.

The Miscellaneous Charters fill 135 folios.

The Papal Bulls come between folios 169–182. There are 27 of them, viz. Pope Nicholas to Ulwin of Dorchester, Honorius and Innocent to Alexander of Lincoln, Eugenius to Robert of Lincoln, Eugenius to Alexander, and another to the Canons of Lincoln, Alexander to Robert of Lincoln, three of Alexander to Adelm the Dean and the Canons of Lincoln, Eugenius to Alexander of Lincoln, Honorius to the barons and all the magnates “Lincolnie parrochie,” two of Innocent to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, Innocent to the Archdeacon of St. Alban’s, Innocent to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, two of Innocent to the Abbot and Prior de Rupe, Innocent to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, Alexander to the Archbishop of York, Alexander to the Prior of St. Fridiswide, Oxford, Clement to the Dean of York, Honorius to the Abbot of Bardeney, Innocent to the Bishop of Lincoln, Innocent to the Bishop of St. David’s, two of Alexander to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln.

A note states that the book was recovered by Wake when Bishop of Lincoln in 1712, and another note states that being found among his MSS. bequeathed to Christ Church, Oxford, it was restored to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln in 1764.

VI. A parchment volume, bound in rough calf, with clasps, $16\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{5}{8}$ inches, containing 273 folios. “An enormous Register of Charters and Privileges, compiled and written uniformly about 1330. H. B.” The book is divided into three parts.

The first entry in the first part is a charter of William I., the last, on folio 71, is one of Bishop John. The next five folios are in a later hand, and are taken up with certain questions as to the Chapter rights in their manors, &c. On folio 78 begins the second part which contains a register of the Cathedral Charters and fills 76 folios.

The third part *de terris taliabilibus* contains 121 folios.

VII. A parchment volume, bound in rough calf, with clasps, containing 94 folios, headed “Carte tangentes Decanatum Ecclesie B. Marie Lincoln.”

The first entry is a charter of King William to Robert Bishop of Lincoln. The last one of Robert de Hardreshill, 1266. Several of later date are inserted on blank leaves.

VIII. A smaller parchment Register, bound in rough calf, with clasps, $13 \times 8\frac{1}{8}$ inches, containing 407 folios, called *Liber de Ordinationibus Cantuariarum et Obitorum*.

It contains a list of 55 chantries, with the charters and other documents concerning them.

IX. A parchment volume, in wooden binding, re-covered with leather, containing 112 folios, called the *Knyveton Leiger*.

* It is a Leiger of the Knyveton family written about the year 1300.

X. A parchment volume, in wooden binding, newly re-covered, containing in 85 folios charters, &c. relating to the chantries of John de Welburne and Henry Duke of Lancaster. 1382.

A note in the volume refers to the lord's "customarie boke that ys framed by the appoyntment of Master . . . and lord of the said Manor by ex . . . serche made in all the Comp. Rowles of Welburne now in the custodie of Thomas Sterne gent. farmer there, the eight day of October A^o 22^o Eliz. Regine."

XI. A large folio parchment volume, bound in rough calf, with clasps. It contains the original copy of the Taxation of Pope Nicholas. 1293.

XII. A paper volume of the year 1526.

XIII. A Box containing—

1. The Assessment of the Clergy of the Diocese at 4*d.* in the marc in aid of the Archbishop of Canterbury. 1302.

An unbound parchment book of 33 folios.

2. Order from the King for the collection of the fifteenth voted to him (the upper left-hand corner torn off) with the bounds of a forest as settled by a perambulation, and a long list of woods in various places with the report of the perambulators about each one.

Given by the King at Lincoln February 14 in his 29 year.

3. Record of a Levy of 2,100 mares for the King by the Dean and Chapter. 1318.

4. Account of the Armour, &c. to be provided by the Clergy of the Diocese of Lincoln between A.D. 1585–1595.

A paper book of 16 folios in parchment cover.

5. Four receipts on one paper signed by John Lovibond for voluntary presents to his Majesty in 1661, viz., from Ed. Cater, Rector of Broxholme, 15*s.* From William Stapylton, Rector of Bishops Norton, 10*s.* From Th. Smith, Curate of Fristrop, 15*s.* From John Wetherell, Rector of Spridlington, 30*s.* J. Lovibond is collector for the Dean.

XIV. A large volume of 170 folios, containing a very large number of deeds and fragments of deeds, all most carefully mounted and arranged by Prebendary Wickenden. Many of them described as being Replies to Citations, Proxies, Returns from the Rural Deans of the Diocese of Lincoln at the Visitation held by Nicholas de Whitchurch, the official *sede vacante*, 1299.

Also 161 documents relating to the Archdeaconry of Stowe, of 1301–1304; and 178 documents relating to the same, of 1292–1300.

XV. Blank volume prepared for use like the last.

SHELF II. AND III.

MSS. OF
THE DEAN AND
CHAPTER OF
LINCOLN.

1. *Registrum sive Liber Consuetudinarius Lincolnensis Ecclesie.*
"The Black Book."

A parchment folio volume, until recently bound in parchment and lettered *Liber Niger*. Now bound in black morocco and preserved in a black morocco case. It is a Register compiled in the early part of the 14 century.

It consists of three principal portions.

1. The *Consuetudines et Officia* of the Church of Lincoln, drawn up about 1236-7, and transcribed from the now lost Collections into this book soon after 1300.

2. Privileges, Awards, Compositions, &c. relating to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln put together into this book about 1325, with many entries of later date, including the oaths taken by members of the Chapter on admission.

Entered here it seems about 1421.

3. *Consuetudines circa divinum officium approbate, que in Ordinali* [now lost] *et Registro* [above] *sunt omnino deficientes.*

Drawn up about 1260-1270 and entered in this volume about 1400.

2. Antony Beck's Book. A small parchment volume of 32 folios, evidently written for or by Antony Beck while Canon and Dean of Lincoln, and taken with him to Norwich when he became Bishop of that See.

The first 13 folios contain a Consuetudinary of the Cathedral body.

The next six folios contain charters.

On folio 20 is a list of royal charters granted to Norwich from William I. to Edward I.

On folio 21. A calendar of 15 of the Bishops of Norwich, with their characters, deaths, and places of burial.

Folios 22b-27. Liberties and Customs of North Elmham Manor.

Folio 28. A letter from the Archbishop as to Visitations during a time of vacancy.

3. John de Schalby's Book.

A parchment volume of 57 folios, bound in rough calf, and lettered "*Martilogium*."

The body of the book contains the work of John de Schalby (Canon from about 1300-1333), principally his *Gesta* of the Bishops of Lincoln from Remigius to Henry de Burghersh his own contemporary, copied out here not by himself but by his very inaccurate amanuensis. He has incorporated a number of documents, especially those which relate to the controversies of the time between the Dean and Canons. This part of the volume contains also a list of Obits, an old taxation of the Prebends, and his own collection of "*Consuetudines non scriptæ*" of the Chapter, such as he had observed them to be in his lifetime.

Folios 46-48, in 14th century handwriting, contain a copy of the *Consuetudines* of Lichfield, which seems to be nearly 200 years older than any copy now preserved at Lichfield or elsewhere.

At the foot of the last page is "*Liber Willelmi Snawdun notarii publici*." He was an officer of the Chapter in the middle of the 16 century.

The later folios contain 16th century accounts.

4. Statutes and Cartulary of the Choristers' property. A parchment book written about 1400, containing 16 numbered leaves much decayed from damp. It is now rebound.

5. A volume of 18 folios, entitled *Confirmatio Laudi Ricardi Fleming Episcopi Lincoln' per Henricum quintum regem, anno 9^o*.

6. A volume called, "*Liber Niger Velim, Registrum Novum Papiri*." The first of these titles means the "*Consuetudines et Officia*" from the Black Book. The second not the *Registrum* but the *Laudum* or *Award of Bishop Alnwick* in 1439. The first is written on 16 pages of parchment, the second on 31 of paper.

Besides the above the volume contains some collections made by Matthew Parker when appointed Dean in 1552, viz., a copy of the *Consuetudines non scriptæ* of J. de Schalby, differing in text and order from J. de Schalby's own copy, and some documents relating to the property of the Deanery.

7. John Grantham's Book. 1492-1505. Containing a List of Obits. Copy of the *Consuetudines*. The *Laudum* of Bishop Alnwick. Transcripts of various documents important to the Dean and Chapter.

Two other similar volumes.

8. A paper book in folio, bound in rough calf (generally kept in the Chapter Library), containing—

a. Collections made in 15 and 16 centuries of various documents and useful precedents.

b. Transcripts of portions of the *Black Book* and of the draft *Statutes of Bishop Alnwick*.

c. *The Laudum of Bishop Alnwick*.

d. seems to be the basis of all modern copies of what are called *Lincoln Statutes*.

9. A paper volume of transcripts made after 1837 (*see watermark*).

10. A box containing original documents of the 14 and 15 century about the Statutes and Customs of the Cathedral.

11. A portfolio containing indentures of 1390-1398.

12. A portfolio containing original documents.

Confirmation of the liberties of the Church. April 6, 1340.

Act of Grace.

Articles of truce between England and France. January 19, 1342.

Summons of the Norwich clergy to Parliament. March 3. 15 Edward.

The Proctors for the same.

Monition from the King (Edward) not to publish a mandate of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

13. Evidence on behalf of the Chapter in a suit with the Treasurer, circ. 1388.

14. Indentures of 1396-1418.

15. Inventory of the Jewels, Plate, Vestments belonging to the Cathedral in 1536.

Another Inventory of earlier date.

16. Royal Injunctions (Edward VI.) to Bishops and Chapters.

Report of a friendly conference between the Roman and Reforming parties in Germany, sent during its progress.

Abbreviationes Decretorum. Twelve decrees on the restoration of the Church of England to the Roman obedience.

Value of the Bishopricks, Deaneries, Offices of the Household, H. VIII.

Register of Nonconformists, 1684-1701. Libels for various ecclesiastical matters, 1714-1717.

17. A portfolio containing a thick paper volume of taxation returns from the Rural Deaneries of the whole diocese. Early in the 16 century.

18. A portfolio containing parchment fragments, of books, deeds, registers.

19. Fragments of Indices.

20. Fragment of a 10th century Evangelium.

Fragment of the 11th century. Hours of the Blessed Virgin, 15th century.

Thirty-five volumes of Chapter Acts, from 1305-1876.

SHELF IV.

Twelve boxes of original documents.

Box 1. Labelled, Consistory Court, contains documents relating to the C. C. of the Dean and Chapter from 1574-1578. 1596-1599. 1583. 1604-1605. 1605. A fragment of 1732.

Box 2. Labelled, The Close, contains about 20 documents, some connected with the walling and crenellation of the Close and Palace. The earliest is the original patent of Edward I. for the Close wall in 1285. There is also an Indenture between John of Gaunt and the Dean and Chapter concerning the present use of the jewels, vestments, and hangings, devised by him to the Church of Lincoln, January 6, 1398-9.

Two Indentures between the Executors of John of Gaunt and the Dean and Chapter making over the said Jewels, &c. in 1400 and 1402.

A Licence in Mortmain to convey the Manor of Glenthams to the Dean and Chapter to provide obits for John of Gaunt, &c.

Appointment of a Commission by Richard II. to inquire into losses and injuries suffered by the Church of Lincoln. July 27, between 1387 and 1396.

A list of Mayors and Bailiffs of Lincoln, 1314-1507. A paper book in 4^o of 17th century.

Four Membranes of a Roll giving the names of the Mayors and Sheriffs of Lincoln for 84 years, 1422-1506, with notices of contemporary events, and endorsed with lists of the Kings of England, Episcopal Sees, &c.

Box 3. Labelled Bishops' Memorandum Books. 1500-1528. 1576-1613.

Memoranda of Bishop Longland, 1520-1528.

Memoranda Books of Bishops Wickham, Chaderton, Barlow, Neale, 1580-1618.

Bishop Neale's Visitation, 1614.

Box 4. Contains Court Rolls, of Navenby, 1277. Two membranes of one of Horncastle, Strubby, Louth, Glenthams, Navenby, Hainton,

East Rasen, Friesthorp, Saundby (?), 1314. Rolls of Edwinstowe, 1315-1383. Ormesby, 1337. Friesthorp, 1339. Maltby, 1375. Glentham, 1399-1404. Friesthorp, 1400.

A Portmote Roll of Banbury, Oct. 6, 1483; September 10, 1484.

A Court Roll of Huntingdon, and certain places in the diocese of Lichfield, 1485. And others of later date.

Boxes 5-6. Court Rolls, 1413-1700, and Courts Baron, 1632-1650.

Box 7. Miscellaneous Rolls.

Report of a Royal Commission on the state of the roads and bridges in Hoyland. Henry III.

Briefs of sums due to the King during the vacancy of the See. 1300.

Knight's Fee for Bishop's Norton. Early in 14th century.

Fees of the Chapter of Lincoln. Early in 14th century.

Rent Roll, Lincolnshire. Early in 14th century.

Estimate for repairs of the Chancel and grange at Tathwell, 1417-8.

Return of John Wellborne's Chantry, for the year 1521.

Part of a Terrier. Henry III.

John Derby, Prebendary of N. Kelsey, under authority of a Bull of Pope Eugenius IV., May 26, 1441, acting as official *sede vacante*, unites the chapelries of Newton Magna and Parva in Geddington, Northampton, in the patronage of Pipewell Monastery, March 19, 1449.

Pedigree of Henry VI. from Adam. The work of Roger Alban. Unfinished. 1450.

Box 8. Miscellaneous Rolls. Amongst them:—

Membrane of a Roll. Sentence of a Court Christian, circ. 1300.

Agreement between the Dean & Chapter and the Abbey of Abingdon. 1346. And one membrane of 1361.

A Fabric Roll of 14th century.

One Membrane of a Roll, giving 27 perquisites. End of 12th century.

Parts of a Roll of payments and of an Inventory of 14th century.

And other similar documents.

Box 9. Miscellaneous Rolls. Amongst them:—

A Papal Rescript mentioning the Prior and Chapter of Christ Church, Canterbury, and the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln. *Date illegible*.

The Official of Lincoln to the special Commissaries of the Archbishop of Canterbury. A Certificate of the publication to the University of Oxford of New Statutes. 6 Kal. Apr. 1313. London. *Endorsed* "Certif. in negotio contra Universitatem Oxon."

The Constitution of a College of 13 Priests at Cotterstock, Northampton, by John Giffard of the same. Granted by Bishop Thomas le Beck, March 2, 1343. Confirmed by Dean and Chapter, 1346.

Box 10. Miscellaneous documents, 89 in number, of 17th and 18th centuries, almost all about local matters. Amongst them:—

Collections for the King of Bohemia in Winchester diocese.

The burning of the Archbishop of Spalato at Rome. In Italian.

Verses to Lord Cranbourne, by Thomas Walkington.

Nc. 11. Various papers of the 16 and 17 centuries, washed, mended and mounted by Prebendary Wickenden, but not catalogued.

The other volumes in this Press are connected with modern accounts of the Cathedral.

PRESS B. I.

The five shelves of this press contain nothing but Account Books. Those of the "Clericus Communæ" begin in 1304; the rest not before 1500.

The boxes and volumes are 84 in number, some of them very large.

PRESS B. II.

Contains 80 similar volumes carrying on the accounts, leases, &c. until the year 1852.

PRESS D. I.

Documents relating to Bishop Hugh de Wells.

Letter from Bishop Hugh to the clergy of his diocese.

For the good of the diocese when his messengers come it shall be lawful on the day when they preach if a church has been closed under the Interdict to open it, to ring the bells, to call together the parishioners, to celebrate divine services, to bring penitents into the churches, and to bury in the cemetery any deceased who have not been excommunicated by name.

The Bishop with the assent of Dean Roger and the Chapter grants in augmentation of the provision made for the Clerks of the Choir who celebrate the solemn mass daily in the morning and other offices of the glorious Virgin in the appointed place, 100 shillings from Kildesby, 5 mares from Tinghurst, and 10 mares from Offordby, from the time when they next fall vacant. Test. Joceline, Bishop of Bath; William, Precentor of Wells; Masters John de Hoyland; William de Cant.; Amarius de Buggenden; Lambert de Beverly; Hugh de Mareseia; Hubert Hese; Robert de Caumvil; Gilbert his brother; Laurence de Wilton; William de Wincheumb, Oliver de Chedneto. Given in the chapter of Lincoln at Easter, in his 11th year.

Final Concord between Hugh Bishop of Lincoln and Oliver de Dencurt concerning the Manor of Woburn with its appurtenances, save only the advowson of the Church. Many names of tenants given. 6 Hen. III.

Protection granted to Hugh Bishop of Lincoln against any interference with his market. Test. Eustace Bishop of London; Joceline Bishop of Bath; R[ichard] Bishop of Sarum; Hubert de Burg, Justiciary; William de Eynesford, Steward; William Briwer. Given at Westminster. 11 Hen. III.

Inspeximus by Henry III. of a grant by King John to Hugh Bishop of Lincoln, in recompense for injuries done to the Church of Lincoln and to the Bishop during the Interdict, of the Manor of Wimeltorp near Neoworch, which is of the Bishop's fee and was escheated into the hands of King Henry II. on the death of Aaron the Jew; together with the annual sum of 10*l.* hitherto paid by the Bishops upon the Wapentake of Stow; with permission to the Bishops of Lincoln to impark or essart at will their woods at Lidentun and Buggenden and Spaldewick, and the grava of Stow and the spinetum of Cruch near Bannebir; saving to us only our hunting (venatio nostra); with power to turn the course of the road from Kenebawtun to Huntendun so that it run no longer through Buggeden Wood but between it and Brantun Wood. Grant also of fairs and markets in any of their manors at will. Test. S[tephen] Archbishop of Canterbury; W[illiam] Bishop of London; P[eter] Bishop of Winchester; E[ustace] Bishop of Ely; G[iles] Bishop of Hereford; J[oceline] Bishop of Bath and Glaston; William Mariscall Earl of Pembroke; William Earl Warenn; Seihier Earl of Winchester; W. Briwer; Robt. fitz Walter, &c. Given at the New Temple January 21, 16 John. Inspeximus dated February 13, 11 H. III.

Confirmation by the King of Bishop Hugh's will. May 15, 13 Hen. III.

Final Concord made in the King's Court at Lincoln between William Godswain, his wife Cristiana and her sister Mabilia, and Hugh Bishop of Lincoln, about a shop at Stowe.

Will of Bishop Hugh. A.D. 1233. [*Printed in Giraldus Cambrensis, Rolls Ed.*]

Grant by Bishop Hugh of 34½ marcs, arising from certain churches named, to be divided by the Dean and Chapter among three chaplains, a deacon, and a sub-deacon of the Choir Vicars of Lincoln who shall say daily masses for himself and all the faithful departed. A long document containing many details. Witnessed by many canons of Lincoln and others. 17 kal. September, 25 Bp. Hugh.

Lease for six years by Nicholas de Chavincurt and Sibilla his wife to Bishop Hugh of a third part of a close at Langeneia, the dower of the said Sibilla as wife of Walter de Ver, to make a sheep cote. At the end of the term the Bishop may elect to accept six marcs for the building, if in the opinion of sufficient men it seem worth so much, or to remove it. A.D. 1219.

Three deeds of Bishop Hugh's transcribed and transmitted to the Pope for safety in these perilous days by W[alter] Archbishop of York.

All three are grants to the Communa and are attested by many of the Canons of Lincoln.

Decree by Bishop Hugh about certain tithes and ecclesiastical dues of Boringham of the fee of Askby, in accordance with the judgment of the Papal commissaries. A long document with many details and with the names of many tenants. March 12. 14 Bishop Hugh.

Indenture about Bishop Hugh's Chantry, made at St. Albans, A.D. 1263.

Fourteen Boxes containing papers concerning Elections of Bishops since 1660.

Sixteen Boxes containing papers concerning Elections of Deans since 1681.

A Box containing fragments of seals.

A MS. *De Tribus Regibus Colonie.*

A small closely written MS. 8¾ × 5¾ inches, bound in boards covered with vellum, 40 folios, coloured capital letters. At each end are the words "Secundum Lincolnensem Doctorem."

A box containing Installation Mandates and Induction Mandates.

A Box of 114 Inventories, almost all of the years 1586-7, with a complete Table of names, places, and dates referred to in the box.

A Similar collection. 1615-1687.

Eleven boxes of Inventories, all in alphabetical order with Table of Contents in each, from 1581-1687.

Documents about the Canonizations of Bishops Grostete and Dalderby.

With reference to Grostete. A Notarial Roll of 4 membranes about 10 ft. in length, containing a letter of Bishop Oliver in favour, at Theyden,

Similarly the Dean and Chapter	-	-	9 Kal. May 1288.
John Archbishop of York	-	-	6 Non. May 1288.
Anthony of Durham	-	-	8 Id. January 1286.
			May 1, 1288.

Geoffrey of Worcester -	-	-	7 Kal. Feb. 1286.
John of Ely -	-	-	1288.
Richard, Hereford -	-	-	3 Kal. May 1288.
St. David's -	-	-	4 Kal. Feb. 1286.
Abbot and Convent of Grimsby	-	-	5 Kal. Dec. 1286.
„ Newhouse -	-	-	2 Id. Dec. 1286.
„ Thornton -	-	-	3 Kal. Dec. 1286.
„ Hagnaby -	-	-	Vig. S. Th. Ap. 1286.
„ Oseney -	-	-	5 Id. Feb. 1286.
„ St. James Northampton	Sabb. prox. S. Agath.	1286.	
„ Revesby -	-	-	12 Kal. Dec. 1286.
„ Peterborough -	-	-	St. Pet. in 8 ^o Epiph. 1286.
„ Louth Park -	-	-	7 Kal. Dec. 1286.
„ Bardney -	-	-	6 Kal. March 1286.

And 15 more from laymen and from the Mayor of Lincoln.

Copies of various letters of Bishop John de Dalderby respecting the canonization of Bishop Grostete.

Evidence of two miracles performed at the tomb of Bishop John de Dalderby, taken December 14, 1322; and August 22, 1324.

List of documents taken to Avignon in favour of the canonization of Bishop John de Dalderby.

Four petitions in favour of canonization of Bishop Grostete.

Publication of the Bull of Pope Innocent IV. in his favour in his contest with the Chapter by Bishop Grostete, August 25, 1245.

A Parchment Book containing the Proceedings for the Canonization of Bishop John de Dalderby.

PRESS D. II.

Five Boxes of original deeds relating to the foundation of Chantries in the Cathedral and elsewhere, the earliest about 1160.

Box 50.	Chantry at S. Andrew's Cranwell	-	circa 1160.
	Chantry of Bishop Henry de Lexington	-	1258.
	Chantry at Helhaw	-	N.D.
	Chantry of Reginald de Playsantia	-	1278.
	Chantry of Roger fitz Benedict in S. Peter's Church, Eastgate	-	1287.
	Ravenser Chantry in S. Nicholas, Waltham, removed from Helhaw	-	1374.
	Swilling Chantry in the Cathedral	-	1396.
	Chantry in S. Clement's parish	-	1412.
	Westmoreland Chantry	-	1439.
	Bishop Alnwick's Chantry	-	1465.
Box 51. 1.	Bishop Hugh de Wells' Chantry	-	1234.
	Thomas Beck's Chantry in S. Peter's Normanby	-	1280.
	Chantry in Queen Eleanor's Chapel, Hardeby	-	1292.
	Chantry of Thomas de S. Laudo in S. Peter's, Claypole	-	1300.
	Chantry of Archdeacon de la Gare	-	1311.
	Stretton's Chantry in the Cathedral	-	1334.
Box 51. 2.	Roger Brito's Chantry in the Chapel at Walton, Chesterfield	-	1242.
	S. Katherine's Chantry in S. Laurence's, Lincoln	-	1303.
	Chantry at Dene by Melchebourne	-	1304.
	Chantry in the Chapel by Bydenham Bridge	-	1312.
	Chantry of H. de Benningworth	-	1317.
	Chantry of Bishop Henry Burghersh	-	1330.

Box 51. 3.	Chantry at Louth Park - - - -	1310.
	Chantry of Canon Thomas de Luda, at Louth -	1317.
	Chantry in the Chapel of SS. Mary and Katherine at Epworth - - - -	1350.
	Prebendary R. Whitwell's Chantry in S. Swithin's	1352.
	Prebendary R. Whitwell's Chantry in the Cathedral	1371.
Box 52. 1.	None.	

A Box of original deeds relating to Obits, from 1272-1494.

Do. do. do. early letters of Orders, &c.

Among them 3 seals (fragments) of the Bishop of Oxford 1615, the Archbishop of York 1347, and of the Priory of St. Mary, Grenefield, 1529.

Three boxes of miscellaneous early original deeds.

A parchment volume 13 × 9 inches, of 18 folios, in parchment cover, containing transcripts of letters addressed to the Pope in favour of the canonization of Bishop John de Dalderby.

King Edward writes of the Bishop "A primevo juventutis sue flore purus, innocens, verax, deum colens extitit, et ab omni opere pravo se abstinens, artibus liberabilibus imbutus, doctrine gratiam cunctis volentibus distribuit habundanter, et sacre theologie cathedram conscendens ad cancellariam tandem dicte Lincoln' ecclesie assumptus, gratiam quam ex nominis interpretatione suscepit, gratia profusus in actibus adimplevit adeo ut furiosi ad . . . mentem et alii latratu ut canes vice loquere utentes ad loquelam disertam ipsius interventu fuerant restituti, deinde populi acclamacione et fratrum Line' ecclesie concordia electione cathedram episcopalem suscipiens in omni morum honestate amabilem se deo exhibuit et hominibus justum pium et mansuetum se offerens ab omnibus amabatur, unde qui scrutator est cordium et novit que sunt in homine gratiam in tali plasmate diffusam etiam ipso defuncto indigentibus voluit elargiri cecis visum claudis gressum et alia . . . beneficia largiendo, et mira . . . operatur pro eodem clementia salvatoris merito &c. exoramus ut tante puritatis et innocentie speculum inter sanctos et electos communari et ascribi vestra beatitudo precepiat cathologo sanctorum venerando. Conservet vos altissimus &c." At Westminster, March 12 anno 1^o.

This is followed by upwards of 50 more letters, including two more from the King, from Archbishops, Abbeyes, &c. Earls and Barons, with two "Propositiones facte coram domino papa pro canonizatione."

At the end of the book is sewn in a small vellum document of 4 folios. 3 pages contain what is called *Historia de Sancto Johanne de Daldeford quondam Ep. Lincoln.* followed by a form of prayer and praise addressed to the Saint, beginning:—"Forma Moris doctor veri fac nos patris promereri ut possimus intueri regis glorie, &c.," marked for antiphonal singing.

Chantries. A Box of 20 deeds relating to chantries from the year 1160, when licence to found a chantry in S. Andrew's church, Cranwell, is granted, to a presentation to the Duke of Lancaster's chantry in 1533.

Do., 18 deeds from 1234-1357.

Do., 18 deeds from 1242-1465.

Do., 8 deeds from 1310-1492.

Do., receipts for rents of suppressed chantries, and a paper of 6 folios called *Ordinatio Cantariarum Ecclesie Lincoln.*

Obits.—Nine deeds relating to obits, from 1272–1494.

Fourteen Mandates for Ordinations, from 1293–1529 and 1615.

Five miscellaneous documents, from 1302–1632.

Nineteen miscellaneous documents from a charter of Hugh of Bayeux to the church and canons of S. Mary of Torrington (with seal imperfect), in 1150 to 1478.

Twenty-one miscellaneous documents, from the 12th century to 1612. Amongst them there is a perfect seal of the Chapter and of Cecilia, wife of William. . . .

Seven deeds about houses in Lincoln, of 1266–1649.

Thirteen bonds, of 1320–1561. Amongst them one states that the master and scholars of Balliol Hall, Oxford, are to pay 40s. a year to the Bishop and Church of Lincoln out of Abbotsley, co. Hunts. June 20, 1361.

Thirteen deeds about prebends, of 1239–1683.

Twenty-three documents, of 1132–1359. Amongst them a lease of 10 acres at Marston states that the rent is to be paid in Northampton gloves. No date.

Three early deeds, 1201–1226, and several papers of late date.

A Box of 76 small parchment documents, many of them letters from Kings Edward I. and II., and Edward Prince of Wales, to the Bishop John de Dalderby, desiring favour and preferment for certain persons, *e.g.*, Ed. I., in 1305, recommends John de Bedewinde, brother of his cofferer, as Incumbent of Harpswell; Walter Renaud, for the living of Horton; John de Derby (a fragment). Ed. I. April 4, 1306, summons the Bishop to London with three or four of his most able pupils to confer with the Bishop of Chester; he recommends W. de Bedewinde for the living of Harpswell; John de Winchester for Lidygton; de Medeburne for Ketelby; that William de Melton be admitted to Castor on the nomination of the Pope, in 1306; he writes about Walter de Bedewinde his cofferer, in 1305; about admission of John de Drokensford to the Prebend of Nassington, in 1304–5; for the preferment of Edm. de Dynyeton, in 1306; for Adam de Lymbergh; for Walter de Aumbresbure; for Peter de Abyton; Margaret, Queen of E. I., writes requesting the living of Trienge (Tring). Ed. II. writes in favour of Edm. de . . . ton; John de Ringwood; Adam de Lymberg; John de Arden; Richard de Cornwall, parson of Frothingham, our dear clerk and cousin, in 1309.

Similar letters from H. de Lasce, Gilbert de Segrave and others. Among letters without names is one accompanying a royal brief confirming a former report about Peter de Gaveston, one about the demand of the King of France that Piers Gaveston be given up, and a decree of the Barons for his expulsion, published by the Archbishop, with an allowance of 3,000 marcs, &c. Letter on the arrival of Sicard de Pauro from Rome, with a Bull for the release of the Bishop of Chester, May 12, 1306; one speaking of the soldiers to be raised in the next fortnight. Piers Gaveston writes to Robert d'Arcy, thanks for promise of men.

Exemplification of a decree of Henry VIII. on the pensions on suppressed religious houses belonging to the Dean and Chapter. 20 Charles II.

11 Procurations from 1253–1328, and one of 1412, four for the election of a Bishop, two for that of a Dean, two engage that the clergy will appear by their Proctor in the Convocation at the ensuing Parliament, and one appointing Henry de Stoke, Rector of Ravensthorpe, to repre-

sent the Archdeaconry of Northampton at a meeting to be held for the election of one to represent the whole diocese, 1299.

One Installation proxy of 1619.

Twenty-five Procurations of 17th century.

Court Leet papers, 17th century and later.

Fines, modern.

21 deeds relating to the internal business of the diocese during vacancy of the see, from 1183-1407.

17 Wills and Inventories and other deeds from 1271-1727.

Christiana, widow of John son of William de Hungerton. Will and Inventory, 1283.

Geoffry Scrope, prebendary. Will, 1382.

Hen. Coleby. Will, 1271.

William de Waterton, of Luddington. Will, 1302.

Avicia, widow of Adam de Crosseby (contains many small legacies to religious houses), 1327.

Henry de Mansfield, Dean of Lincoln. Inventory of goods, 1328.

Roger Leget, of Holbury. Will, 1388-9.

Grant by Phil. le Despenser to William de Ryther, of Gautby and Rigsby Manors, 1397. One seal perfect.

Constance, Dowager Lady Wiltshire. Will. Apparently leaving everything to William Heton and his wife Dorothy, 1473.

Nich. de Bolton, of St. Paul's parish, Lincoln. Will and deeds, 1400-1.

Robert Smythe, 1589. James Poretham, 1632. William Julyon, 1722.

Exemplification of the enrolment of the Manor of Glenthams to the Dean and Chapter, 1589. Good seal.

Sequestrations and excommunications, 17th century.

Twenty-six Indulgences from 1257-1321.

The Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield grants 15 days to contributors to the fabric, 1266.

Several are granted to those who attend the Canons' sermons.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Carlisle, Glasgow, London, and Worcester, each grant 40 days to contributors to the fabric of Lincoln Cathedral, 1303-1314.

Bishop William grants 40 days to those who lengthen and widen the Fosse Dyke. Early 16 century.

Penances or Acknowledgments, 17 century.

Advowsons, 27 deeds, 1174-1470, and one of 1537, dealing with the advowsons of various churches in the diocese, viz., Haddingham, Kingsey, Cuddington, Potton, Billingborough, Eynsham, Blytham, Holliwell, Carlton, Essherbourne, Kirkby, Kingerby, Owersby, Hale, Heckington, Edyweston, Holbeck, Woburn, Aylesby, Gosberkirk, Basseltry, Bicker, Clipston, Donington, Hambleton.

Fourteen deeds relating to business during vacancies of the see, 1234-1314.

Similar deeds of later date.

Sixteen Procuratorial documents in legal matters, 1274-1305.

Part of a Visitation Roll. Books and furniture are deficient in the churches of Pilham, Springthorpe, &c., 1300.

MISS. OF
THE DEAN AND
CHAPTER OF
LINCOLN.

Inventory of sacred vessels, &c. in Asgarby Church (?), 1350.

Indenture as to vestments given by Gilbert de Umfravill, Earl of Angos, to the Prior of Kyme, and on what occasions they are to be used, 1377.

Inventory of church goods. Printed in Dugdale VIII., p. 1287.

A parchment volume of 45 folios, small, close hand, in a Papal Bull binding, concerning the claim of Archbishop Boniface to administer the diocese on the death of Bishop Grostete. The greater part of the volume is taken up with precedents from the practice in other dioceses.

Twenty-five deeds relating to properties and churches annexed to the Dignities from 1146-1317, and four from 1537-1663.

Leases.—14 between 13th century and the 15th, and 3 of the 17th.

Sixteen Presentations, of 1529-1557.

Miscellaneous papers.—Among them part of a Visitation Roll of parishes in the Rural Deaneries of Axholm and Corringham of the year 1287 with report of defects, &c. Also a large number of visitation documents of the Archdeaconry of Stow. Circa 1300-1320.

Sixty-nine boxes containing original deeds, from 30-50 in each box, from about the year 1190, arranged in alphabetical order according to the names of the parishes to which they belong, each box labelled on the back with the names of the parishes in that box.

Twenty-three boxes of Transcripts of Registers of Parishes in the jurisdiction of the Chapter, arranged in manner similar to the last.

PRESS D. III. IV.

Empty or modern documents.

PRESS D. V.

Two portfolios of Computus Rolls of 15 century.

PRESS D. VI.

Twenty-eight boxes of Presentments and Visitations of 17 century and later.

PRESS D. VII.

Two boxes labelled Dean Honeywood's times.

Six large sheets of cardboard most carefully drawn up with lists of Bishops, Deans, Precentors, Chancellors, Treasurers, Sub-Deans, Archdeacons, and Prebendaries, in chronological order in parallel columns from the earliest dates taken from original documents.

Portfolio. Containing a paper book of 13 folios of early 16 century Homilies.

A fragment of a Book of Homilies, by Bede, early in 12 century, 3 folios.

MSS. OF
THE DEAN AND
CHAPTER OF
LINCOLN.

A fragment. Two folios, large, containing a copy of the Acts of the Chapter of S. Paul's, London, as to residence. [Apparently copied by Walter Mape, Precentor of Lincoln, 1192.] A calendar and decree of the Dean and Chapter that Archdeacons shall exercise episcopal jurisdiction in their Archdeaconries *sede vacante*, 1183. Assignment of 20s. a year for the obit of Chancellor Chichester in 1275. Admission by Bishop Hugh de Welles of a Master to the Priory of Stixwold, 1220.

PRESS D. V. IN GABLE.

Computus fragments of 16 century, and of Rd. Smith 1589-90.

PRESS C. V. IN GABLE.

Two portfolios of Re & Ve Rolls, *i.e.*, Rolls of Allowances made by the Dignitaries with the days which fall to each one. The allowances are made in Communa et Vino and are always estimated at a money value. In the earlier rolls the entries sometimes mention the days when the recipient came and when he departed, "venit die Martis et recessit die Jovis," hence probably the term Re et Ve, according to Mr. Bradshaw, or venit die Lune et recessit.

There is also amongst these accounts a paper book of Obits with their money value.

J. A. BENNETT.

THE RECORDS OF THE LINCOLN DISTRICT REGISTRY OF THE COURT OF PROBATE.

The earliest Wills at Lincoln are those recorded in the Bishops' Registers, dating from 1280 to 1547, an abstract of which has recently been printed; but the Will Registers preserved in this Registry begin in 1506. These are kept in a fire-proof room over the Exchequer Gateway, and are in good condition and tolerably complete; but there are no Wills from 1652 to 1660, or for 1619, and one or two other years thereabouts. The majority of the Wills were proved in the Chancellor's Court, but there were also, previously to the Probate Court Act, the Peculiars of the Archdeacon of Stow, the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, and the Prebendaries of Louth, Caistor, Sleaford, &c. The whole of these are now in the Registry, with the exception of a few in the Cathedral Muniment Room, and are well indexed, except those of the Dean and Chapter's Peculiar, the official index of which dates only from about 1660, though the Wills commence in 1534; an Index of the whole, however, has recently been made, and is now being printed.

RECORDS OF
THE LINCOLN
DISTRICT
REGISTRY OF
THE COURT OF
PROBATE.

The Administration Bonds commence about 1550, but are not indexed before 1700.

There are several parcels of Wills belonging to Buckinghamshire and other counties not now included in the diocese of Lincoln; but with this exception, nearly all the Wills in the Probate Registry are those of persons dying within the county of Lincoln, though the Wills in the Episcopal Registers cover the whole of the ancient diocese, comprising the Counties of Lincoln, Leicester, Rutland, Northampton, Buckingham, Bedford, Hertford, Huntingdon, and Oxford.

THE REGISTRY OF THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

The following is a rough summary of the principal classes of documents preserved in this Registry:—

REGISTRY OF
THE BISHOP
OF LINCOLN.

The Transcripts of Parish Registers for the County of Lincoln were formerly kept over one of the gateways of the close called Priory Gate, and on its being rebuilt about 70 years ago, were removed to the Exchequer Gate. A large number of them have recently been arranged under parishes, in order of date, by Mr. Gibbons, the writer of this Report, by direction of Bishop King, and have been removed to a large room in the Alnwick Tower of the Old Palace. They extend from 1561 to the present century, and are generally in good preservation, the principal gaps being for the few earlier years, and during the period of the Commonwealth.

They appear to have been originally put away in annual rolls for each Rural Deanery, but even this arrangement was not adhered to throughout, for many scores of rolls labelled "Divers" contained transcripts of parishes scattered throughout the county, and for years ranging from 1570 to 1800, so that they were practically all but unsearchable. Their condition is described in a paper by the Rev. A. R. Maddison in the Lincoln Diocesan Architectural Society's Reports for 1883.

There are about 650 old parishes in the county, and it is estimated about 200,000 separate transcripts.

Transcripts for other Counties.—There are also in the Alnwick Tower awaiting arrangement, eighteen large parcels of transcripts of Parish Registers, originally removed from Buckden, and principally relating to the Archdeaconries of Bedford, Buckingham, Northampton, Huntingdon, Oxford, Hertford, and Leicester, between 1600 and 1630, but extending in some cases down to 1670.

Marriage Bonds.—There are several thousands of these bonds in the Registry dating from about 1580, but until recently quite unarranged, except that since 1660 they professed to be in yearly bundles. A great number of them have, however, now been arranged, and it is proposed to print a calendar of them.

There are Marriage Allegation Books from 1598 to 1606, and from 1612 to 1628 ; an abstract of these has recently been printed. There are also a few after the Restoration.

Administration Bonds and Inventories.—Many thousands of these lie in the Bishop's Registry, dating from about 1530. They are not arranged or calendared, except that, as stated above, there is in the Probate Registry an Index to the Administrations since 1700.

Terriers of Church Lands for the whole of the old diocese of Lincoln, *i.e.* including the southern Archdeaconries now annexed to other dioceses. They date from 1570 to the present day, and are in good order and preservation.

Court Rolls of the Episcopal Manors of Nettleham and Bishop's Norton, from about 1660.

Bishops' and Archdeacons' Visitation Books.—A tolerably complete series since the Reformation, and a few earlier ones.

Act Books of the Ecclesiastical Courts from the time of Queen Elizabeth.

Processes of the same Courts, Faculties, Churchwardens' Presentments, and other comparatively modern papers of little interest.

Court Rolls of the Galilee (comprising the precincts of the Close of Lincoln) from 20 Edward II. downwards, mostly in bad condition.

A Roll temp. Henry VIII. entitled "Catalogue of Mayors and Bailiffs of Lincoln to 1534," but comprising many curious entries relating to the early history of the City.

It gives a list of Kings and the number of years of their reigns respectively. "Deneband was kyng by conquest" . . . is the 17th name in the list and first name which is quite legible. The next name is Belyn his son . . . After 31 names more the roll states that "The som of reigntyng of kyngs from the firste conquest of brwt unto the Incarnation of our Lord Jhu Crist m^cxxxii yere." After 19 more names the mission of St. Augustine is mentioned, and thenceforward the names run on in unbroken series to Charles I. the number of whose years is not given. After H. VIII. the names are in a later hand than the body of the Roll.

The greater part of the next membrane is blank ; then there begins a list of the Mayors of Lincoln "Anno vii^o Edwardi secundi, Henricus Bere maior." From this date there is an unbroken list of 44 names until 32 E. III. Here after another blank the next membrane is drawn up in much more formal hand and is headed "Ista Rotula pertinet michi Thome Townay scirefo qui scribi fecit," 32 E. III. The Roll from

this point runs on in unbroken order to 9 H. VIII., with the addition of the names of the bailiffs of each year, and with historical notes inserted in red ink, *e.g.*

“V. H. VIII. Floden feld wher Kyngge Jamy was ded. And that yere was James the Scott kyng slayn in England . . . on the Assumption of our Lady . . . had to London in a cart.” Here the list has been turned over and written on the back into the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the latter part being indistinct.

In the X. H. VIII. the incidental notices of general history give place to local matters. “In this yere was the payment paid in the Marked place, every man payinge for the pavyng befor his awn dore.”

XI. H. VIII. “This yere begane ffosdyke and and the Bisshop of Lyncoln gaf unto the said warke c l.”

XII. H. VIII. “John Tailboys Maior which John Tailboys died the xiv. daye of Aprill the yere of our Lord God 1520. And the said day at afternone the citesens did chose Peter Effard for the Maior. And the said yere the souther part of the Gild Hall was of new bylded &c. And also the said Peter beyng then the Maior hyred many workmen to ffosdyke. And a gret some of mony delyver’d unto hym and to certen of his brethern as bi their account appereth.”

XIII. H. VIII. “This yere Water Attwater the Bisshop of Lincoln died. And therffore for defawt of monye the warke of ffosdyk did cesse. And then the Chapell of Saint Thomas upon the bryge was new repaired. And the house in tolboith lane was new bylded. And this yere the duk of Bukkyngham was heided for high treason. And also the house, . . . and the bryg at the West bargate was repeled. Also that yere . . . gret scareseness of corne so that a quart of whet was abown the sum of xxij s. A quart of malt abown the sum of xii s.

Anno primo E. VI. “That yere the stepull of the Mynster above the St . . . fell.”

15 years later. “This yere was the West Bargate newe mayde and the Este Bargate mendyd and the . . . bryge and . . . bryge and Thornebryge and the Condyt in Sant Mayrys Churchyard (?) was repaired . . . ser of Lincoln paying.”

Next year, “the storye of olde Thoby was plaid.”

The Episcopal Registers:—

Bishop Hugh of Wells. 1209 to 1234. 11 Rolls.

Bishop Grostete. 1235 to 1253. 8 Rolls.

Bishop Lexington. 1253 to 1258. 7 Rolls.

Bishop Gravesend. 1258 to 1280. 8 Rolls.

Bishop Sutton. 1280 to 1290. 6 Rolls.

[Note.—These Rolls chiefly relate to Endowments and Institutions, and each roll usually comprises a separate Archdeaconry.]

The rest of the Registers are in the form of Books, and are as follows:—

I. Liber antiquus de Ordinationibus vicariarum tempore Hugonis Wells, A.D. 1209.

A small quarto volume of 32 folios on vellum, in an ancient leather binding. Size $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. This has lately been printed.

II. Bishop Sutton's Memoranda and Institutions in one volume. From 1290 to 1299.

Memoranda	-	-	-	-	226 folios.
Institutions	-	-	-	-	157 „
Ordinations	-	-	-	-	46 „

III. Bishop Dalderby's Memoranda. From April 1299 to January 1319.

409 folios.

IV. Bishop Dalderby's Institutions. From April 1301 to June 1320. 366 folios, from folio 310 to the end consisting almost entirely of Dispensations and other matters usually classed under Memoranda.

V. Bishop Burghersh's Memoranda. From August 1320 to July 1340. The first classified Register. The Memoranda proper comprise 388 folios; but preceding them and bound up with them in the same volume are—

Dispensations	-	-	-	-	59 folios.
Testaments	-	-	-	-	23 „
Dismissory letters	-	-	-	-	76 „
Licences for oratories	-	-	-	-	18 „
“Licencie studendi et dimittendi ecclesias ad firmam”	-	-	-	-	23 „
Commissions in ecclesiastical causes	-	-	-	-	54 „

VI. Bishop Burghersh's Institutions. From August 1320 to May 1341. 413 folios.

VII. Bishop Burghersh's Brevia Regia. From 1320 to 1341. 213 folios.

VIII. Bishop Becke's Memoranda. From July 1342 to June 1347. 113 folios: then two leaves of Ordinations made in 1451: then Dispensations &c., 108 folios more.

IX. Bishop Becke's Institutions. From October 1342 to February 1346. 164 folios, of which folios 24–26, folios 50–51, and folios 163–164, have been shockingly galled.

X. Bishop Gynwell's Memoranda. From 1347 to 1361. 188 folios, and an Index of two folios more.

XI. Bishop Gynwell's Institutions. From July 1347 to September 1361.

Commissiones ecclesiarum - - - - - 52 folios.

Then pinned in, a notarial Instrument endorsed, “Md. to putt in this Instrument into the booke of Institutions of Gynwell at a paper that is layd in ffos. 23, 24.”

Institutions	-	-	-	-	-	403 „
Collations of Prebends	-	-	-	-	-	4 „

XII. Bishop Buckingham's Memoranda. From 19 June 1363 to 22 February 1396.

483 folios, and a Repertory on paper bound in at the end.

XIII. Bishop Buckingham's Institutions. Part I. From June 1363 to January 1383. 462 folios.

XIV. Bishop Buckingham's Institutions. Part II. From September 1383 to July 1398.

Institutions, including Indices after each Arch-	
deaconry - - - - -	426 folios.
Commissions - - - - -	5 "
Collations of Prebends - - - - -	14 "

XV. Bishop Beaufort's Memoranda & Institutions in one vol. From July 1398 to January 1404.

Memoranda - - - - -	67 folios.
Brevia Regia - - - - -	11 "
Ordinations - - - - -	37 "
Institutions - - - - -	216 "
Collations of Prebends - - - - -	7 "

XVI. Bishop Repingdon's Memoranda. From April 1405 to November 1419.

192 folios.

XVII. Bishop Repingdon's Institutions. From April 1405 to February 1419.

[Mem. on fly-leaf:—"Weighs 17½ lbs."]

473 folios, and Collations 24 folios.

XVIII. Bishop Flemyng's Institutions & Memoranda in one vol. From May 1420 to April 1426.

251 folios.

XIX. Bishop Gray's Institutions & Memoranda in one vol. From May 1431 to November 1435.

203 folios, & 18 folios of Ordinations at the end.

XX. Bishop Alnwick's Memoranda & Institutions in one vol. From 1435 to September 1449.

195 folios. [Many marginal notes of Bp. Wordsworth's in pencil.]

XXI. Bishops Lumley, Bullingham, Cowper, and Wickham.

From 5 December 1449, the day of the death of Bp.

Alnwick, to 10 November 1450, the vacancy of the See, folios 1-14

Bishop Lumley. From prid. Non. April 1450 to 23

May 1450 - - - - - 15-26

Ordines celebrati 14 kal. Jan. 1450, sede vacante - 28-33

See vacant after death of Bp. Lumley - 55-82

Bishop Bullingham's Memoranda & Institutions from

19 February 1559 to 16 April 1569, with Index - 1-51

Institutions from 26 September 1572 to 11 October

1580 - - - - - 52

Institutions from 2 May 1584 to 13 May 1595 - 53-72

Memoranda & Institutions from 1461 to 1465 - 73-74

At the end is a note:—"Repertorium patet fol. 50 et 51, sed isthoc Repertorium totum librum non comprehendit."

XXII. Bishop Chedworth's Memoranda & Institutions in one vol. From July 1452 to January 1471.

Memoranda - - - - - 112 folios.

Institutions with Index - - - - - 204 "

Collations - - - - - 7 "

Brevia Regia - - - - - 1 "

XXIII. Bishop Rotherham's Institutions & Memoranda in one vol. From March 1471 to August 1480.

Institutions with Indices	-	-	-	-	133 folios.
Ordinations	-	-	-	-	37 "
Memoranda with Index	-	-	-	-	26 "

XXIV. Bishop Russell's Memoranda & Institutions in one vol. From October 1480 to December 1494.

Ordinations	-	-	-	-	54 folios.
Memoranda & Repertory	-	-	-	-	68 "
Institutions & Repertory	-	-	-	-	155 "
Collations	-	-	-	-	8 "

XXV. Bishop Smith's Institutions. From January 1494 to Dec. 1513. 259 folios with Repertory.

XXVI. Bishop Smith's Memoranda. From November 1496 to December 1509.

Ordinations	-	-	-	-	about 100 folios.
Memoranda	-	-	-	-	253 "
Repertory on paper bound in at the end.					

XXVII. Bishops Wolsey & Atwater's Institutions & Memoranda. From November 1514 to November 1520 - - 101 folios.

Then Ordinations	-	-	-	-	26 "
Institutions after the death of Bp. Atwater	-	-	-	-	1 "

XXVIII. Bishop Longland's Institutions. From May 1521 to December 1549.

283 folios including Repertories.

XXIX. Bishop Longland's Memoranda. From May 1521 to August 1545.

Ordinations about	-	-	-	-	60 folios.
Memoranda	-	-	-	-	240 "
Repertory on paper bound in at the end.					

XXX. Bishop Chaderton's Institutions. From Aug. 1597 to April 1608.

328 folios on paper, followed by a Repertory as far as the letter P.

XXXI. A Repertory of Institutions from Bishop Sutton to Bishop Lumley. Note at the end:—"Repertorium año dñi M D VIII per Robertum Toney's registrarium collectum." In the same volume is a List of the Bishops down to Bishop Smith, continued in later hand-writings to 1617. Then a Repertory of the Rolls of Institutions and Endowments of the early Bishops, and of the Liber Antiquus of Bishop Hugh de Wells.

(From 1608 to 1660 the Bishops' Registers are wanting, but after that they come down regularly to the present day.)

A NOTE of the contents of six boxes and four sacks of papers brought from Riseholme Palace and now deposited in the Exchequer Gate and in the Alnwick Tower of the Old Palace.

Presentations to Livings.

Many fine seals of Religious Houses are attached to the earlier ones.

Resignations of Livings.

Commendatory Letters in favour of clergymen and candidates for Orders or for licences as schoolmasters and surgeons, from Religious

Houses, Universities, and others. In many cases certificates of baptism are annexed, and sometimes correspondence or other proofs of identity.

Grants of Advowsons.

The above form the bulk of the papers, and appear to be a tolerably complete series from about 1480 to the present century. The Presentations are particularly valuable, because of the serious breaks in the Episcopal Institution Books.

A large number of the modern Presentations to Crown livings have been almost destroyed by mice, and those which remain may be greatly reduced in bulk by the removal of several stones' weight of the broken wax of the great seal of England.

The remainder of the papers appear (from a cursory examination of them) to consist of—

Returns from Religious Houses in answer to Citations.

Ecclesiastical Subsidy Books, particularly on the suppression of the Monasteries.

Archdeacons' Visitations of the southern portion of the diocese between 1400 and 1550.

Citations and Decrees in ecclesiastical causes.

Libels, Allegations, Personal Answers, Depositions, &c., chiefly 1603-5. Proceedings against clergymen for non-conformity.

Sequestrations.

Administration Bonds.

Marriage Bonds: especially for the Archdeaconry of Bedford, 1574-1614.

Correspondence as to complaints against clergymen for heresy, &c.

Terriers of the southern portions of the diocese, 1577-1601, some very dilapidated.

Visitation of the Cathedral by the Bishop in 1507.

Petitions of various kinds: *e.g.* from parishioners to the Bishop to present by lapse: petitions for Faculties to remove remains of deceased persons, &c.

Faculties.

"A Boke of all the double beneficed men and their curates within the Archdeaconry of Lyncoln 1602."

Memoranda of Wills proved circa 1500.

Certificates of excommunicate persons *temp.* Elizabeth, chiefly recusants.

Restitutions of Temporalities of the see of Lincoln under the great Seal.

Certificates of various kinds: *e.g.* under Q. Elizabeth's Injunctions forbidding marriage of priests without the consent of the Bishop and a certificate from two Justices.

Also a few Wills, Inventories of deceased persons, Court Rolls of Buckden *temp.* Henry VIII. Certificates of burial of deceased Incumbents *temp.* Eliz., and numerous miscellaneous letters and papers.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF PETERBOROUGH.

MSS. OF
THE DEAN AND
CHAPTER OF
PETERBOROUGH.

In every respect, save in the care bestowed upon them, the MSS. in the Library of Peterborough Cathedral are as different as possible from the collections at Lincoln. Instead of the thousands of original charters and other documents of Lincoln, there is only one at Peterborough; and in the place of the many volumes of Chapter Acts and Cartularies of Lincoln there are only seven volumes at Peterborough. These seven, however, are interesting and valuable, and, it appears, have been made free use of for the *Monasticon*.

I. The Swaffham Cartulary. This is a fine parchment volume of 384 folios, of which the ten folios 357–367 and ten at the end are blank.

In the beginning there is this note: "This boke was hide in the Church by me Humphrey Austin, February 1642, and found by one of Coll. Cromwelle souldgers when they pul'd down all the seats in the quire, April 22, 1643. And I makeing inquire amongst them for an old Latin Bible which were lost, I found out at last the partie who had it, and I gave him for the book ten shillings, as you see by this acquittance.

"The coppie of his acquittance. I pray let this Scripture book alone for he hath paid me for it, therefore I would desire you to let it alone. By me Henry Topclyffe, souldger under Capt. Cromwell, Coll. Cromw . . . sonn. Therefore I pray you let it alone. By me Henry Topclyffe."

Upon a leaf at the beginning there is the note "Liber Roberti de Swafham, de prima fundatione," &c., &c.

Then follow a list of taxations of the time of Bishop Grostete, 13 in number, and a Table of Contents. The book itself contains the History of the Church, and the *Gesta Herewardi*.

II. A smaller, bound, parchment volume, measuring $7\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, called "*Liber Cartarum et Privilegiorum Henrici de Pyghtele, junioris*."

It is a cartulary of the Abbey of Peterborough.

The first 38 folios are in a beautiful early hand, with rubricated headings.

The Table of Contents in 13 folios at the beginning of the book gives a list of 219 charters, of which the earliest is a charter of St. Edmund the King to Abbot Leofric, and one of the last is dated 1278.

Five folios, between 21 and 26, give the history of the foundation of the Abbey, with charters, as far as the date of William I.

See *Monasticon*, I., pp. 375, 377, 382.

III. A small volume, bound in leather, stamped, measuring $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, of 123 folios of the finest soft vellum, most beautifully written.

According to a note placed in it by Dr. Westcott, this is Wickliffe's Translation of the Harmony of Clement of Llantony; his first work on the English Bible. The preliminary Tract has been printed, and is valuable.

IV. A small parchment volume, bound, of 197 folios, measuring $7 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, called "*Constitutiones*."

It is divided into eleven subjects, as follows:—De Summa Trinitate et Fide. De consuetudine. De temporibus ordinandorum. De filiis presbitorum. De clericis peregrinis. De officio archidiaconi. De prebendis. De decimis. De baptismo. De immunitate ecclesie. Notabilis Tractus de decimis.

V. A small quarto, of 213 folios, bound in stamped brown leather, measuring $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, called Liber Chartarum.

The name "Achirch" appears in the volume, and the note that "John de Achirch lived in 1340." "Collegit præterea hic Johannes de Achurch alios hujusmodi libros, viz. Librum Nigrum, et Librum Album, ambo penes comitem Exoniæ, anno 1714, quos tamen reponendos esse inter Archiva Custodis Rotulorum Lib. de Burgo S. Petri ex jure jurando quod dominus Wyche Lincolnix præstitit."

Plane et manifeste liquet. J. Sparke, 1778.

[These volumes are now in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, London.]

The Table of Contents mentions 101 charters. Between folios 15-16 what purports to be an original charter of Edward, A.D. 1060, has been inserted.

It is printed in Dugdale, I., p. 385; but the names of the witnesses are given here for the reason explained below.

Ego Ædwardus rex constitui.

✠ ✠ Ego Ædgyth regina concessi.

Ego Stigandus archieps. collaudavi.

Ego Aldredus archieps. comprobavi.

Ego Wulfwius Lincolnie antistes corroboraui.

Ego Haroldus dux favi.

Ego Tostinus dux testis sui.

Signum Raulfi regis dapiferi.

Signum Asgeri regis dapiferi.

Signum Marleswein.

Signum Godrici filius Ædgyfe.

Signum Ulf de Lincolia.

Signum Askil Tokes sunae.

Signum Laulf Maltes sune.

Against each of these names there is the usual cross, but against that of Ædgyth there is a second smaller cross, and as the lady had a personal interest in the subject of the charter, as appears in the text, it seems possible that the second was added by her own hand, and that we have here her autograph sign.

Throughout the charter (which is about Fiscarton), the proper names, with the exception of that of S. Peter, are in Saxon characters.

The first charter in the volume is that of King Wulfere.

At folio 37 the subject changes "Hic incipit summonitio Itineris Northampton."

E. de Burneby vicecomitibus, &c., &c. de Northampton; he recites the order of King Edward that, out of every vill four lawful men and the provost, and out of every borough twelve lawful burgesses, and all who are wont to appear before the Justices Itinerant, appear at Northampton on Monday next after the Feast of All Saints before Geoffrey de Scrop, and others.

Then follow the Commissions of the Justices Itinerant, a full statement of their powers, and all the formalities of the assize.

At this assize the Abbot of Peterborough appeared to advance a certain claim, and also to answer to a *Quo Warranto*.

These proceedings fill 62 folios.

At folio 100 there is a list of the fines and amercements inflicted at the Forest Itinerary 15 Edward I.

Fifty-five men (all named) were then fined in various sums between one marc and 20d.

Fifteen incur the penalty "*quia non venit.*" Four "*quia non habet* such and such a man." Six "*quia manucepit* such and such a man." Thirty-one "*quia non habet* so and so *quem manucepit.*"

Folio 101.—A memorandum is here inserted stating that in the . . . year of his reign King Edward I. had determined to recall all liberties, especially those which had been granted to the Church. "Sed postea contigit quod predictus dominus rex una nocte jacens in lecto suo obdormivit, cui apparuit Sanctus Edmundus rex et martir, vestibus regiis splendidissime decoratus, gladium extractum tenens in manibus, ita regem allocutus est, ego sum inquit rex sicut et tu, et pro jure regni et statu ecclesie passus et mortuus, et scias quod nisi libertates ecclesie mee de Sancto Edmundo per progenitores tuos reges Anglie devote concessas faceris allocari et in statu debito conservari, ego isto gladio te interficiam. Rex igitur evigilans et territus ex illa visione mane convocavit consilium suum et eis ordinem visionis enarrans statim mandavit thesaurario et Baronibus de scaccario quod omnes libertates ecclesie Sancti Edmundi concessas sine difficultate allocarent, et ex consequenti libertates aliis ecclesiis concessas ratione cujus in quindena Pasche super compotum W. de Redham vicecomitis Norf. et Suff. allocate fuerunt carte libertatum nostrarum, &c."

The pleas before the Justices are then continued, and on folios 122, &c. there is a long list of fines accruing to the Abbey from various manors. *E.g.*—

	£	s.	d.
"De villata de Bemfeld de catallis Gilberti Greyling latron. - - - - -	2	14	9
De eadem villata de anno et vasto terrarum ejusdem - - - - -	0	0	3
De eadem villata de catallis Willelmi filii Thome de Uphorp, latron. - - - - -	4	0	0
De villata de Clopton de catallis Ricardi Nate felon. fug. - - - - -	0	3	0"

And so on through 63 entries.

Similar pleas for other years follow until folio 128*b*, where a definition or explanation of Domesday begins.

"De libro judicario qui vocatur Domesday—

"Post regni conquisitionem, post justam rebellium subversionem, cum rex ipse regisque procures loca nova perlustrarent, facta est inquisitio diligens qui fuerunt qui contra regem in bello dimicantes per fugam se salvaverint hiis omnibus et item heredibus eorum qui in bello occubuerint spes omnis terrarum et fundorum atque reddituum quos ante possessionem preclusa est, magnum namque reputabant frui vite beneficio sub inimicis, verum qui vocati ad bellum nec dum convenerant vel familiaribus seu quibuslibet necessariis occupati negotiis non interfuerant cum tractu temporis devotis obsequiis gratiam dominorum possedissent sine spe successionis sibi terram pro voluntate . . . dominorum possidere ceperint. Succedente vero tempore cum dominis suis odiosi passim a possessionibus pellerentur nec essent qui ablata restituerent communis indigenarum ad regem pervenit querimonia quasi sic omnibus exosi et rebus spoliati ad alienas transire cogerentur. Communicato tandem super hiis consilio decretum est ut quod a dominis propriis exigentibus meritis interveniente pactione legitima poterant obtinere, et illis inviolabili jure concederetur. Ceterum autem nomine successionis [temporibus] subacte gentes nil sibi vendicarent. Quod quidem quam discreta considera-

tione tantum manifestum est presertim cum sic modis omnibus ut sibi consulerent de cetero studere tenerentur devotis obsequiis dominorum suorum gratiam emarcari sic [quoque] quisquis de gente subacta fundos vel aliquid hujusmodi possidet non quoad ratione successionis deberi sibi videbatur adeptus est sed quod solummodo meritis suis exigentibus vel aliqua pactione interveniente obtinuit. [De ceteris] quid sit centuriata vel hundredum non satis novi magister sustine modicum scies postea loco suo et in titulo de libro judicatorio."

Here is inserted a record of lawsuits at London, York, Lincoln, Northampton, &c.

Fol. 129 the former subject is resumed.—"Quid liber judicarius et ad quod compositus.

"Cum insignis ille subactor Anglie Rex Willelmus ultiores insule fines suo subjugasset imperio, et rebellium mentes terribilibus perdomnisset exemplis ne libera de cetero daretur terroris facultas decrevit subjectum sibi populum juri scripto legibusque propositis legibus Anglicanis secundum tripartitam earum distinctionem hoc est Marchenelaghwe Westsenelaghwe quasdam reprobavit et quasdam approbans item transmarinas Neustrie leges que ad regni pacem tuendam efficacissime videbantur adjecit, deinde ne quid deesse videretur ad omnem totius providentie summam communicato consilio discretissimis a latere suo destinavit viros per regnum in circuitu. Ab hiis itaque terre totius descriptio diligens facta est tam in nemoribus quam pascuis et pratis necnon agriculturis et verbis communibus annotata in librum redacta est ut videlicet quislibet vir suo contentus alieni non usurpet impune. Fit autem descriptio per comitatus per centurias et hidas prenotato in ipso capite regis nomine ac deinde seriatim aliorum procerum nominibus appositis secundum status sui dignitatem. Qui videlicet de rege tenent in capite apponuntur. Singulis autem secundum ordinem sic dispositis per quos inferius in ipsa libri serie que ad eos pertinent facilius occurrunt. Hic liber ab indigenis domesdai nuncupatur id est dies judicii per metaphoram sicut enim districte et terribilis examinationis illius novissime tergiversationis [nulla] arte valet eludi, cum orta fuerit in regno contentio de hiis rebus illuc annotatis cum ventum fuerit ad librum sententia ejus infatueri non potest nec impune declinari. Ob hoc nos eundem librum judicarium nominavimus quod si in eo de propositis aliquibus dubiis feratur sententia ab eo sicut a predicto judicio non licet ulla ratione discedere. De cetero quid comitatus, quid centuriata quid sit hida et si placet edisserere alioquin non plane erunt que premissa sunt. Quid hida quid centuriata quid comitatus secundum vulgarem opinionem magistri ruricole melius hic norunt, verum sicut ab ipsis accepimus hida a primitiva institutione ex c. acris constat, hundredum vero non ex hidarum aliquot centenariis set non determinatis, quidam vero ex pluribus quidam ex paucioribus hidis constat. Hinc hundredum in veteribus regni Anglicorum privilegiis centeriatam nominari frequenter invenies. Comitatus autem eadem lege ex hundredis constat, hoc est quidam ex pluribus quidam ex paucioribus secundum quod divisa est terra per viros discretos. Comitatus ergo a comite dictus vel comes a comitatu. Comes autem est qui tertiam portionem eorum que de placitis provenierint in comitatu quolibet percipit. Summa namque illa que nomine firme requiritur a vicecomite tota non exsurgit ex fundorum redditibus set ex magna parte de placitis provenit, et horum tertiam partem comes percipit qui ideo sic dici dicitur quia fisco socius est et comes in percipiendis. Porro vicecomes dicitur qui vicem

comitis suppleat in placitis illis quibus comes ex sue dignitatis ratione participat. De cetero numquid ex singulis comitatibus comites ista percipiunt nequaquam set hii tantum ita percipiunt quibus regum munificentia obsequii prestiti vel eximie probitatis intuitu comites sibi creat et ratione dignitatis illius hec conferenda decrevit, quibusdam hereditarie quibusdam personaliter."

Then there follow seven folios of copies from Domesday of the Abbey properties in Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, Huntingdonshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, and Bedfordshire.

The rest of the volume is taken up with law pleas and other business in which the Abbey was engaged. The latest entry is dated 28 Edward III.

VI. A book of 17 folios, foolscap, containing extracts from Ingulfus, and Petrus Blessensis, about Croyland Abbey, made by Edmund Pennye of Peterborough in 1607.

VII. A large volume, measuring $12 \times 9\frac{1}{2}$, bound in white vellum, stiffened with three or four sheets of parchment containing 160 folios, called, the Register of Abbot Richard Asshton. He became abbot in 1438, and resigned in 1471.

The first entry in the volume is an act of homage, 20 Henry VI.

Several of the entries are in English, amongst them on fol. 43 there is the following letter of the Lord of Beamount to the King complaining of certain acts of Pecok Bishop of Chichester.

"Most cristen prince our allermost dred soverene lord after oppinion of longe before of oon of youre name and lyenage which for excellency of zeles and love of God and myghty supportacion of Crysts faith and his Chirch in tyme of nede byfore other princes your noble progenitours ys prophesyed of as wele in the wrytyng left withe the holy ampull sent from heven and delivered to Seynt Thomas of Cauntbury as in many other places to long to be rehersed and called pugil ecclie, and not to be doutyd for a grete desert by grace to be donn by hym to the universall wele of all crystendom and perpetuite of the name, ffor the lett of so grete hurte as were lyke to ensue with oute the myghty and laborius and diligent [care] of that most to be noted prince that so shall haff grace of represe of the most execrable persones that by sotyll covyns and ymaginatyff wittes sett all there studes to hurt our faith, in which by many worldes so many martiris confessours and virgines have atteyned thurgh the same the high blisse of heven and by many and sondry miracles shewed in erthe to mans help from tyme to tyme to make open to our mortall knowlege how acceptable how perfyte how blessed that faith yerby wiche so many hevenly princes be exalted to regne eternally with our load Jhu Criste auctour of the same faith, and sith so is that the soverayne lord be demed and so hath bin from your yong age to be he that shuld stand in so grete stede to the chirche and after atteygne by grace to do the grete mervayles in the world not oonly of your own naturell puple demed to be he but also of blyssed memorie pope Eugeney yf the lyke calle to mynde wat he sent unto you and of many other places and puples and that ys so now that grete noyse rennyth that ther shuld be diverse and conclusyous labored and subtilly entended to be emprented in mennes herts by pryvy by also unherd meenes to the most pernicious and next to pernicyon of our faith yf that be as the same renneth that was (sith?) makamete was werfore soverain lord fowlouyng the steppes of most faithful and most cristen princes your most notable progenitours and in speciall of your owne fadyr of most noble memorye that first began with mighti punischyng and suppressyng of enemies of the faith and chirche and after all his dayes had victoryes of his enemies and dyd gret thynges and that is sayd that this pecok this Bisshop of Chichester

thurgh presumption and curiosite demed by hym in his own wytte but it soner be extincte and undirstond and by your myght and comaundment to the archiebissop and prelates and doctours examined and yf that be provid so assisted and punished by you of all pepill thought to be he that so shuld be of temporall princes he by whom the chirche shuld in tyme of nede fele hem so releved and born uppe by. And in this do now your wakyr diligence and lat the pepull fele the grete desir ye haff evir had in your hart to thexaltation and continuaunte of your faith to the worldes ende. And now lete passe out into lyght the grete flammes of faith kept and mighty brennyng ever in your brest I dar say fro so yonge age that yt myght be mervayled in that tyme so yonge the servente yeroff and blyssed be God so contynued and encressed to this day that now it shall with God's mercy ease all the chirche and puple and all be yt that your grace and wysdom woteth best wat ys to be don in this yet for to shewe my desire to plesse God and truste your benigne grace not to take yt to displesur I wryte my pore advice ffirst yf ye have knouelech certayne by wrytynge or other wyse of this matter to send to tharchbysshoppe and the chaunceller and other prelates to take of the best clerkes of bothe universities and with owte delay deuly to examine the ground of the works and that yt be not remissely done ne longe drawn of lenth the tyme whereby the puple myght take hurt ffor yf they do ye wyll take yt to grete displesure and so have you cause to do and that for no favour of prelacie ne otherwyse they lett to do ther dewtie lating thamm wyte there was never prince better of wyll to do for conservation and contynuation of the faith and chirche then ye be, and yf in lacheis of them or lak of diligence there fall inconvenience dought not but the universal chirche and all the world shall know the defaute ys in them there cause approvith it and that ye wull be redy to do that belongeth to you as gladly as hartly as ever did prince and this don and yt be as fame renneth and myghty punished douthtyth not but gret victories and mony shall shortly followe and such I truste as hath been hoped in mennes herts of good will. Most cristen prince our allermost dred soverain lord Jhu send you in this and all other your grete actes to accomplish thaim to his lauds and pleasaunce and therto your perpetuall fame and renoune and long to regne uppon us. Wretyn at C the xxiiii of June."

On the last page of the volume are the words "Frater Rogerus Birde monachus Burgi, capellanus Abbatis."

J. A. BENNETT.

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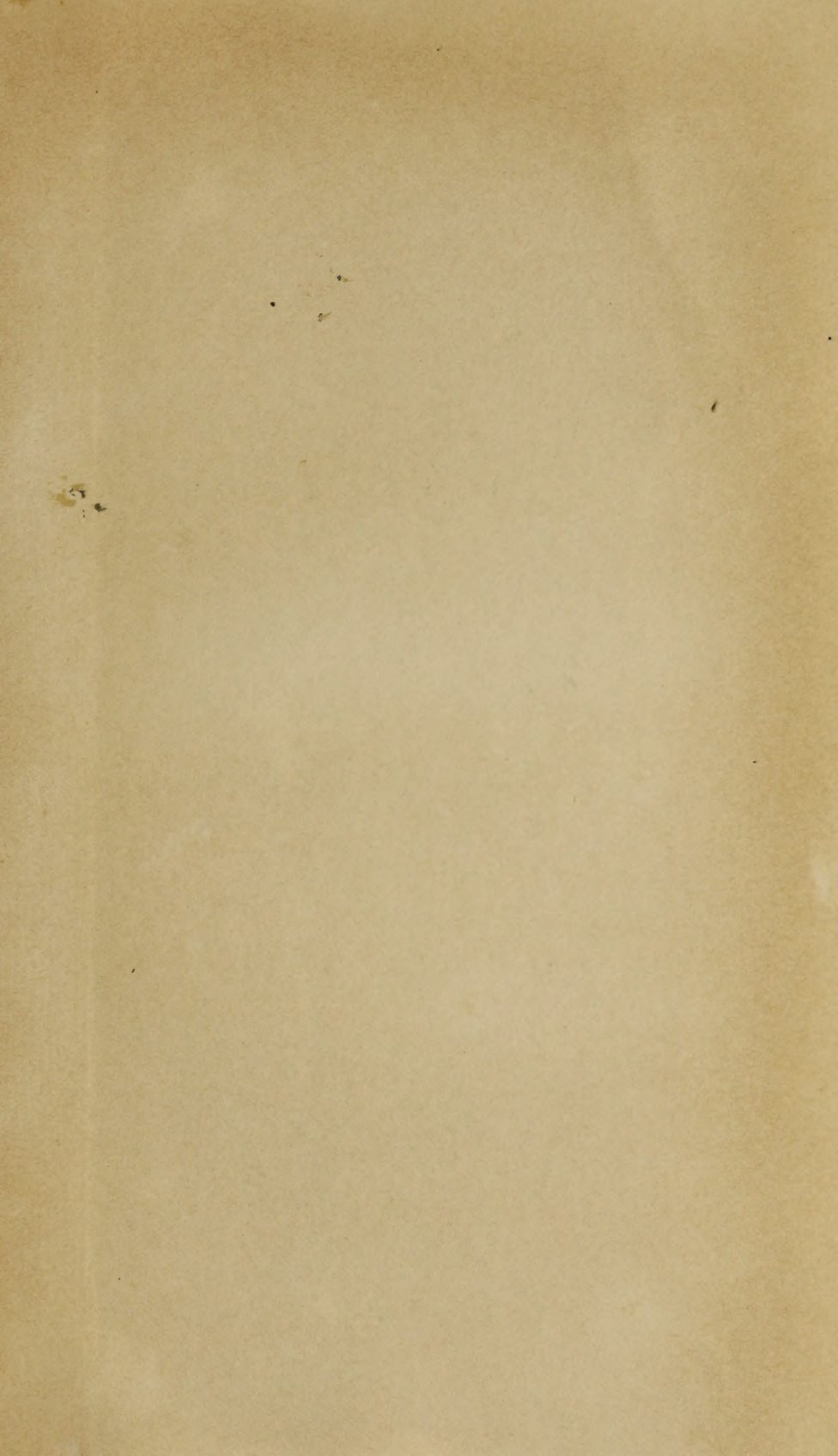


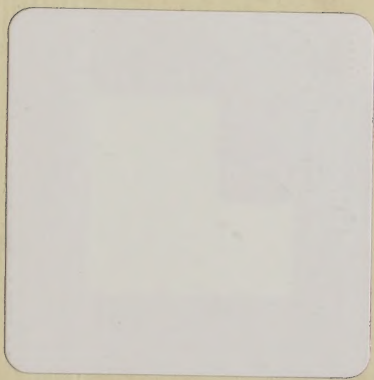
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